Time and Eternity

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Time and Eternity

The Medieval Discourse

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Introduction

Time and Eternity: Where Doubt Continues to Exist

'I thirst to know the power and the nature of time'
(St Augustine)[1]

'First, we point out to the reader
that there are three kinds of time-reckoning:
it operates either according to nature, or according to custom,
or according to authority. This authority is itself twofold.
It is either human authority—for example,
holding Olympics in a cycle of four years [. . .]
—or divine authority, as the Lord in the Law
commands that the sabbath be kept on the seventh day'
(Bede the Venerable)[2]

'And I confess to thee, O Lord, that I am still ignorant as to what time is.'
(St Augustine)[3]

This fictitious dialogue between St Augustine and the Venerable Bede may be seen as representative of the dilemma that medieval authorities confronted when dealing with the phenomenon of time. The situation has not really changed. We have remained ignorant: even 'the learned man, physicist or philosopher' or historian, 'is not so sure he knows but is ready to write volumes on the subject of his speculation and ignorance'.[4]

However, whatever human beings may be, one thing is certain—we are time conscious creatures. The temporal experience—as an experience of change—has been at the centre of some of the most pressing questions regarding human meaning

[1] *Confessions*, XI, 23.

[2] *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. with introduction, notes and commentary by Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), ch. 2, p. 13.

[3] *Confessions*, XI, 25.

[4] David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 1.

and fulfilment. That time is important is a statement not many will deny. Time simply matters. Whether we converse regarding the grand existential questions whose answers seem often to elude us, or whether we reflect on the everyday concerns of our lives, or simply reminisce about the past—time is an ever present companion. Time is a social construct and its perception is indispensably linked to one's way of life. This great familiarity with time, though, can be deceiving; our constant association with the temporal dimension of life may lead us to think that we understand what time is and are able to explain it readily. But when asked the simple question 'What is time?' the prudent among us will remain silent—and that for a long time.[5] It is only things in time and not temporalities, or time itself, which we experience.[6] 'Time' is just a 'symbol of a relationship that a human group [. . .] establishes between two or more continua of changes, one of which is used [. . .] as a frame of reference or standard of measurement for the other (or others)'.[7]

Therefore, time is obviously still a difficult concept to explain for various reasons, one being that understandings of time are based upon the diverse ways in which human beings experience life and the flow of events, where explanations reflect the effects of time upon our consciousness. While this may present difficulties in arriving at a scientific knowledge of time, it does offer a fertile ground on which to enrich our understanding of the human perception of time. The medieval experience of time is no exception, as the reader will soon notice; however, not everyone agrees. As the historian Carl Becker reminds us, the medieval worldview was regarded as boring by many early-modern thinkers.[8] With its emphasis on the cosmic drama of existence and the roles human beings were bound to accept and perform therein, our early-modern predecessors rejected this interpretation of 'set' time and posited what they considered to be a more intellectually fertile and meaningful thesis of existence;

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[5] See the very well-known questions and statement by St Augustine in his *Confessions*, XI, 14: What is time? Who can easily and briefly explain it? Who can even comprehend it in thought or put the answer into words? Yet is it not true that in conversation we refer to nothing more familiarly or knowingly than time? And surely we understand it when we speak of it; we understand it also when we hear another speak of it. What, then, is time? If no one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to him who asks me, I do not know. Cf. Wojciech Wrzosek, 'In Search of Historical Time: An Essay on Time, Culture and History', in *Narration and Explanation. Contributions to the Methodology of the Historical Research*, ed. by Jerzy Topolski (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), p. 129, 'Let us note that the so-called fundamental question "What is time?" presupposes that there is time, although what kind of existence it might have is not specified. It is the question "Is there time?", which seems to be prior to the preceding one, implying neither the existence or non-existence of time'.

[6] See W. H. Newton-Smith, *The Structure of Time* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 13.

[7] Norbert Elias, *Time: An Essay*, trans. by E. Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 46.

[8] See Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), *passim*.

namely, life was a continual process of flux, and accidents with time were intrinsically meaningless.

Whether or not the modern thesis was superior in its moral vision has been a matter of deep debate and discussion, but we shall not take up in this discussion. Rather, we would like to make a few comments regarding the one basic modern assumption mentioned earlier, that of the uninspiring medieval worldview. The whole medieval era is filled with significant historical events, predicaments, intricate debates on politics, theology, and poverty, important works of art and architecture, literary creations—the list goes on and on. While it is true that religiously-based worldviews structured the medieval experience, this did not mean that human understanding of the temporal dimension was boring. As this volume shows, the medieval world conceptualized time in a variety of ways and means, for differing purposes. Time and (the possibility or impossibility of) its beginning and its end were frontiers to be explored, to be understood as best a human being could.[9] The volume attests to the fact that the medieval experience of time and eternity was rich and complex, and their investigation was open to various approaches and methods. The religious nature of much of the Middle Ages did not quench human curiosity for self-knowledge; self-knowledge was inextricably bound to the individual's relationship to time—past, present, future, and the hereafter. To understand the human experience involved understanding the flow of time and the ways in which this flow affected people.

The following essays represent a snapshot of the variety of approaches with which the medieval mind pursued an understanding of temporality and eternity. They are selected papers from the main strand 'Time and Eternity' at the International Medieval Congress, 2000, held at the University of Leeds. To familiarize us with the field of study, the volume begins with Wesley Stevens's plenary address 'A Present Sense of Things Past: *Quid est enim tempus?*', a stimulating introduction not only with regard to some of the basic problems of conceptualizing the nature of time, but also to the dating of historical events and the use of calendars for that purpose. Following this essay, the volume is organized into seven broader sections—in consciousness that overlappings are manifold. The first section, 'Time, its Computation and the Use of Calendars', continues where Wesley Stevens leaves off, namely, with the various methods and practices with which time and calendars were computed. The papers address computational techniques, the Ages of the World, and the use of calendars and feasts as literary devices.

The following section deals with 'Jewish Concepts of Time and Redemption' focussing on individual approaches through a broad historical survey of thought. The

[9] For the medieval discussion of the eternity of the world and its general development see, particularly, Richard C. Dales, *Medieval Discussions of the Eternity of the World*, Studies in Intellectual History, 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1990); *The Eternity of the World in the Thought of Thomas Aquinas and his Contemporaries*, ed. by J. B. M. Wissink, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

chapter on 'Christian Philosophies of Eternity and Time' concentrates on the contributions of Thomas Aquinas, Hugh of St. Victor, and John Hus, and their differing perspectives. 'Interpreting Eternity in Aquinas' is a more technical paper exploring some tensions within a Thomist philosophy of time, and offers a possible reinterpretation that may solve what some consider to be inconsistencies within his thought. The essay on John Hus sees this reformer's understanding of time as part of his overall philosophical framework and his influence on Czech history.

The section on 'Monastic and Clerical Conceptions' includes papers on the use of time as a rhetorical and motivational device in the monastery of St Bernard of Clairvaux, on the continuum of time and eternity in the spiritual practice of the Cistercian nun Mechtild of Hackeborn, on northern English clerical life cycles, and on the difference between Tuscan mendicant and humanist concepts of temporality.

The contributions on 'Literary Representations' concentrate on Old English and Middle English case studies and analyse various texts with regard to the role of time and human beings in the process of life and history. They span five centuries taking the reader from the Anglo-Saxon Apollonius narrative to the fifteenth-century work of John Lydgate. An additional paper deals with time and eternity in the love story of Aeneas and Lavinia in the late twelfth-century Middle High German Aeneas-romance of Heinrich von Veldeke. Following this, the 'Time and Art' papers deal with topics ranging from a phenomenological approach to the study of time in art, to the context of a specific iconology of the *Maiestas Domini* and a particular theology of time in medieval Catalonia and, finally, to the existence of the purgatory in late medieval art. The brief section on 'The End of the World' contains two papers: one on apocalyptic expectations in Anglo-Saxon charters; the other on the relation of religious prediction and astrological theories in the later Middle Ages.

The contributions to this volume cover a variety of questions and offer new insights into the medieval perception and constructions of time. However, we also conclude that in this, as in many other scholarly works on time by representatives of different disciplines of the sciences and the humanities, that: 'even if the views advanced in this work do make some aspects of time less mysterious, its promiscuous character means that there are depths yet to be plumbed; in particular, the perhaps most puzzling aspect of time, the relation between time and consciousness, remains'.[10]

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[10] Newton-Smith, *The Structure of Time*, p. 242.

What is Time?

A Present Sense of Things Past: *Quid est enim tempus?*

WESLEY STEVENS

You will recognize the subtitle of this address as a quotation from the *Confessions* of St Augustine.[1] It is an intriguing puzzle for him and for us that one may feel and measure periods of time, perhaps even understand time, but also lack the concepts to explain it, the right words to clarify it. The better to understand time, Aurelius Augustinus explored mind and memory in his *Confessiones*: 'Et intravi ad ipsius animi mei sedem, quae illi est in memoria mea' ('And I entered into the inmost seat of my mind, which is in my memory'). The terms *animus*, *sedes*, *memeoria* were used to express the same thoughts also in his *De trinitate*, in his *De civitate Dei*, and in still other works so often that one could be sure that for him 'The seat of mind is in the memory'.[2] He explored psychological

[1] *Confessiones*, XI. 14. 17:

> Quid est enim tempus? Quis hoc ad verbum de illo proferendum vel cogitatione conprehenderit? Quid autem familiarius et notius in loquendo conmemoramus quam tempus: Et intellegimus utique, cum id loquimur, intellegimus etiam, cum alio loquente id audimus.

See *Saint Augustin: Confessions*, ed. by Pierre de Labriolle, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions Les Belles Lettres, 1950) with Latin text and French translation. The best English translation is *Augustine: Confessions and Enchiridion*, ed. and trans. by Albert C. Outler, Library of Christian Classics, 7 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955). French translations of this work quoted here are by de Labriolle; English translations are by Outler, or by the present author.

[2] Some of these references are in the *Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts,* 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), the online *Patrologia Latina Database* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1994), and *Corpus Augustinianum Gissense*, ed. by Cornelio Mayer (Würzburg, 1979–). For searches in those concordances, I am grateful to Theresa Vann, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John's Abbey and University (Collegeville, MN), Kevin Coyle, St Paul University

analogies by which the mind could apprehend the nature of God.[3] On the other hand, he might also compare *memoria* with *venter*, 'stomach', as a sort of depository of what is known by the mind:

> Num forte non pertinet ad animum? Quis hoc dixerit? Nimirum ergo memoria quasi venter est animi, [. . .] Ridiculum est haec illis similia putare, nec tamen sunt omni modo dissimilia.[4]
>
> (Is it possible that the memory does not belong to the mind? The memory doubtless is, so to say, the belly of the mind: [. . .] It is ridiculous to consider this an analogy; yet they are not untterly alike.)

If that notion in his prayerful *Confessions* seemed a little far-fetched, in *The City of God* Augustine could also clarify that:

> Non enim ea sicut illa quae foris sunt ullo sensu corporis tangimus, quorum sensibilium etiam imagines eis simillimas nec iam corporeas cogitatione versamus, memoria tenemus.[5]

(Ottawa), and Christof Müller (Würzburg), each of whom supplied more citations than I may include here.

[3] *De trinitate*, X. 19: 'Mentem quippe ipsam in memoria [. . .] reperiebamus'; and *De trinitate*, XIV. 8: 'Ideoque etiam illis tribus nominibus insinuandam mentis putavimus trinitatem: memoria, intellegentia, voluntate'. Étienne Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Augustine*, 3rd edn (Paris: Vrin, 1949), considered that for Augustine, *memoria* was an aspect of 'la vie de l'âme' (pp. 137–40). He also expressed the opinion in 1928 that Augustine's concept of *memoria* was much richer than that of modern psychologists (p. 135). This judgement would apply equally to the flood of books today which offer 'empirical research' to ascertain 'how such phenomena as suffering, violence, danger, boredom, exhilaration, concentration, shock, and novelty influence our perception of time', such as M. G. Flaherty, *A Watched Pot: How We Experience Time* (New York: New York University Press, [n.d.]).

[4] *Confessiones*, X. 14. 21. Augustine was quite straightforward in his comparisons, whereas modern translators like to soften the resonances. For example: 'Without doubt, memory is something like a stomach for the mind; [. . .] It is ridiculous to consider these things similar, yet they are not entirely dissimilar', trans. by Vernon J. Bourke in *Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, Vol. 21 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1953).

[5] *De civitate Dei*, XI. 26, ed. by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 40, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–29; repr. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 47 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955)). English translation by Marcus Dods, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. by Philip Schaff, Vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903). There are many other editions and translations of this work; for example, this sentence was expressed by Gerald G. Walsh and Grace Monahan: 'In the case of such sensible things, the best we can do is to form very close and immaterial images which help us to turn them over in our minds, to hold them

Thus, of all sensible objects, 'it is the images resembling them, but not themselves, which we perceive in the mind and hold in the memory'. This is the section in which he argues effectively that 'we both are and know that we are, and we love our existence and our knowledge of it'. When the academicians say, 'What if you should be deceived?', he answers, 'Well, if I am deceived, I exist', and 'I know that I am'.

The City of God is a large work in twenty-four books begun by St Augustine in AD 413 and continued for at least fourteen years. The first ten books were stimulated by questions about the eternal city, the great and ancient city of Rome that had fallen to the Visigoths in 410. This led to the widespread dismay about long-established institutions which could be supposed to support a civilized way of life by raising the discussion to a higher level, both politically and philosophically. Of course Augustine responded to the evident crisis, explaining that there is truly an eternal city, but it is not Rome. The last books were completed only in 427, shortly before the bishop died on 8 August 430, as his episcopal seat at Hippo Regis (now Bona, Tunisia) was besieged by invaders—the Vandals whose troops had crossed from Spain into North Africa at the Pillars of Hercules and raged along the northern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, defeating Roman armies whenever they met them.

Considering the current events in which Augustine lived and lost his life, [6] one might wonder what sense it made for the man to be thinking about 'time', or about 'memory', or about 'mind' and where to locate it. If the mind is seated in memory and functions in memory, does that not undermine the reliability of everything we remember within the unstable flux of time? If so, every one of those shifty and shadowy events of history seems to lose its reality. A Roman could well resort to the discouraging remark of street-corner cynics: *Tempus edax rerum*, 'Time the devourer of things'. While historians are immersed in mountains of documents written in almost indecipherable hands, and we find it difficult now to discover and explain what really happened at some past time, while we are immersed in mountains of documents written in almost indecipherable hands, could that be because what we like to call 'facts' are only distant dreams of no significance, or because our interpretations of the past are merely in terms of our own guesses. Do our delayed suppositions recur merely in the repetition of a meaningless cycle of shadowy remembrances?[7]

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in our memory', in *Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, vol. 14 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1952).

[6] An excellent, brief survey is by Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et augustinisme* (Paris: Seuil, 1955), of which a part was translated into English as *St Augustine and his Influence Through the Ages*, ed. by Patrick Hepburne-Scott and Edmund Hill (London: Longmans, 1956; New York: Harper, 1957). Marrou provided outlines of events before, during, and after Augustine's lifetime and a list of his works with dates of their composition. See further his *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Thèse de doctorat ès lettres, Paris, 1937; 4th edn, Paris: De Boccard, 1958), with his *Retractatio*.

[7] Both Charles N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (Oxford: Oxford

While the world swirled around him Augustine reflected upon memory, mind, and time. Throughout those long works, he was weighing the arguments of Neoplatonists and rejecting their notions of time 'as a flux of shadowy forms in which there can be no decisively novel events'.[8] Rather, human history is not a dreamlike appearance, it is not what we guessed at or made up from our private interests, and it is not a perpetual cycle of repetition. Time did not exist before the creation of the world. Though mind, memory, and time are not eternal, God is eternal. And God created the world, which we can know, so that nature and history are real. Thus, human history can be known by the mind in memory. If we read Book XI of the *Confessiones* again, it would almost seem that current events have receded from his thoughts, as the author concentrated on time as a function of the Creation, taking up and turning over and looking at almost everything which has ever been said and could ever be said about time, logically and epistemologically.[9]

The *tempus* of which Augustine spoke was the past, the present, and the future of existing things and living beings from beginning to end. As created things could be lifted and dropped, weighed and measured, split up or moulded together, so their existence in time could be measured, and events in time could be anticipated, experienced, and remembered. Ah! Here we have returned to the human mind grasping for and perhaps not yet quite understanding its own experience. How does the mind go about understanding the series of events in time? It digs into memory. Mind finds and comprehends the limited memory of personal experience; the longer memory of family through three generations; the richer, wider, and longer memory of society which sometimes has left records or at least monuments, however partial and decrepit. The mind works to make sense of things in the present, but it will

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University Press, 1944), and Gerhard Ladner, *The Idea of Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), gave very thorough surveys and critiques of Neoplatonic, Manichaean, and other systems of ideas encountered by thoughtful people during this period, and Augustine's attempts to gain acknowledgement of the logical reality of both past and current events and the epistemological failures of contrary notions.

[8] A useful discussion is by William A. Christian, 'The Creation of the World', in *A Companion to the Study of Saint Augustine*, ed. by Roy W. Battenhouse (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

[9] For analyses of *Confessiones*, IX, see Robert Jordan, 'Time and Contingency in St Augustine', *Review of Metaphysics*, 8 (1954–55), 394–417 (repr. in *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by R. A. Markus (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), pp. 255–79); and Hugh M. Lacey, 'Empiricism and Augustine's Problems about Time', *Review of Metaphysics*, 22 (1968), 219–45 (repr. in Markus, *Augustine*, pp. 280–308); Kurt Flasch, *Was is Zeit? Augustinus von Hippo: Das XI. Buch der Confessiones. Historisch-philosophische Studie*. Text–Übersetzung–Kommentar (Frankfurt, 1993); Christof Müller, *Geschichtsbewußtsein bei Augustinus. Ontologische, anthropologische und universalgeschichtlich/heilgeschichtliche Elemente einer augustinischen ‚Geschichtstheorie'*, Res et Signa. Gießener Augustinus-Studien, Cassiciacum, 39, 2 (Würzburg, 1993).

surely not function well if it only starts to think at this moment without the memory of a past and without the expectation of a future. For the mind is created and thinks in time.

Augustine affirmed that he could not define mind or time. But in order to understand either of them, he was led into memory by present experience. There are three times in our souls and our minds: 'The time present of things past is *memoria*; the time present of things present is *contuitus*; the time present of things future is *expectatio*'.[10] Thus, those three—memory, direct experience, expectation—are all present now in the mind. This present time has extension and can be measured, just as the sound of a singing voice can be measured by time,[11] and the motions of sun and moon can be measured by time, not vice versa.[12] Otherwise, we do not hear or see at all. 'For the mind expects, it attends, and it remembers. [. . .] Our attention has continuity.'[13]

It is in this sense of reflections stimulated by Augustine that I should like to tell you a story of how stories depend upon the structure of calendars and especially

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[10] *Confessiones*, XI. 20. 26: 'Sunt enim haec in anima tria quaedam et alibi ea non video, praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatio'.

[11] *Confessiones*, XI. 26. 33:

> Nonne tibi confitetur anima mea confessione veridica metiri me tempora? Itane, domine deus meus, metior [. . .] An tempore breviore metimur longius sicut spatio cubiti spatium transtri? Sic enim videmur spatio brevis syllabae metiri spatium longae syllabae atque id duplum dicere;

Confessiones, XI. 26. 34: 'Ecce puta vox corporis incipit sonare et sonat et adhuc sonat et ecce desinet, iamque silentium est, [. . .] Cum autem finita fuerit, iam non erit'; *Confessiones*, XI. 26. 35: 'sed aliquid in memoria mea metior quod infixum manet'.

[12] *Confessiones*, XI. 23. 29–30: 'Nemo ergo mihi dicat caelestium motus esse tempora'; *Confessiones*, XI. 24. 31: 'Non est ergo tempus corporis motus'.

[13] *Confessiones*, XI. 27. 36: 'In te, anime meus, tempora metior. [. . .] Affectionem, quam res praetereuntes in te faciunt et, cum illae praeterierint, manet [in memoria], ipsam metior praesentem, non ea quae praeterierunt, ut fieret; ipsam metior, cum tempora metior'; *Confessiones*, XI. 28. 37:

> Sed quomodo [. . .] nisi in animo, qui illud agit, tria sunt? Nam et expectat et adtendit et meminit, ut id quod expectat per id quod adtendit transeat in quod meminerit. [. . .] tamen est adhuc in animo memoria praeteritorum. [. . .] tamen perdurat attentio, per quam pergat abesse quod aderit.

See further the thorough and thoughtful study of Augustine's statements as continuity in historical consciousness by Richard Corradini, *Zeit und Text. Studien zum* tempus-*Begriff des Augustinus*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 33 (Wien: Oldenbourg, 1997): 'Ein Text ist immer eine Relationsbeschreibung' (p. 12); 'In Zentrum dieser Arbeit stehen also nicht der Zeit- und Geschichtsbegriff des Augustinus, sondern die diskursiven Formationen, die "Menge von Formulierungsakten"' (p. 14).

about some efforts to bring memories into a new structure: the western calendar. In order to do so, I shall have to probe your memory and perhaps add data that you should recall in making present sense of things past.

I

Those who created calendars long ago were measuring time intelligently. Can anyone make a calendar that will last as it should without measuring lunar and solar cycles? Can anyone make a calendar work now as it should without organized reflection on both past and future events? *Quid est enim tempus*? Philosophers and theologians like to talk about mind, and about time, but not about memory. Sociologists and psychologists like to talk about subjective experience of duration as compressed or protracted, as horrible or boring or exhilarating, but not as the occurrence of events or of periods. Augustine was more than their master in analysis of such feelings. *Quid est enim tempus*? It is historians who face this question directly and effectively when they explore personal, familial, and common memory and follow Augustine, usually without realizing it; it is palaeographers turning the leaves of old documents; it is archaeologists stirring around in piles of dead bones and living stones. But I must warn you that 'Disturbing the dead is a grave proposition, indeed'.[14]

Annals and chronicles of natural and historical events provide most historians with a structure within which we can work; we then proceed to fill in the blanks and call it history. Sometimes we change the structure, in order to bring a new perspective on the past. But medieval annals were very brief, and many appear at first to have been haphazard notations made directly onto the spaces in twelve-month calendars or onto long lists of years taken from data tables of the 19-year lunar cycles. The earliest medieval chronicles are usually paragraphs written more fully to describe a very few activities which had only been mentioned, and perhaps even overlooked, in the earlier annals. It would seem that those calendars must stand at the head of the series of sources that provide the structure for our history of the past.

It is not only medieval history that came into being that way. Cicero dedicated a *Liber annalis* to his friend and sponsor, Atticus, though that work has not survived. The Roman histories of Livius and Tacitus show very clearly that they drew information from earlier annals and chronicles before the authors searched archives, interviewed participants occasionally, and then created narratives; the chronicles they used were themselves built upon diverse annals. It is the diversity of those earliest annals which raises the question that I wish to place before you: within annals and chronicles, can we trust the dates? As usual, we must answer both yes and no.

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[14] Agatha Christie in her introduction to an adventure of Hercule Poirot in *Agatha Christie's Egypt*. The primary reference of this *double entendre* is to archaeological excavation.

We historians raise questions about all of our sources, as we attempt to verify the information received. But we usually do not investigate the calendrical assumptions of those annals or the structure of the Western calendar itself, in which dates are entered or upon which they depend. With the passage of time however, the structures of calendars themselves have changed. What structures support calendars? Each one required a *computus* behind it, in it, and around it. Without a *computus* explaining how it is organized and how it functions from day to day, from year to year, a calendar may not work at all; or, it may give dates we cannot comprehend.

When medieval annals, chronicles, charters or tax rolls are dated for example on the Ides of March in the year 45 BC, we should know immediately that something is wrong. The ides of a month was a Roman usage, whereas no reckoning of years BC (before Christ) is known until Denis Petau began to count back in those terms after 1611. Therefore, a document dated to the Ides of March 45 BC cannot be Roman, and a medieval copy of it cannot be trusted: it is certainly false. If however we find the year given as *anno ab urbe condita* DCCVIII, at least it is a Roman year such as used by Livius, Tacitus, or Beda venerabilis. But should we believe that 708 years after the founding of Rome corresponds with forty-five years before the Incarnation, in the terms of which all of us now work? Yet, a new variable is thereby introduced. The counting of years in terms of *aera Incarnationis* was itself a new structure with reference to the birth of Jesus Christ, invented only in the sixth century of our era by Dionysius Exiguus.

The earliest Christians celebrated the Day of Passion and then calculated the Day of Resurrection thereafter. Of course they used the local calendars in the areas of the Mediterranean world in which they lived, and it should not be surprising that they could not at first agree on the day of the Passion, whether it was on the vernal equinox, nor whether the Resurrection could be remembered and celebrated on or before or after the equinox. When Victurius, the *calculator scrupulosus* of Aquitaine, was asked to solve the difficulties of the Roman bishops in setting the date for Easter Sunday during the fifth century, he accepted the Day of Passion as a date agreed between Rome and Alexandria; and he then adjusted Alexandrian time series to Roman convenience in his year 455. He also identified his *annus Passionis* in terms of *anni Mundi* but without reference to the birth of Christ. It is uncertain whether the Victurian time series was ever used in Rome, though it was put into practice by some churches in Roman Gaul.[15]

It was not an Alexandrian or a Roman bishop who took the birth of Christ as a

[15] The several dating systems created by early Christians have been studied often. A convenient summary of them is by Wesley M. Stevens, 'Cycles of Time: Calendrical and Astronomical Reckonings in Early Science', in *Time and Process: the Study of Time* VII, ed. by J. T. Fraser and L. Rowell (Madison, CN: International Universities Press, 1993; repr. in *Cycles of Time and Scientific Learning in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), item I), pp. 27–51. See also Georges Declercq, *Anno Domini: The Origins of the Christian Era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

beginning point for a sequence of years. It was Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian scholar working in Rome on the acts of church councils. By the year we call 525, he could propose an adaptation of the Alexandrian dating system to local Roman conditions that commenced the year count with the birth of Christ, and thus was created the *aera Incarnationis*. This system was accepted and explained in Northumbria by the monk Bede who wrote the clearest explanations in 703 and 725 and who applied it in 731 to his history of the conversion of Angles and Saxons in England to Christianity. Very few people acknowledged the system of Dionysius until it was taken up by Bede. Rather, the whole world learned the *aera Incarnationis* from Bede, gradually and reluctantly giving up other time series in favour of his innovation. Now that Bede's great work *De temporum ratione* is available in English,[16] it will be more easily consulted.

It is a wonder that the time series of Victurius of Aquitaine was commissioned about 455 by Hilarus, an officer of the Roman *curia*, but was not accepted by the *curia* of Leo the Great (440–61) and probably not by Hilarus when he himself became bishop (461–68), or by any bishop of the Roman *civitas*, so far as we know Similarly, the time series of Dionysius Exiguus was created by a scholar in the Roman *curia* and recommended by the *primicarius notariorum* of that court but, so far as the evidence allows, it was not accepted there. The time series of Beda venerabilis however was created and published in 703 and again in 725 at the far end of the world; most bishops and abbots of Latin Europe had accepted it and used it long before it finally came into use in Rome during the tenth century *de facto*. Until it was revised slightly and issued by Pope Gregory XIII in 1583, the systems of Dionysius and of Bede had prevailed in Rome for several centuries but had no official status. As you know, it was still a long time afterwards before the Gregorian revision was adapted in diverse parts of Europe, a situation which creates endless problems for historians today who want to use documents which survive from the intervening periods. But it seems that dates create difficulties in every period as to what exactly they meant in their own times and with what days, months, and years they might correspond today.

Every set of annals, and each chronicle, depends upon a twelve-month calendar and a long year count. Unfortunately a twelve-month calendar might begin with September or with January or with March; and a long year count could be enumerated diversely, as Carolingian scholars discovered. We must know their systems, which time series they assume and which beginning of the year, in order to understand the dates in a calendar that was used for annals or for a chronicle. Without that, we cannot know where we are, or when they were.

[16] *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. with introduction, notes and commentary by Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999).

II

It is the nature of a calendar to require expertise for its effective use. The long development of the Western calendar demonstrates a scholarly tradition from the second to the sixteenth century in which lunar cycles and solar cycles were described and coordinated. Cycles of 8, 11, 16, or 19 years were conceived in order to provide the stability of a calendar based in natural phenomena of the Creation. For these purposes, there were also well-conceived cycles of 28, 56, 59, 76, 84, 95, one 112, and even 532 years.

In every case for such cycles to be used, tables must be created by which the data series could be kept in phase during the full course of the cycle. With the Western calendar users were satisfied only if farmers could keep up with the seasons, Jews could keep up with lunar months and seven weekdays, Romans could have their solar years with alternating thirty and thirty-one day months, Egyptians could have their leap years, and Christians scattered amongst all those peoples could celebrate the Passion of Christ and his Resurrection after the vernal equinox.

Scholars who conceived of a calendar cycle had to provide tables for days of the week and for days of the month each year in succession for fulfilment of those user needs. Therefore, they formulated tables with data for their time series and went further to write brief paragraphs of explanation; that is, *formulae* or *argumenta paschalis*, so that a reader could apply the columns of data to make the cycles work. The fifth-century Victurian 19-year table is accompanied by such explanations. The sixth-century Dionysian 19-year table has with it nine *argumenta* explaining how to apply each of the nine columns of data. The eighth-century table of Bede was adapted from the Dionysian one, but Bede's application was different; in order to use the Bedan tables of data, you must have his own explanations or else you will soon get into difficulties.

Those scholars must have spent much time with instruction for slow learners. But for the use of experts, they also had to address those occasional variants within every system, such as short months, embolismic years, and *saltus lunae* which were too technical and would only confuse most users of data tables. Thus, they provided codes and further explanations by which their data could be adjusted to variants in time series. In consequence, there were many teachers of *computus* in Carolingian schools, and a great literature was generated for *computistica*. It is an area of study that misleadingly seems close to common sense and thus easy to grasp, but which actually is highly complex and requires systematic training, experience, and understanding.

III

One of the most important teachers in the history of Europe is Ealhwine of York (*c*. 735–804), commonly called Alcuin by the Franks, or Horatius in table talk at Charlemagne's court, or Albinus as he himself sometimes preferred. He personally gave a great stimulus to the new curricula of Carolingian schools, including study of *computus*. *Computistica* includes everything having to do with reckoning, but especially calendar reckoning. Ealhwine understood the *computus* in the terms of Bede, and he brought many paschal tables and tracts with him to Charlemagne's seat at Heristal. From these computistical materials, he formed a *Libellus annalis* which was then used in the court schools of Heristal and Aachen, the monastic schools of Tours, St Denis, Köln, St Amand, Salzburg, Reichenau, St Gallen, Fulda, and those of many other monasteries and cathedrals which were able to respond to the royal *mandata*. Today, we speak of the *artes liberales*, of *trivium* and *quadrivium*. But it is actually quite difficult to describe the studies in monastic schools under those terms. It would be closer to the evidence to speak of *physica*, *logica*, and *ethica*, or of *grammatica*, *cantica*, and *computistica*, as many did at that time. Such terms are nearer to the language of the *Admonitio generalis* (786–800) and the *Epistola de litteris colendis* (794–800) issued by command of Charlemagne.[17] They did insist on the study of *computus*.

Ealhwine had the reputation of being an effective teacher. But evidence for his teaching in disciplines requiring reckoning has seemed to be rather scarce, though not superficial. In addition to his contributions to the two *mandata* issued by Charlemagne, we may cite:

1. *Propositiones ad accuendos iuvenes*;
2. *Calculatio Albini Magistri*;
3. Three works on *computus*:
    a. *Liber de bissexto*,
    b. *Liber de cursu lunae*,
    c. *Liber de saltu lunae*;
4. Five letters to Charlemagne about eclipses, comets, and calendars.

Arithmetic and algebraic problems in the *Propositiones* were intended for beginners, and the students were expected to advance step by step to the more difficult levels.[18]

[17] These patterns have been reviewed by Stevens most recently in 'Karolingische *renovatio* in Wissenschaften und Literatur', in *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, Ergänzungsband des Katalogs zur Austellung, *799: Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), pp. 662–80.

[18] Menso Folkerts, 'Die Alcuin zugeschriebenen *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes*', in

The computistical tracts appear to contain simple instruction on how to apply the Bedan teaching about the *bissextus* or leap year, the 19-year cycle, and the lunar day which must be skipped at the end of such a cycle: *saltus lunae*. Such evidence does not show that Ealwhine had anything new to contribute to any of these subjects, but it does show his intelligent ability to formulate questions clearly, and to answer them in a manner that would stimulate students and readers. For several years, Charlemagne himself was one of those students.

From surviving letters there is more to be learned, as has been explained recently by Arno Borst and Dietrich Lorhmann.[19] Having introduced the study of *computus* or time-reckoning into Charles's directions for schools, Ealwhine had also promised to provide a compendium of tracts, tables, and *formulae* for support of its study. He then moved to Tours and presumably into retirement without having done so. Nevertheless, Charles put pressure on him to produce *Libellus annalis* for this purpose. Later in Aachen, about 830, Walahfrid Strabo found and used such a book which he named *Liber de Albino Magistro*. That book has not yet been identified with certainty, but there are several good candidates: a Phillipps manuscript in Berlin[20] and two manuscripts of the Palatinus latinus collection in the Vatican library.[21] Among the numerous computistical tracts in these compendia, each contains the *Calculatio Albini Magistri* that gives computistical instruction in the manner of Bede. That is a text written by Ealwhine but one ignored by virtually all historians. Further computistical tracts and *formulae* in folios 49–59^{v} of the

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Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times, ed. by P. L. Butzer and D. Lohrmann (Basel: Birkhauser, 1993), pp. 273–81; 'Die Alcuin zugeschriebenen *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* (Aufgaben zur Schärfung des Geistes der Jugend): lateinischer Text und deutsche Übersetzung', ed. by Helmut Gericke and M. Folkerts, in Butzer and Lohrmann, *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization*, pp. 283–362.

[19] A. Borst, 'Alcuin und die Enzyklopädie von 809', in Butzer and Lohrmann, *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization*, pp. 53–78; and D. Lohrmann, 'Alcuins Korrespondenz mit Karl dem Großen über Kalender und Astronomie', in Butzer and Lohrmann, *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization*, pp. 79–114.

[20] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischen Kulturbesitz, MS Phillipps 1831 [Cat. 128] (Verona, *c*. 800) fols 122–25^{v}, part of a *Liber annalis* (fols 116–25^{v}).

[21] Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Palatinus latinus MS 1448 (Trier, Mainz s.IX in), fols 62–82; and BAV, Pal. lat. MS 1447 (St Alban Mainz s.IX^{1}), fols 8–19, 22–30. The codex BAV, Pal. lat. MS 1448 contains a large collection of 26 computistical tracts which were used quite early in the ninth century at Trier and at Lorsch; one part with 51 folios is named *Libellus Annalis* and is introduced by verses written by Ealwhine. The second codex now in the same library but copied for use at Mainz; BAV, Pal. lat. MS 1447 (s.IX^{1}), is another collection of 21 computistical tracts in four parts, also headed *Libellus Annalis*. The *Calculatio Albini Magistri* is in both these manuscripts, and from them we may be able to describe more accurately Ealwhine's interests and his teaching of *computus*.

Phillipps manuscript give dates for 758, 764, 777, and 793. In order to illustrate the application of *formulae* to tables of data, they use repeatedly the *annus praesens* 793, the last year of Ealwhine's activity in York and the year of his settlement in the court of Charles in Heristal, well before Aachen had been developed as a royal seat. Some of the same materials and dates are also found in the Vatican manuscripts, and they could show some of Ealwhine's teaching and applications in Heristal, Aachen, and Tours; in these manuscripts the users have often introduced later dates into the *formulae*. Similar compendia were copied and expanded for teaching *computus* in Corbie and later in Corvey, St Riquier, Würzburg, Mainz, and many other schools in the ninth century. These books display the normal pattern of development in an important scholarly discipline.

For example, in the Phillipps manuscript is a brief tract *De bissexto libellus* which was probably of Irish origin, but it had been used in the school of Bede and was known also at York; Ealwhine then brought it to the continent and used it in correspondence with Charles. His own adaptation of it is called *Liber de bissexto* in the Vatican manuscripts. On the other hand, the tract *De saltu lunae* may have been brought with him from York, but it does not correspond either with the work of Bede or with Ealwhine's discussion of the *saltus* with Charles. Its presence in these collections has a different purpose, and it may help us to understand the situation Ealwhine faced in Francia. Some advisers to Charlemagne wanted to observe the *saltus lunae* in March rather than in November as Bede advised and Ealwhine insisted; and this probably means that they began each year in March, but well after the lunar day had been skipped. Ealwhine argued that placing the *saltus* in March for a 19-year table would shift Easter Sunday to a new date, and not merely by a single day. Because of the consequent change in coordination of lunar and solar cycles, all dates of Easter would be changed in the following years, as well as the coordination of weekdays with numbered days of the months throughout every year thereafter. The number of each year would be changed in the calendar sequence. Any one of those factors would cause difficulty in a calendar, but together there would be total confusion, not to be wished upon any court or people.

But his warning was not heeded and the Bedan *computus* was opposed. The opposition was strong and influential. Amongst Charlemagne's advisers, there were quite serious controversies about time series, about *formulae* for application of dating systems, and thus about our sources for narrative history in calendars, annals, and chronicles.[22] The codex Vatican, Palatinus latinus, MS 1448 contains a large collection of twenty-six computistical tracts which were used quite early at Trier and at Lorsch; one part with fifty-one folios is named *Libellus annalis* and is introduced by the verses written by Ealwhine: 'Me legat, annales vult qui cognoscere ciclos,

[22] Many of those controversies have been explained recently by Arno Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften, 46 (Hannover: Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1998), as well as by Charles W. Jones, by Stevens, 'Cycles of Time', and Declercq, *Anno Domini*.

Tempora qui varia, qui simul astra poli' ('Let him read me who wishes to know the annual cycles of years, the changing seasons, together with the pole stars'). The second codex is another collection of twenty-one computistical tracts in four parts which is also headed, *Libellus annalis*; it was copied for use at Mainz, though it was also brought eventually to the Vatican Library, Palatinus latinus MS 1447. In both of these manuscripts is the *Calculatio Albini Magistri*, and from those two collections we may be able to describe more accurately Ealwhine's interests and his teaching of *computus*.

The *Lectiones sive Regulae Computandi*[23] will illustrate the purpose and organization of various sets of these calendar *formulae*. The *Lectiones* were probably conceived in 760 but revised in 800, and applied again in 801 by an anonymous polemicist. They have four distinct parts: Part A is a *tabula paschalis* that provides twelve data sets with twenty-eight lines each for the *concurrentes*, which coordinate with regulars and epacts. These are some of the technical terms used for this table:[24]

Regulares secundum feriam,
Regulares ad solares,
Regulares ad feriam dividendam,
Regulares ad pascha conputanda,
Regulares ad lunam,
Epactas lunae.

Part B is especially interesting because the author was using the Dionysian table, but he has also compared it with the Victurian data and with data from the Greeks at Alexandria whom he called 'Egyptians'. Although he accepted Bede's *aera Incarnationis*, in Part C he rejected Bede's *annus Mundi* 3952 which that venerable monk had used as equivalent to the year of Christ's birth. Rather, this writer affirmed that the *annus Mundi* 5199 as used by Eusebius, Jerome, and Orosius was the proper historical reference to the beginning of the *aera Incarnationis*. Part D of the *Lectiones* is headed *Calculatio* and provided not the nine *formulae* for a Dionysian

[23] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Weißenburg 91 (s.IX in), fols 96^{v}–97; Köln, Dombiblothek, LXXXIII^{2} (Köln *c.* 805), fols 59–61^{v}; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), MS Lat. 2796 (813), fols 45^{v}–49; Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 417 (s.IX^{1}), fols 21^{v}–22; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. CLXVII Perg. (s.IX^{1}), fols 6–12; Geneva, Bibliothèque universitaire, MS Lat. 50 (s.IX second quarter), fols 168–70; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat. 2341 (*c*. 843), fol. 1^{v}: selections; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 63 (862–92), fols 24–26; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm 10270 (s.XI), fol. 11; London, British Library, MS Harley 3017 (s.IX^{2}), fols 143–49; El Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, MS l.III.8 (s.IX ex), fols 165^{v}–66^{v}.

A detailed study of the *Lectiones* has been prepared by Richard Corradini (Wien) and is forthcoming.

[24] These terms are explained by Jones, Stevens, Borst, Wallis, Declercq, and Corradini.

table but ten paragraphs explaining how to use a Bedan table. This is a significant difference which has rarely been taken into account. Those modern masters who read medieval chronicles should hope that they were written by early masters who accepted and used the *formulae* of Bede, or at least those *formulae* in the *Lectiones sive Regulae Computandi* in its version of 801.

As I mentioned, a twelve-month calendar may have a beginning of the year in September, January, or March. September was favoured by 'Egyptians', that is to say, Greek-speaking Christians in Alexandria whose practices also included the use of imperial indictions and imperial years, followed by Dionysius and cited at the Frankish court; January was favoured by the 'Romans', those Christians within the Roman *civitas*, whose practices also included other aspects of the Julian calendar; March was favoured by some Frankish scholars in Metz, Aachen, Corbie and other influential centres. Egyptian, Roman, and Frankish years as well as Victurian, Dionysian, and Bedan time series can be found in documents of the *Lectiones* which reflect controversies amongst scholars in the Carolingian schools. In particular they reveal questions about reckoning the times that Ealwhine and Charles first agreed upon during the years 794 and 796, but about which they later disagreed during the years 797–800. After Ealwhine went from Heristal to Tours, Charles was listening more to other advisers who favoured 'Egyptian' and Greek time series and rejected those from that outlandish region we call Northumbria. Nine manuscripts of the *Lectiones* have been identified, of which one of the earliest was transcribed about 805 in the cathedral scriptorium of Hildebald, Chancellor for Charlemagne and Archbishop of Köln, along with twenty-five earlier computistical tracts and thirty-five *formulae*;[25] another copy is from Mittelzell on the Reichenau in the early ninth century, also with much earlier literature and forty *formulae*.[26] We should not be far wrong to estimate that well over fifty copies of each were circulating among Carolingian schools. Those questions were not settled easily, if ever.

IV

After Ealwhine's death in 804, it seemed unlikely that the Bedan calendar would be accepted in the Carolingian empire or, if it were, that it would be used as intended. Further evidence of such activity is found in the great compendia that bear the dates of 807, 808, 809, and 810. These are materials from Aachen and from St Amand, as

[25] Köln, Dombibliothek, MS LXXXIII² (Köln, *c*. 805), fols 59–61^{v}, with additional computistical *argumenta* on fols 62–69; see Borst, 'Alcuin und die Enzyklopädie', pp. 186 *passim*.

[26] Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. CLXVII Perg. (Reichenau, 834–48), fols 6–9. In recent years, this manuscript has been dated variously s.IX^{1}, s.IX med, and 848 with reference to specific texts. For example, F. F. Heinzer 'Zur Datierung des Karlsruher Beda (Aug. CLXVII)', *Scriptorium*, 37 (1983), 239–41 and plate 23.

well as from Corbie, Metz, Salzburg, and St Denis.

You may recall Adalhard (752–826), the nephew and counsellor of Charlemagne, who was banned to Noirmoutier by Ludwig der Fromme but was later released and served as Abbot of Corbie during the last two decades of his life. Adalhard was responsible for an assembly of instructors in *computus*; it was a workshop for those trained or who needed training in this discipline. Partial results survive in five manuscripts as questions and answers, and some of the answers are stated as unsatisfactory by the scribe.[27] They give examples for applying data from paschal tables in years 808, 809, and 810, and there are very many computistical *argumenta* that used those years for their examples of reckoning. Both in preparation for and in consequence of those public discussions, several large compendia were produced which I call *Compilatio computistica et astronomica AD DCCCVIIII*.

The first of these compendia with 162 folios in three books must have had its origin in Aachen and now survives in two manuscripts: one from the region of northwest Austria, perhaps having been transcribed at Salzburg; and a copy of it made in the scriptorium of St Emmeram at Regensburg.[28] This *Compilatio* includes a series of coordinated datings: the forty-second year of Charles's reign and his ninth year as emperor, the second imperial indiction, and *annus Mundi* 4761, all of which fit *annus Domini* 808, or 809 if you accept the Bedan *annus Mundi* 3952 as equivalent with the first year of the *aera Incarnationis*. Nevertheless, some dates in that compendium had already been changed to *annus Mundi* 4762 or *annus Domini* 810 before it came to Salzburg (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 387, fols 4–165). Further changes were made to *annus Domini* 818 and the eleventh indiction by the time a copy was made for the library of St Emmeram in Regensburg (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS CLM 210). Ninety-nine chapters of Book One include excerpts from forty-seven of the first sixty-five chapters of *Bedae De temporum ratione*, the ones which give working explanations for basic problems in understanding and applying the data series from Bedan Easter tables, including his more sophisticated chapters.[29] The copy now at Wien also shows dates that were

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[27] Paris, BNF, MS N.a.lat. 1613 (s.IX¹), fols 20–20ᵛ; Paris, BNF, MS N.a.lat. 1615 (*c.* 830), fols 143ᵛ–44ᵛ; Paris, BNF, MS Lat.2796, Part II (s.IX²), fols 98–99; Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS Bodley 309 (s.XI²), fols 141–41ᵛ; Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9590 (s.XI ex), fols 55ᵛ–56ᵛ; ed. by E. Dummler, Monumenta Germania Historica, Epistolae, 4 (1895), pp. 24–26; English translation by C. W. Jones, 'An Early Medieval Licensing Examination', *History of Education Quarterly*, 3 (1963), 24–26; but its dialogue form does not indicate an examination.

[28] Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), MS Lat. 387 (810–16), fols 4–163ᵛ, written in northwestern Austria and perhaps at Salzburg; München, Bay. Staatsbib., MS clm 210 (812–18), fols 4–165. The latter was probably copied directly from Wien, ÖNB, MS Lat. 387, rather than from a common exemplar.

[29] Wien, ÖNB, MS Lat. 387, especially fol. 16: Bedae, *De temporum ratione*, XIX; fols 59ᵛ–61: XX; fols 68ᵛ–71ᵛ: XXIV, XXIII, XVII, XVIII; fols 73ᵛ–74ᵛ: XXXVIII,

erased and altered for *annus Mundi* 4783, and *annus Domini* 830 when it was being studied. Book Two contains well-illustrated astronomy, including materials from the *Historia naturalis* of Plinius Secundus.[30] Book Three is Bede's early work *De natura rerum*, to which are added two more tables and further *argumenta paschalis*. And there are numerous selections from other computistical tracts, tables, and *formulae* of diverse origins and divergent contents. This was a source for studies in the schools.

An even larger *Compilatio* in seven books was made between 812 and 820; it has some of the same material but is reorganized according to subject matter. About half of the *argumenta paschalis* were omitted and the number of selections from Bede increased. A new Book Six contains excerpts from Macrobius and paraphrases from Martianus Capella, perhaps the earliest use of those two authors yet identified in Carolingian schools. The astronomical diagrams have been improved. For example, Book Five, section 10 provides a list of eclipses reported for years 760, 764, 787, 807, two for 810, one for 811, and another for 812, all of which could have been seen in the region of Aachen, St Amand, and Stavelot. That great compendium is known now in six manuscripts,[31] of which the earliest may be dated 820. Many additional manuscripts contain large excerpts of both compendia.

Ealwhine's work in this field gave an emphasis to *computistica* and thus supported the study of *astronomia* in Carolingian schools which continued during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. The fruits of originality are evident especially in their illustrations of planetary orbits eccentric to the Earth.[32] Emphasis

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XXXIX, XLI incomplete; fols 77–78^{v}: XLII; fols 79^{v}–82: XLIII; fols 85–91: V–XIV incomplete; fols 92–94: XVI, XXV, XXVII incomplete; fols 95–112: XXVIII–XXX, XLIII–XLVIII, L, LIII, LV–LVI, LXI–LXVI.

[30] Arno Borst, *Das Buch der Naturgeschichte. Plinius und seine Leser im Zeitalter des Pergaments*, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie de Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 1994/2 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1994); rev. edn 1995, ch. V/1: 'Arithmetische Zuspitzung: Salzburger Kompilation', esp. pp. 166–76.

[31] Monza, Biblioteca Communale, MS F.9/176 (Laubach A.D. 869), fols 7–92$_{v}$; Paris, BNF, MS Lat.12117 (1031–60), fols 168–83; Paris, BNF, MS N.a.lat. 456 (s.IX/X), fols 10–137, 173–89; Vatican, BAV, MS Lat.645 (St Quentin s.IX^{2}), fols 12–92^{v}; Vatican, BAV, MS Regin. lat. 309 (St Denis s.IX^{2}), fols 4^{v}–120. Although Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 3307 [L.95] (820–40), fols 5–76^{v} has often been cited from secondary sources, I have not been able to confirm its contents, date, or provenance (Metz?), either *in situ* or on microfilm.

[32] The essays by Bruce S. Eastwood are important in recovery of astronomical studies during this period; for example: 'Cosmology, astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry', in *Cambridge History of Science*, eds. David Lindberg and Michael Shank, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), II: *The Middle Ages*, ch.14; and Bruce S. Eastwood, 'Planetary Diagrams—Descriptions, Models, Theories: from Carolingian Deployments to Copernican Debates', Max-Plank-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Preprint 132 (2000), 47pp.; both papers are well illustrated.

Progress in this current research has been summarized and interpreted by Wesley Stevens,

on computus and *astronomia* later continued to control curricula for bachelors at the universities of Paris and Oxford during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, as attested by manuscript collections of schoolbooks from those universities.[33] If you ask why the *computus* of Bede came eventually to dominate calenders for several centuries when it seems to have been unknown to the *curia* of Rome and was vigorously opposed by the court of Charlemagne, I believe that the only answer must be found in the curiosity and sheer intelligence of Beda venerabilis, of Ealwhine of York and Tours, and their many students whose careers took them throughout *Europa*.

V

This review of *computus* in the eighth and ninth centuries has opened questions of its development, its content, and its use. Serious disagreements by Carolingian experts were cited. Large compendia contain lunar and solar cycles based upon scientific knowledge. The tables of data are accurate but difficult: they are not reader friendly. Thus, calendar cycles could be used by a sound master and by clever students only if the tables had been learned and the *formulae* clearly understood, and if they were followed with care. Otherwise, the cycles go wrong; the calendar does not work; dates will be mistaken; and history would be in a muddle.

Manuscripts are rich with evidence that the explanations were studied and were often applied to the current year. Ealwhine explained very well that no data could be understood outside of their own sequences, tables, and *formulae* for application, exactly as it is today. Did Charlemagne hear him? A final example will make clear why this question is 'a grave proposition, indeed', and may well disturb the dead.

Historians often describe the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome 800 as *imperator et augustus*, citing the words of Eginhard (also called Einhart) who should have been well informed: 'It was at this time that he accepted the title of emperor and *augustus*'.[34] Unfortunately, Eginhard probably wrote his statement between

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'Astronomy in Carolingian schools', in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*; *Vol. I*: *Wissen und Weltbild*, eds. P. L. Butzer and others (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 417–87; Wesley Stevens, 'Alternatives to Ptolemy: Astronomy in Carolingian Schools', in *Dimensions of Time*, ed. by M. Muldoon (Windsor, Ont.: Humanities Research Group, 1999), pp. 1–22; and Stevens, 'Karolingische *renovatio* in Wissenschaften und Literature'. All three essays are illustrated.

[33] Olaf Pedersen, 'The *Corpus Astronomicum* and the traditions of mediaeval Latin astronomy', in *Colloquia Copernicana III: Astronomy of Copernicus and its Background* (Wrocław: Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich, 1975), pp. 57–96.

[34] *Eginhard: Vie de Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. by Louis Halphen, 3rd edn rev. and corrected, in *Les classiques de France au moyen âge* (Paris: Éditions Les Belles Lettres, 1947), ch. 28, p. 80. See the works by Heinrich Fichtenau, 'Karl der Große und das Kaisertum', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 61 (1953), 257–334; François L. Ganshof, *The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne* (Glasgow: Jackson, 1949);

815 and 830, a long time after the event; he was vague about the year, and he referred to festal days 'at this time' which could have been Advent, Christmas, or Epiphany. Our usual dating is implied from other sources, reinforced by the *Liber pontificalis* which has a chorus singing the same praises to *imperator et augustus* on Christmas Day, though no year was indicated: 'To Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and peace-giving Emperor, life and victory'.[35] But its evidentiary value is not much better than Eginhard's, as Leo lived until 816. Nearer to the probable day of coronation is a charter issued by Charlemagne in Rome on 4 March 801, in which he used the title *rex*, not *imperator*: 'Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum'.[36] In fact, the adjective *augustus* and the title *imperator* are attested for the first time only about twelve weeks later in a diploma issued on the bank of River Reno near Bologna, 29 May 801: 'Karolus serenissimus augustus a deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam dei rex Francorum atque Langobardorum'.[37] And the *nomen imperatoris* was used by two sets of annals for *anno DCCCI*, written perhaps during 801–03. The annals in question are two: a manuscript of Wien contains the earliest known annals for the years DCCXCV to DCCCIII, and the coronation of Charlemagne was also entered on the calendar line for *anno DCCCI* (801). Though they and are more likely from Gorze or Metz[38] and reveal no reference to Lorsch, they became known as the *Annales Laureshamensis*.[39]

Peter Munz, *The Origin of the Carolingian Empire* (Leicester: Dunedin, 1960); Robert Folz, *Le couronnement imperial de Charlemagne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964); and many similar essays.

[35] *Liber pontificalis*; III, ed. by L. Duchesne (Paris: E. Thorin, 1892), II, 7. No year is given for 'the day of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ' on which the event occurred. Without supporting evidence, it cannot be assumed that this entry was written until after the death of Leo, Bishop of Rome (795–816).

[36] No. 196, ed. by Engelbert Mühlbacher and others, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata Karolinorum (Hannover: Hahn, 1906), pp. 263–64. It is dated 'IIII Nones Marcias XXXIII et XXVIII': that is, his 33rd year in Francia and 28th in Italia; for a date prior to the equinox, that would probably correspond with our 801, no matter when the year began. A later ninth century copy in the Capitelarchiv at Arezzo has the alternate reading: 'rex Francorum et Romanorum et Langobardorum', as do several printed editions.

[37] No. 197: Mühlbacher and others, MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, pp. 265–66. It is dated 'IIII Kal. Iunias anno primo nostri et XXXIII regni nostri in Francia et XXVIII in Italia', that is anno DCCCI (801).

[38] Bernhard Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften* (München: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1974), p. 53.

[39] *Annales Laureshamenses*: Wien, ÖNB, MS Lat. 515, fols 1–5; Annales *Laureshamenses*, ed. by G. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1836), pp. 19–39, esp. p. 38. See also E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latinorum Antiquiorum*, 10 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 1482: two scripts 'written presumably in the Alemannic area [. . .] certainly not written at Lorsch'. Other than the assistance he gave

Another manuscript preserved at Sankt Paul-im-Lavanthal (Kärnten, Austria): manuscript codex 25 a. 8 copied those annals and has more annals for earlier and later years, some of which mention persons or events that may be explained by reference to Lorsch;[40] but none were transcribed before 835. Similar information about Charlemagne is found in a work called *Annales Laurissenses minores*, of which the manuscript Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 430* is the earliest;[41] unfortunately it includes only the years *DCCCVI* to *DCCCXIII* (806–14), stemming perhaps from St Vaast.[42] Again, that is a later transcription and expansion which said that his coronation occurred *anno DCCCI* (801). Due to this later copy, it is supposed that some of those annals could have been written in Aachen, so that they have been hopefully designated *Annales regni Francorum*.[43] Other early and valuable annals place the same event firmly and simply in the years 802, 803, 804, and perhaps also year 805.

How may these contradictory data for the coronation of Charlemagne be explained? It was a public event with many witnesses. No other sources can eliminate any of those dates as inaccurate.[44] Shall we pick one set of annals and be

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Lowe, so far as I know, Bernhard Bischoff did not evaluate fols 1–5 of this manuscript.

Das Wiener Fragment der Lorscher Annalen, [. . .] Codex Vindobonensis 515 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Facsimileausgabe, intro. and trans. by Franz Unterkircher (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1967); Unterkircher is certainly correct to distinguish four hands, none of which were from Lorsch. Hands B, C, and D reveal usages from the same scriptorium, and Hand C wrote the annals for years DCCXCVIIII, DCCC, DCCCI which are also indicated in the margins as years XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIIII of Charlemagne's reign as *rex Francorum*. They do not give years of his reign as *rex Langobardorum* or of his reign as *imperator*. Unterkircher would change the year from DCCCI to DCCC, simply by asserting: 'am Weihnachtstag des Jahres 800 (nach damaliger Jahreszählung 801, da das Jahr mit dem Weihnachtstag begann)' (p. 20), but without evidence to support that adjustment.

Richard Corradini, *Die Wiener Handschrift CVP 430*. Ein Betrag zur Historiographie in Fulda im frühen 9. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M.: Knecht, 2000) agrees with some of these details but also refers to *Chronicon Lauriss. breve* which dates the coronation to 800 and cites chapter XXXII, not XXXIII.

[40] See also *Annalium Laureshamensium editio* emendata secundum codicum St Paulensem XXV c/32 de, ed. by Emmanuel Katz (Separatabdruck vom Jahresbericht des Öffentlichen Stifts-Untergymnasiums der Benediktiner zu St. Paul (Kärnten), 4 (1889)). My thanks to Dr R. Corradini for this citation.

[41] Corradini, *Die Wiener Handschrift CVP 430**.

[42] Unterkirchner, *Das Wiener Fragment der Lorscher Annalen*.

[43] *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. with German trans. by R. Rau, in *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, 1 (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, [n.d.]), p. 74.

[44] Surviving primary sources are assembled with English translation by Richard Sullivan as introduction to the useful pamphlet *The Coronation of Charlemagne—What Did It Signify?*,

silent about the other dates? Shall we just continue with our favourite year, the one with more zeros than the others?

In my opinion such primary sources or any other annals may be used intelligently to find a date in historical context only if we understand the particular *computus* used by the scriptorium when annals were written onto the calendar, or when they were excerpted and gathered into the *Annales Laureshamenses*, and if we know and compare the particular *computus* used by the writer when entries were made onto a calendar or gathered into the document. Did those collectors put together the annals at Aachen, or Trier which are now called *Annales regni Francorum*, or at Lorsch, on the Reichenau, or at some other place? Similarly, we must know the *saltus lunae* and beginning of the year in the Carolingian courts of Heristal when Ealwhine was there and then at the court of Aachen in the years after Ealwhine's influence waned, as well as the *computus* used in the Roman *curia* which seemed to transform the terms *augustus et imperator* from a business transaction during 798/99, into the year 801/02, and later into two biographies during the years 816 *et sequentia*, thereby transferring the terms from the assumptions of one calendar into those of another, several times. In that quarter century, each *computus* may differ from another, surely increasing the difficulties faced by historians, today. But as Iris Murdoch said: *Sic biscuitus disintegrat*' ('That's how the cookie crumbles'). St Augustine asked, *Quid est enim tempus*—'If no one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to whoever asks me, I do not know'. Nevertheless, we should take care in the presence of someone who was once successfully employed as an imperial rhetorician. The *Confessiones* show that Augustine's logic did allow him to know past, present, and future with a clear mind: *memoria*, *contuitus*, *expectatio*. It is not all that certain that we historians have yet cleared our own minds about what should now be 'the time present of things past': *memoria*. Nonetheless, 'the time present of things present'—*contuitus*—tells me that *tempus fugit*, while *expectatio*—'the time present of things future'—tells all of us that we should go on now to better and more stable events than our past can offer.

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Problems in European Civilization (Boston: Heath, 1959), pp. 2–3; and Robert Folz, *Le couronnement imperial de Charlemagne*, pp. 273–74. Recent scholarship has improved some details of their explanations, especially the dates. For early annals in general, see M. McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge,* Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975); for more detailed study of the calendars which received the entries which we call annals, see Borst, *Die Kalenderreform*, pp. 48–51 *passim*.

Time, Its Computation and the Use of Calendars

The Emergence of *Anno Domini*

DANIEL P. MC CARTHY

Introduction

For all those millions of persons who employ the Gregorian calendar to register their progress through time, the singular event which occurred at midnight on 31 December 1999 was that every digit of their year changed: 1999 suddenly became 2000. Since the previous similar such event took place one thousand years earlier, and the next such must await another thousand years, there was a widespread consensus that we had passed through a significant moment in time, which event was accordingly celebrated with fanfares, fireworks and festivities. All of this excitement naturally focused a great deal of attention upon the way in which the year is identified in the Gregorian calendar, the *Anno Domini*, and both the popular and scholarly press offered their readers accounts of the origin of this system.[1] These,

[1] Scholarly examples: B. Blackburn and L. Holford-Strevins, *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 669–81 and 682–92 for the history of the Julian and Gregorian calendars respectively, and pp. 772–82 for Christian chronology; *A Handbook of Dates*, ed. by C. R. Cheney, rev. by Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1–17; Georges Declercq, *Anno Domini: The Origins of the Christian Era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), *passim*, a lucid examination of both the evidence and modern interpretations of it; Duncan Steel, *2000 Marking Time* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 2000); E. G. Richards, *Mapping Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 350–01; Gustav Teres, *The Bible and Astronomy* (Budapest: Springer, 2000), pp. 31–45, 214–21; William Somerville, 'When the calendar started', *Astronomy and Geophysics*, 41 (2000), 4.9; George Wilkins, 'The astronomical millennium', *Astronomy and Geophysics*, 40 (1999), 4.8. See also the lively and informed discussion conducted in the 'Views' page of *Astronomy and Geophysics* in 1999–2000; I am grateful to Dr Ian Elliott of Dunsink Observatory, Co. Dublin for bringing this and the work of Gustav Teres to my attention.

typically, narrated the founding of the Julian calendar by Julius Caesar in 45 BC, which calendar was subsequently slightly amended in 1582 by Pope Gregory, whose name is thereby used to differentiate our present calendar from its Julian predecessor. Regarding the actual origin of the *Anno Domini*, these accounts all concurred with the explanation cited below from the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*; viz., that it had been devised by Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk who lived in Rome, *c.* 500–50:

> ANNO DOMINI (Lat.), 'in the year of the Lord'. The current system of dating by 'A.D.', based on the supposed year of the birth of Christ, was devised by Dionysius Exiguus (d.c. 550).[2]

Only the more serious of these accounts undertook to examine either just how Dionysius had specified this device attributed to him, or indeed what was the extent of his contribution to it, which, however, to me, having an interest in the development of chronological systems, seemed the most interesting aspect of the matter. Indeed, this time of heightened interest in the fact of *Anno Domini* appeared to be the appropriate moment to undertake a critical examination of just how the principle of counting the years from the event of the birth of Christ had emerged. This paper summarizes my findings.

A reading of Charles Jones's *Bedae opera de temporibus*, the most substantial and scholarly modern examination of the source material bearing on the development of early Christian and medieval systems for measuring time, clearly shows he too held the view that in 525 Dionysius, had, in the course of extending a paschal table which he attributed to Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria who died in 444, introduced the principle of counting the years 'ab Incarnatione Domini'. Jones also considered that Dionysius was the first to make this attribution, and he asserted that 'the table was Alexandrian and was created under either Cyril or his immediate successor'; hence I will follow Jones and refer to this table as the 'Cyrillan table'.[3] In the year 525 the Cyrillan paschal table, which ran for ninety-five years based upon a lunisolar cycle of nineteen years, was shortly due to expire, and so Dionysius

[2] *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 60 under 'Anno Domini', and p. 407 under 'Dionysius Exiguus' for the little known of his life.

[3] Charles W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1943), pp. 68–73 deal with Dionysius's paschal table. Regarding the origin of the system, Jones wrote at p. 69: '"I [Dionysius . . .] chose to denote the times from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ". [. . .] From this simple act has developed our Christian Era'. Regarding the attribution to Cyril, Jones wrote (p. 72), 'That Dionysius may have been the first to attribute the table to Cyril, I have shown already [pp. 38–48]'; on p. 38 he introduced the term 'Cyrillan table', clearly identifying it with Dionysius's source, '*The Cyrillan table.* A 95-year Easter-table, A.D. 437-531, was known and used in the Latin world', and he used this term consistently thereafter.

extended it with a table which covered the next ninety-five years, in which he scrupulously maintained Cyrillan principles, with the solitary exception that he replaced the system of counting the Julian years from the reign of the Emperor Diocletian with the system of counting the years 'ab Incarnatione Domini'. To this table Dionysius prefixed a prologue addressed to a Bishop Petronius, otherwise unknown, and appended a series of *argumenta* or demonstration computations. It was this table which was destined to dominate the paschal tradition of the entire Western church, greatly assisted by the work of Bede, who, in 725, documented it extensively in his *De temporum ratione* to which he also suffixed Dionysius's paschal table, now extended to cover 532 years.[4] It was this domination, in turn, which disseminated the knowledge and use of reckoning years 'ab Incarnatione Domini' across Europe. Dionysius's paschal table, therefore, represents the appropriate place at which to commence our enquiry, and, consequently, I display in Figure 1 below a manuscript edition of its first nineteen years.[5]

[4] Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, pp. 173–292 for his excellent edition of *De temporum ratione*, chap. I–LXV which, regrettably, lacks the *Chronica maiora* (chap. LXVI) and five subsequent capitulae, and the paschal table. However Jones's edition was reprinted together with his reconstruction of the table and Mommsen's edition of the chapters LXVI–LXXI in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica*, ed. by C. W. Jones, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 123, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–80), II (1977), 263–544 for *De temporum ratione*, chap. I–LXXI; and Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica*, III (1980), 551–62 for the *Circulis Paschalis*.

[5] I would like to gratefully acknowledge the generosity of Prof. Wesley Stevens of the University of Winnipeg who kindly loaned and allowed me to copy his microfilm of this manuscript. If this table is collated with the most recently published critical edition, that by Bruno Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie: Die Entstehung unserer heutigen Zeitrechnung*, Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938), pp. 59–81 (the paschal table commences on p. 70), it will be found that with the exception of minor textual abbreviations of the column headings, the omission of the column giving the number of the lunar cycle, and an additional ferial column interpolated at third from the right, they correspond in all essentials. The previous edition of Dionysius's work, that published by J. W. Jan of Wittenberg in 1718, which was highly regarded by Jones, see *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, p. 68n.6, was reprinted by *Liber Dionysii Exigui*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1848), vol. 67, cols 483–520. Migne's edition is readily accessible but unfortunately its tables contain many typographical errors.

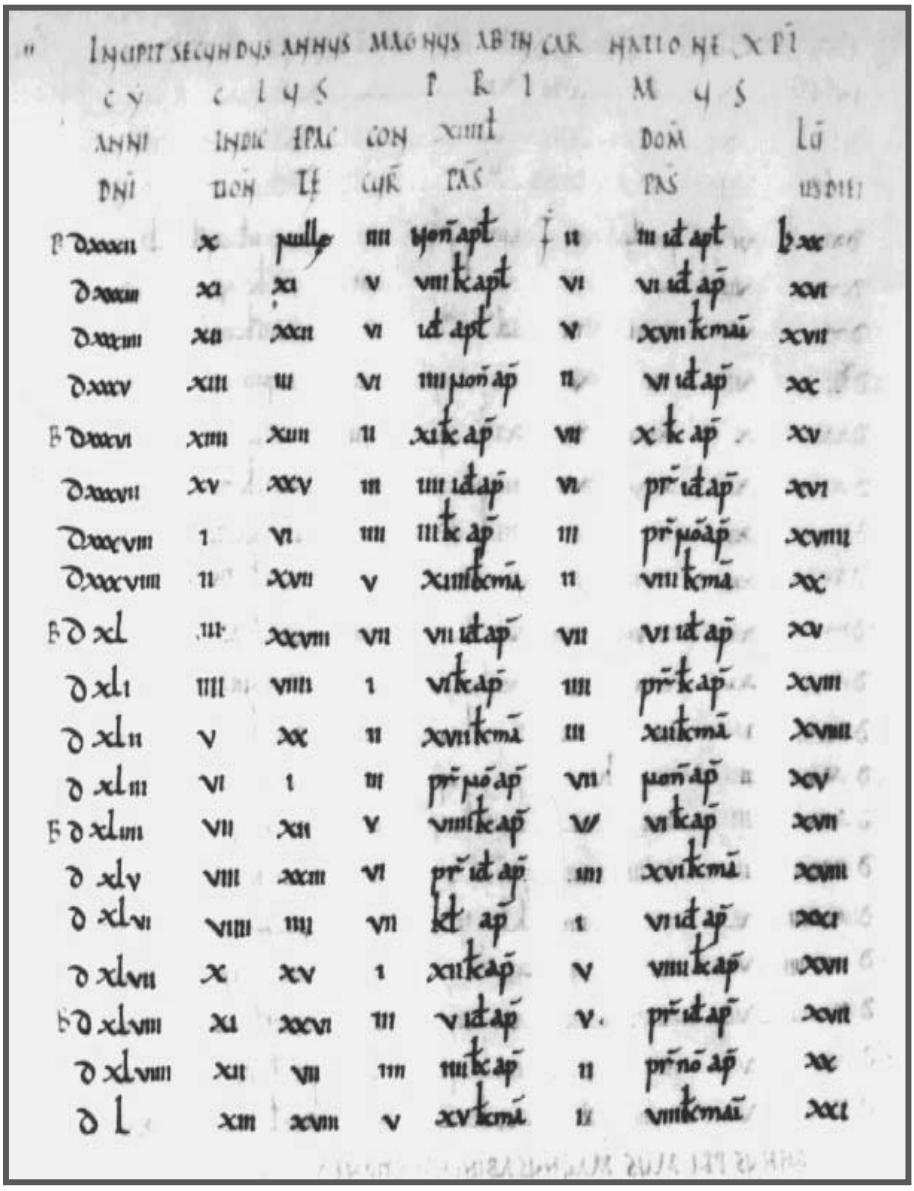


Figure 1. The first 19-year cycle of the paschal table of Dionysius as transmitted by Bede in his *De temporum ratione*, from the manuscript H.157, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine, Montpellier (saec. IX), fol. 95^{v}. (By kind permission of the Librarian, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine, Montpellier)

From this it may be seen that Dionysius, assigning one line to each Julian year, set forth the technical data required to identify the Julian year and to compute the date of Easter for that year—viz., the indiction, the epact, the concurrent, and the Julian date of the fourteenth moon—and then he gave in the last two columns the Julian date of Easter and the age of the Easter moon.[6] In all of this Dionysius simply followed Cyrillan principles. However it is the very first column which is most relevant to our present enquiry for it was here that Dionysius abandoned the Cyrillan series of years tabulated from the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, and he replaced it instead with a series of numbers which he headed 'Anni Domini'. In his prologue to the table, as we shall see, Dionysius referred to these as years reckoned 'ab Incarnatione Domini', making it explicit that he considered his 'Anni Domini' series commenced from the year of the Incarnation of Christ.

As can also be seen in Figure 1, Dionysius commenced this series with the number 'dxxxii' (532), and it is apparent that once one Julian year has been labelled with a particular number, then, not only are the subsequent years consequently labelled as is shown explicitly in Figure 1, but implicitly so also are all of the preceding years. Now one of these preceding years must eventually bear the number one, and it is the case that the Julian year thus implicitly selected as AD 1 by Dionysius's choice rather incongruously fell in the second year of his 19-year cycle. It has also attracted repeated criticism down the centuries regarding its historical accuracy; for example, in 1943 Charles Jones reviewed the situation as follows:

> There have been recurrent complaints about Dionysius' date of the Incarnation from his day to ours. Bede maintained its accuracy with so noticeable a circumlocution that it seems probable that the date was questioned in his day. The first published objection is that of Regino of Prüm, in the ninth century. A century after that Abbo of Fleury thought he had noted an error of another sort; and within a century Marianus Scotus composed a new era which he was sure would rectify the errors.[7]

However, it is not the matter of accuracy which is my main concern here, but rather the principal question that I wish to address is this: was Dionysius solely responsible for the erection of these 'Anni Domini' numbers from this particular Julian year, as is implied by the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* entry cited above, and as is generally accepted by scholarship, or had there been previous computations made regarding the Julian year of Christ's birth, which Dionysius was using without acknowledging?

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[6] See *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. with introduction, notes and commentary by Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999) for her excellent translation of Bede's *De temporum ratione*; specifically chap. 44–65 (pp. 121–56) deal with Dionysius's paschal table, and see pp. 333–53 for her helpful discussion of the technical elements in her notes on these *capitula*.

[7] Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, p. 70.

Let us therefore turn to examine the passage in his prologue in which Dionysius first refers to the principle of reckoning years 'ab Incarnatione Domini':

> Quia vero sanctus Cyrillus primum cyclum ab anno Diocletiani CLIII coepit et ultimum in CCXLVII terminavit, nos a CCXLVIII anno eiusdem tyranni potius quam principis inchoantes, noluimus circulis nostris memoriam impii et persecutoris innectere, sed magis elegimus ab incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi annorum tempora praenotare; quatinus exordium spei nostrae notius nobis existeret, et causa reparationis humanae, id est, passio redemptoris nostri, evidentius eluceret.[8]
>
> (Because the blessed Cyril began his first cycle in the 153rd year of Diocletian and ended his last cycle in the 247th year of Diocletian, we have to start in the 248th year of this man who was a tyrant rather than an emperor. However, we did not want to preserve the memory of an impious persecutor of Christians in our cycles, but chose rather to mark the times with years from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that the commencement of our hope will appear more familiar to us and the origin of the redemption of mankind, that is the Passion of our Redeemer, will shine in a more glorious way.)[9]

What we find here is that Dionysius first pointed out that, because he considered that Cyril began his first cycle in the 153rd year of Diocletian, and he ended his last cycle in the 247th year, then he, Dionysius, should start from the 248th year of a man whom, however, he considered a tyrant rather than an emperor. This possibility he immediately and emphatically rejected, asserting that he did not wish to preserve the memory of an impious persecutor in his cycles, and so, for pious reasons, he chose instead to denote the years 'from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ'. This, then, is the complete extent of his discussion of the principle and, as can be seen, he supplied absolutely no explanation in respect of the system with which he replaced the Cyrillan years of Diocletian, nor his choice of the number 532 for his initial year. Now had Dionysius himself computed the year 532, then we would expect him to have been eager at this point to explain and to defend his choice, and his silence on this matter itself suggests that he was drawing on some other source that he did not choose to acknowledge.

The only other significant reference that Dionysius made to years reckoned 'ab Incarnatione Domini', comes in the first of a series of *argumenta* that he placed immediately after his Paschal table, and which illustrate the numerical relationships between the elements of this table. These *argumenta* present demonstration calculations, each illustrating a procedure that effectively answers a rhetorical question; this first one deals with the question of calculating the 'annus ab incarnatione domini', and it reads in Krusch's edition as follows:

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[8] Krusch, *Studien*, p. 64.

[9] Declercq, *Anno Domini*, pp. 100–01.

> [Argumentum] I. Si nosse vis quotus sit annus ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi, conputa quindecies XXXIIII fiunt DX: iis semper adde XII regulares, fiunt DXXII: adde et indicationem anni, cuius volueris, ut puta tertiam, consulato Probi iunioris, fiunt simul anni DXXV. Isti sunt anni ab incarnatione domini.[10]
>
> ([Procedure] I. If you wish to discover which number year it is from the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, multiply fifteen by 34, making 510; to this always add the regular 12, making 522; to this add the indiction of the year which you seek, in this case the third [indiction], with Probus Junior as consul, making altogether 525. These then are the years from the Incarnation of the Lord.)

To understand this cryptic account we need to know that the indiction cycle ran for fifteen consecutive years (*quindecies*), numbering the years as Indiction 1, Indiction 2, . . . Indiction 15; we also need to know that Dionysius was writing in the year of the consulship of Probus Junior, which year had Indiction 3.[11] The *argumentum* specifies the following calculation as appropriate: 525 = 34×15 + 12 + 3, and there are thus three components to be added, the first of which implies that Dionysius considered that there were thirty-four full indiction cycles between the year of the Incarnation and that of Probus Junior, hence 34×15. The second component, the twelve 'regulares', infers that Dionysius considered that there were twelve years remaining of the indiction cycle during which the Incarnation occurred, implying that it fell on Indiction 4, that is, 15-12=3, so three indiction years had passed. Finally, the last component, 'three', is the indiction of the year in question, that of Probus Junior. The sum of these components, Dionysius tells us, yields the 'anni ab incarnatione domini' of 525. However this 'answer' which he provides actually leaves us with two further questions, namely how did he compute the numbers '34' and '12', for these two data—just like his introduction of the number 'dxxxii' into his paschal table—appear simply without any explanation whatsoever.[12] Regarding the rest of Dionysius's *argumenta*, Jones pointed out that, 'Of the [sixteen]

[10] Krusch, *Studien*, p. 75.

[11] Dionysius states this explicitly following the *Incipit* to his table, see Krusch, *Studien*, p. 68: 'In praesenti namque tertio indictio est, consulatu Probi iunioris, XIII circulus decemnouenalis, decimus lunaris est'.

[12] A five-year indiction cycle was regulated by Diocletian for taxation purposes from 287, which was later modified to the 15-year cycle by Constantine in 312, see Blackburn and Holford-Strevins, *Companion*, p. 769. Thus there existed no such fifteen-year indiction cycles for over three hundred years after the birth of Christ, and Dionysius's computation assumes an anachronistic extension of them back over these first three centuries. To obtain his count of thirty four indiction cycles and twelve 'regulares' Dionysius most likely employed the equation of the first line of his paschal table, viz. AD 532 has indiction 10, for this implies that AD 522=532–10 is the last year of the previous indiction cycle, and 522 divided by fifteen yields thirty-four with a remainder of twelve (522=34×15+12) so that 525=522+3=34×15+12+3.

argumenta in Krusch's edition, only I–IX are authentic'.[13] Moreover, of these nine, six assume the 'annos ab incarnatione' as their starting point, viz. II–VI and VIII all open with some variant of the formula 'Si vis scire quotus sit [quantity sought] sume annos ab incarnatione domini, [demonstration computation]'.[14] Thus, an understanding and availability of the 'annos ab incarnatione' was repeatedly assumed by the great majority of Dionysius's *argumenta*, making his vague introduction to the principle and inadequate demonstration of its computation all the more incongruous.

Thus we find that scrutiny of both Dionysius's discussion of the principle of reckoning years 'ab Incarnatione Domini', and his demonstration of its computation, shows that he chose to tell us absolutely nothing of his basis for substituting AD 532 for Diocletian 248, equating it to indiction 10, and setting it at the first year of his table.[15] This reticence suggests then that Dionysius had access to a source which had already identified both the Julian year which we call AD 1, and the principle of dating events by counting the years from that epoch; from whence could such information have originated?

Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History and Chronicle

The earliest instance that I have found of the principle of using a count of the years from the beginning of Christ's life in order to locate a historical event, is in Book Seven of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea. Book Seven, which Eusebius completed by circa AD 313, brings his account of the Christian church up to Eusebius's own time and, at the very conclusion of this Book, he wrote:

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[13] Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, p. 70, where he also notes that the final paragraphs of Krusch's *argumenta* III, IV and IX are interpolations. Gustav Teres's rationalization of Dionysius's computation of the years from the Incarnation in 'Time Computations and Dionysius Exiguus', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 15 (1984), 177–88 (p. 182) is weakened by his use of *argumentum* XV, not realizing it to be a later interpolation. He repeated the allusion in *The Bible and Astronomy*, p. 215.

[14] Krusch, *Studien*, pp. 75–81 for *argumenta* I–IX. The formula may be translated as, 'If you wish to know the number of the [quantity sought], take the years from the Incarnation of the Lord [demonstration computation]'.

[15] Blackburn and Holford-Strevins, *Companion*, p. 778 make essentially the same observation: 'However, nowhere in his exposition of his table does Dionysius relate his epoch to any other dating system, whether consulate, Olympiad, year of the World, or regnal year of Augustus, much less does he explain or justify the underlying date, or even claim it for his own discovery, but treats it as an unproblematic fact, corresponding to current knowledge or belief'.

> Ἐν τούτοις τὴν τῶν διαδοχῶν περιγάψαντες ὑ πό θεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς σωτῆρος ἡμ ῶν γενέσεως ἐ πὶ τὴ ν τ ῶν προσευκτηρίων καθαίρεσιν εἰς ἔ τη συντείνουσαν πέντε καὶ τριακό σια, ...[16]

> (In these books I have dealt fully with the subject of the successions from our Saviour's birth to the destruction of our places of worship, a story covering 305 years.)[17]

Thus, we find that Eusebius precisely dated the destruction of the places of worship, which destruction occurred in Eusebius's own time as a result of Diocletian's persecution of the Christians in Caesarea, events that had major consequences for Eusebius's life, at 305 years from Christ's birth. He clearly identified the initial year as that of 'Our Saviour's birth' and the year in question as that of the 'destruction of our places of worship', and it is absolutely certain that this was a crucial event in Eusebius's life, because he mentions it three times in his *Ecclesiastical History*—firstly in Book 7, chapter 30; secondly in chapter 32 as shown here; and then thirdly in Book 8, chapter 2.[18] From Eusebius's Greek we see that he carefully wrote the number 305 in words, as 'πέντε καὶ τριακόσια', so it was clearly a number of importance to him, and in this form it is unlikely to have suffered subsequent scribal corruption; certainly, Schwartz's apparatus shows no variant readings for the number.

But why did Eusebius emphasize this number and how did he compute it? Well, some years before writing his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius had composed a *Chronicle* in which he gave a detailed chronology of events in the Mediterranean and Middle-Eastern kingdoms, from the time of Abraham's birth up to the beginning of his own time, and it is established that he used this for the chronology of the *Ecclesiastical History*, hence his reference here to the 'successions'.[19] Unfortunately only fragments of Eusebius's Greek text have survived, but we do have a Latin translation and continuation by Jerome, and an independent Armenian translation as

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[16] *Eusebius Werke: Die Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by E. Schwartz and T. Mommsen, Der Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, 9, 3 vols (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903–09), II (1908): *Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 32, p. 730. Schwartz edited Eusebius's Greek text, and Mommsen, Rufinus's Latin translation of it; both are printed in parallel.

[17] *Eusebius: The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, trans. by G. A. Williamson (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 255.

[18] Williamson, *Eusebius: The History*, pp. 249, 255, 258–59.

[19] In Book 1, chapter 1 of the *Ecclesiastical History* Eusebius wrote: 'It is true that in the *Chronological Tables* that I compiled some years ago I provided a summary of this material', Williamson, *Eusebius: The History*, p. 2. Note that Eusebius's *Chronicle* consisted of two books, the first giving his examination of the chronological evidence entitled the *Chronographia*, the second his systematic parallel tabulation of the data entitled the *Chronici canones*.

well.[20] To give an idea of the structure of the work, I show in Figure 2 a folio from the Bodleian manuscript of Jerome's edition, which is regarded as the manuscript best representing Jerome's work.[21]

We see that the page is headed with names of the current kingdoms, Assyria, Hebrew-Judea, Hebrew-Israel and Athens, and underneath are tabulated the years of the rulers of these kingdoms. When a ruler was replaced, the kingdom year-counter was reset to one, as is seen here following the accessions of the Assyrian Piritiades, and the Judeans Abia and Asa. The global chronological apparatus provided by Eusebius, the number of years from Abraham's birth, is given every ten years in the left-hand margin, and we see the years '∞xxx' and '∞xl', 1030 and 1040, respectively. Then, in the middle of the kingdom columns was left a space into which were inscribed, in a smaller script, brief descriptions of events, of which there are two. Finally, as can be seen, there were substantial areas of unused vellum, which naturally invited annotations and interpolations, one of which can be seen to the right of 'Asa', another above '∞xxx'. Overall, it is a most complex and impressive composition, and consequently it strongly influenced virtually all of Christian chronology that followed it. It is of interest therefore to examine Eusebius's entry for Christ's birth, which is reproduced in Figure 3 below.

[20] *Eusebius Werke: Die Chronik des Hieronimus*, ed. by R. Helm, Der Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte, 7 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956) and *Eusebius Werke: Die Chronik aus dem Armenischen übersetzt mit Textkritischen Commentar*, ed. by J. Karst, Der Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, 5 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911) provide the critical editions of these two versions.

[21] J. K. Fotheringham, *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), p. 18: 'M [Berlin, Königliche Bibl., Phillipps 1829] O [Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. T.II.26] must be treated as a single family, probably the best family, of which O is the oldest and better representative'.

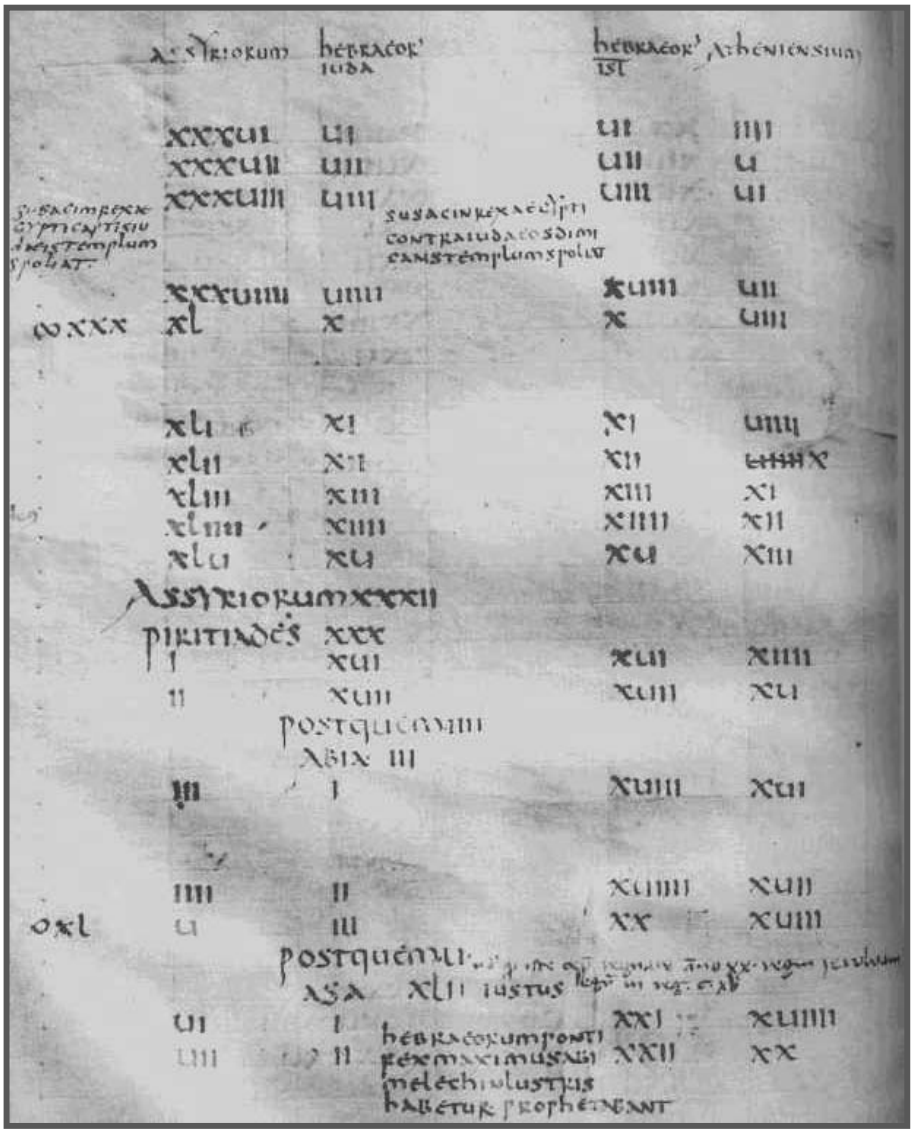


Figure 2. Jerome's edition of Eusebius's *Chronici Canones* showing the Assyrian, Judean, Israelite and Athenian dynastic series, from the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. T. II. 26 (saec. V), fol. 54^{v}. Reproduced from J. K. Fotheringham, *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), fol. 54^{v}.

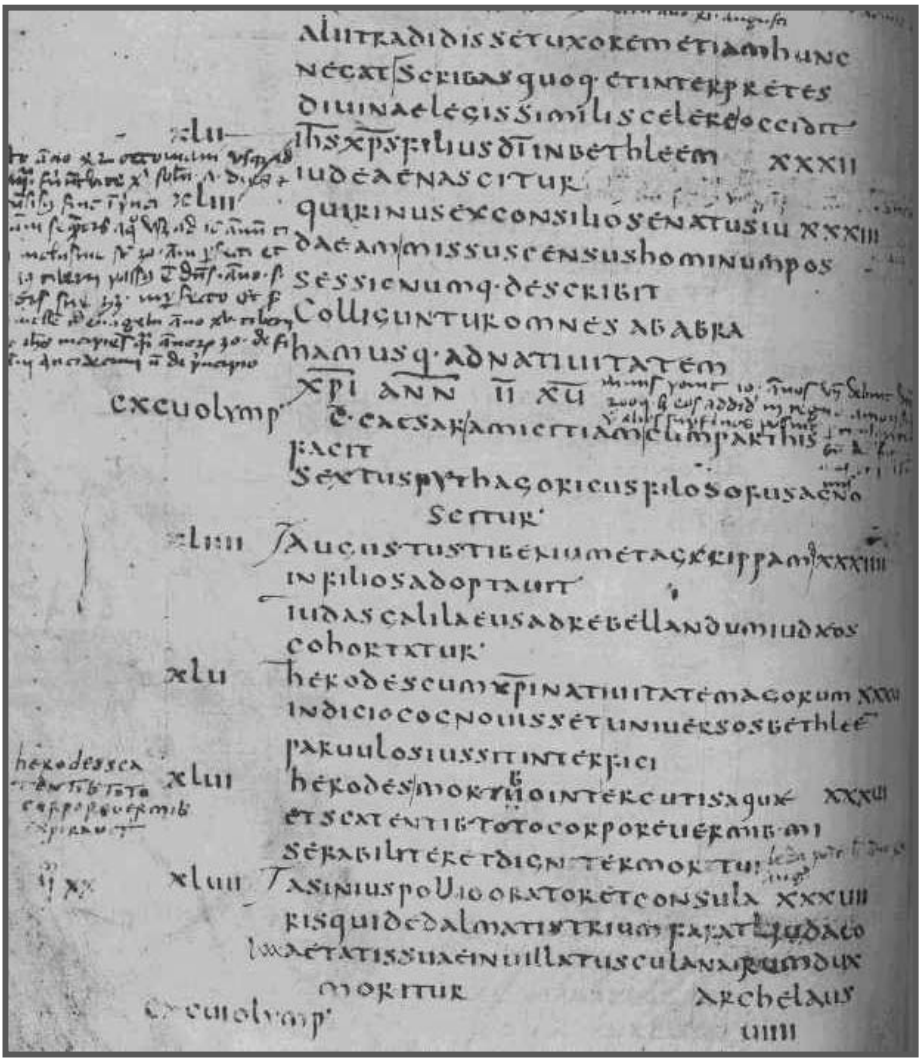


Figure 3. Jerome's edition of Eusebius's *Chronici Canones* showing the birth of Christ in the forty-second year of Augustus, followed by Quirinius's census of Judea, and explicitly synchronized with the year of Abraham $\overline{II}$.XU. (2015). At the bottom left, the year of Abraham 'ΙΙ.XX.' (2020) is synchronized with the year of Augustus 'xluii', his forty-seventh year. Reproduced from J. K. Fotheringham, *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), fol. 109^{v}.

Against the forty-second year of Augustus we find the entry, 'Iesus Christus filius Domini in Bethleem Iudeae nascitur', so that it was clearly the event of Christ's birth that Eusebius identified with the start of his life.[22] This is followed by an account of the census of Judea taken by Quirinius and, since both these items are found identically in both Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* and also in the Armenian edition of the *Chronicle*, we can be certain that they are both indeed the work of Eusebius. These items are then followed by the statement, likewise found in the Armenian edition, 'Colliguntur omnes ab Abraham usque ad natiuitatem XPI $\overline{\text{II}}$.XU.', which is to assert that altogether there are 2015 years from Abraham to Christ's birth, and this statement reconciles precisely with Eusebius's registration below, in the lower left-hand margin, that the forty-seventh year of Augustus is $\overline{\text{II}}$ XX (2020) years from the birth of Abraham.[23] For no other event in his entire *Chronicle* did Eusebius simply and explicitly identify its global chronological position in this way; it is unique in his *Chronicle*.[24] Furthermore, Eusebius's numerical identification of this year makes the conversion of all his years from Abraham, to years from Christ, simply a matter of a single subtraction. So between these details of his *Chronicle,* and his explicit usage of it in his *Ecclesiastical History*, there are good reasons to believe that, at least by the time he completed Book 7 of his *History*, Eusebius himself had conceived of a chronological apparatus based on counting the years from Christ's birth.[25] We may note, too, that such a

[22] Note that at the start of his *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 5, having completed his argument for the antiquity of Judaism, Eusebius similarly began his account of Christ by referring to the Incarnation: 'So now, after the necessary introduction to my proposed *History of the Church*, let me begin my journey with the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh'; Williamson, *Eusebius: The History*, p. 17.

[23] Helm, *Die Chronik*, p. 169; and Karst, *Die Chronik*, p. 211.

[24] The only other references to the years of Abraham in the *Chronicle* occur in the *conspectus* or summaries of synchronisms of different kingdoms at the epochs of: 1) the capture of Troy, see Helm, *Die Chronik*, 61a, and Karst, *Die Chronik*, p. 171; and 2) the Ministry of Jesus at 15 Tiberius, see Helm, *Die Chronik*, pp. 173–74, and Karst, *Die Chronik*, p. 213. Since Eusebius discussed these epochs and synchronisms in both his *Praeparatio Euangelica* (10.9.1–11), and in his preface to the *Chronicle* (see Helm, *Die Chronik*, pp. 7–19) these *conspectus* clearly constituted part of his original composition of the *Canones*; see A. A. Mosshammer, *The* Chronicle *of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (London: Associated University Presses, 1979), pp. 32–35.

[25] The chronology of Eusebius's composition of his *Ecclesiastical History* has been the subject of a long and inconclusive debate, see for example: Timothy Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 146–49; Andrew Louth, 'The Date of Eusebius', *Historia Ecclesiastica*, n.s. 41(1990), 111–23; and Richard Burgess, 'The Dates and Editions of Eusebius *Chronicii canones* and *Historia ecclesiatica*', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 48 (1997), 471–504. For the purposes of this discussion here it is sufficient that they all agree that the very end of Book 7 (*Ecclesiastical History*, VII. 32, 32), containing the reference to 305 years, was written very shortly after the end of the Caesarean

principle would be consistent with Eusebius's global chronological apparatus for his *Chronicle*: just as he reckoned the years of biblical history from the birth of Abraham, the patriarch of the Jews, so Christian history should be reckoned from the birth of Christ, Lord and saviour of Christians.

Another Instance of Reckoning Years 'ab Incarnatione'

But if this is so, the question may be fairly asked, where is the subsequent evidence for such an apparatus? For it is certainly the case that none of the well-known descendants from Eusebius's *Chronicle*—those of Jerome, the Armenian, Orosius, Hydatius, Prosper, Isidore or Bede—show any evidence of an *Anno Domini* apparatus; they use *Septuagint* and Hebrew *Anno Mundi*, Olympiads, consuls, indictions, *Anno ab Urbe Condita*, but no *Anno Domini*. However, there is at least one exception; in the *Annals of Tigernach*, one of a group of Irish annalistic texts and the one which best represents the earliest version of the genre, we find *anno ab Incarnatione* references as a part of a series of synchronisms which commence in the year of the birth of Christ.[26] For example, 'K.ui. Ab initio mundi .u.*m*.ccc.ix. secundum lxx, secundum Ebreos .iiii.*m*.c. Ab incarnatione .c.xv.';[27] thus we find a three-way synchronism between the *Septuagint* and Hebrew *Anno Mundi* and an *Anno ab Incarnatione*.[28] When we abstract all these *anni ab Incarnatione* from the *Annals of Tigernach*, which are preserved in two manuscripts of the twelfth and

persecution, i.e. *c.* AD 313. See also note 41 below.

[26] Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals*, Medieval Irish History Series, 3 (Dublin: Dublin Historical Association, 1975) provides the best survey of the Irish annals. D. P. Mc Carthy, 'The Chronology of the Irish Annals', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 98C (1998), 203–55 (p. 240) identifies the chronological priority of the *Annals of Tigernach*.

[27] Which may be translated as, 'Kalends [of January, i.e. 1 Jan.], [feria] .ui. [i.e. Friday]. From the beginning of the world 5309 according to the Septuagint, according to the Hebrews 3100; from the Incarnation 115'.

[28] W. Stokes, 'The Annals of Tigernach', first published in *Revue Celtique*, 16 (1895), 374–419; *Revue Celtique*, 17 (1896), 6–33, 119–263, 337–420; *Revue Celtique*, 18 (1897), 9–59, 150–97, 267–303. Reprinted in a much more convenient form as W. Stokes, *The Annals of Tigernach*, 2 vols (Felinfach: Llanerch, 1993). Note that all page references in this article are to the re-pagination in this later edition, which appears at the *bottom* of each page, and is numbered continuously from 1–223 (vol I), and 224–466 (vol. II). The citation is from vol I, 48, and the synchronisms are on pp. 36, 38, 40, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 64, 73. Note that there is at AD 30 another one, p. 38: 'Ab initio mundi secundum Ebreos peractis (.iii m. uel iiii m., ut Eusebius ait), iuxta autem lxx. umccxxxii. Ab Incarnatione quoque xxx.', which shows both by its textual deviance from all the others, and its location, that it is a later interpolation. At AD 10 (p. 38) there is yet another, written entirely interlinearly, and this together with its deviant text and location show it also to be interpolated.

fifteenth centuries (Rawlinson B.502, and B.488 respectively), we obtain the following:

Manuscript	Anno ab Incarnatione	Remarks
Rawl. B.502	[I]	1 = 0×19 + 1
"	XX	20 = 1×19 + 1
"	[XXXVIIII]	39 = 2×19 + 1
"	L.XIII	58 = 3×19 + 1
"	L.XXVI	77 = 4×19 + 1
"	XC.VI	96 = 5×19 + 1
"	C.XV	115 = 6×19 + 1
"	C.XXX.IIII	134 = 7×19 + 1
Ends AD 140	:	:
Rawl. B.488	CC.L.XVII	267 = 14×19 + 1
–	:	:
"	CCC.XVIIII	324 = 17×19 + 1

The first of these synchronisms is located, together with the entry of Christ's birth, in the Julian year that we call AD 1, and since only the *Anni Mundi* are given we must restore the *Anno ab Incarnatione*, hence 'I' is encased in brackets. The second synchronism is found nineteen years later in AD 20, and the third nineteen years later again AD 39, where again the *Anni ab Incarnatione* is missing. As we proceed through Rawlinson B.502 we find synchronisms at nineteen-year intervals up to AD 134. After AD 140 we must rely on Rawlinson B.488, a much inferior manuscript, but we do find two more synchronisms at AD 267 and 324 that are likewise spaced at multiples of nineteen-year intervals. While some of the entries are clearly scribally corrupt, such as those at 58, 77 and 324, sufficient data are present to make it plain that the series is intended to recur at nineteen-year intervals, and so the AD series may be expressed in the form N×19 + 1.[29] Now this sequence possesses at least two very interesting properties, the first being that it commences at exactly the same Julian year as the implicit year one of Dionysius's paschal table, what we call AD 1.

[29] The actual positions of the synchronisms, while not exact, maintains a precise average spacing of nineteen years over the 324 year span, for which see D. P. Mc Carthy, *Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals*, at the URL (accessed 13 June, 2003) http://www.cs.tcd.ie/Dan.McCarthy/chronology/synchronisms/annals-chron.htm for the actual positions at AD 1, 20, 39, 60, 75, 94, 111, 132, 267, 324. The fact that the numerical data are better than the positional, suggests that they were carelessly inserted, see D. P. Mc Carthy, 'The Status of the Pre-Patrician Irish Annals', *Peritia*, 12 (1998), 98–152 (pp. 133–38) for Rufinus's careless insertion of the Alexandrian episcopal succession.

The second is that the entries form an arithmetic progression with a period of nineteen years, which immediately suggests that they derive from a paschal table.[30] Given the twelfth-century date of Rawlinson B.502 it can, of course, be proposed that these merely derive from Dionysius's own paschal series, but a number of details argue strongly against this hypothesis, namely:

1. The series is found only between AD 1 and 324; had they been taken from Dionysius or Bede, we should expect them to commence at AD 532.
2. The *Anno Mundi* in particular are very corrupt, and some elements are missing and must be restored, which both suggest that the material is old.
3. This 19-year cycle commences at AD 1, whereas Dionysius's 19-year cycle commences at 1 BC.
4. The priority of the synchronisms is always Septuagint *Anno Mundi* first, Hebrew *Anno Mundi* second, and *Anno ab Incarnatione* third; had Dionysius or Bede been their inspiration we should expect the reverse priority.

Moreover, it has been shown that the *Annals of Tigernach* house some very old chronicle material. This was first demonstrated in 1972 by John Morris, who, by a careful collation of the *Annals of Tigernach* and Bede's *Chronica Maiora* with the Jerome and Armenian editions of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, showed that the *Annals of Tigernach* preserved details of Eusebius's work not transmitted by Jerome's edition, or any of its descendents up to and including Bede.[31] More recently, in a paper published in *Peritia* in 1998, I examined the chronological and textual details of the imperial, episcopal and pre-Christian dynasties in these chronicles, and the conclusion strongly emerged that sometime between AD 402 and 410, Rufinus of Aquileia had collated Eusebius's *Chronicle* with his own translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, with Jerome's *Chronicle*, together with other works by Josephus, Eutropius and Jerome and from them had assembled a chronicle.

When we collate Bede's *Chronica maiora* with the *Annals of Tigernach* and *Inishfallen* up to AD 400, we find that ninety percent of Bede's material is also found in these annals, though of course the *Chronica maiora*, preserved in more and much earlier manuscripts, generally transmit a much better text. However, the annals preserve considerably more world-history material than do the *Chronica maiora*, and the details show that this additional material is of one kind with their common

[30] Molly Miller, 'The Chronological Structure of the Sixth Age in the Rawlinson Fragment of the "Irish World-Chronicle"', *Celtica*, 22 (1991), 79–111 (pp. 89–94) discussed these synchronisms, calling them 'chronomorphic triads'. She regarded the synchronisms at AD 1, 10, 20 and 30 as decadal markers, not realizing that the pair at AD 10 and 30 are interpolations, and consequently she failed to observe the nineteen-year period of the original synchronisms, writing at p. 92, 'The second group of chronomorphic triads shows no signs of a decadic arrangement and is arithmetically or textually (or both) more confused'.

[31] J. Morris, 'The Chronicle of Eusebius: Irish Fragments', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 19 (1978), 80–93 (pp. 85–88).

material.[32] For example, dynastic series that are complete in the annals are vestigial in the *Chronica maiora*; moreover collation of entries that diverge textually shows that the annals regularly preserve older readings than those of the *Chronica maiora*.[33] Hence the conclusion that a common source lies behind both these annals and the *Chronica maiora*, of which source the Irish annals have transmitted both its original chronological apparatus and more of its content. The evidence points to Rufinus as the compiler of this source and that he drew on at least the *Septuagint*, Josephus's *Antiquities*, Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Eutropius's *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, Jerome's *Chronicle*, *De uiris illustribus* and *Hebraica veritas*, and his own Latin edition of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*.[34] It is this work of Rufinus, then, which provided the principle source for both *Annals of Tigernach* and Bede's *Chronica Maiora* up to the end of the fourth century. The key point is that there is a direct path, mediated via Rufinus's chronicle, from Eusebius's *Chronicle* to both these chronicles, of which the *Annals of Tigernach* have transmitted more of the intermediary.

Now to return to the series of three-way synchronisms found in the *Annals of Tigernach*, I believe that the evidence of their distribution from AD 1 to 324, their *Septuagint Anno Mundi* priority, and their level of scribal corruption all indicate that these synchronisms were derived from Rufinus's chronicle, and hence that both the principle of counting the years from the beginning of Christ's life and the identification of the particular Julian year that we call AD 1, had been established at least by the first decade of the fifth century, and they were available to Rufinus in Italy over one hundred years before Dionysius composed his paschal table.

Neither is this the only, nor indeed the earliest, evidence that the year AD 1 had been identified with the birth of Christ long before the time of Dionysius, for, as Jones pointed out, the *Fasti Consulares* of the *Chronograph of A.D. 354*, consular annals written in Rome in 354 by Furius Filocalus, record the year of the consuls Caesar and Paulus as follows: 'Caesare et Paulo Sat. XIII. Hoc cons. dominus Iesus Christus natus est VIII kal. Ian. d. Ven. luna XV'.[35] Now since Caesar and Paulus

[32] Mc Carthy, 'The Status', pp. 126–30 examines the common and unique material in both sources.

[33] Mc Carthy, 'The Status', pp. 142–43 for vestigial dynastic series in *Chronica maiora*, and pp. 126–30 for collation of divergent entries and their sources.

[34] Mc Carthy, 'The Status', pp. 137–42 presents the argument that Rufinus compiled the material, and p. 151 summarizes the sources he used.

[35] Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, p. 70; the citation is from the citation is from *Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII.*, ed. by Theodore Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi, 9, 11, 13 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–98), I (1892), 13–196 (p. 56), and may be translated as, '[Consuls] Caesar and Paulus, Saturday [luna] XIII. With these consuls Jesus Christ is born on VIII Kalends of January [25 Dec.], Friday on luna XV'. Neither the day cited, Friday, nor the moon's age, luna XV, are appropriate to VIII kal. Ian. (25 December) AD 1, nor any year near it. For the date of composition and scribe of the

were the consuls in AD 1, as is confirmed by both the value of the ferial datum 'Sat.' (feria VII) and its place following a bissextile year, this entry explicitly and unequivocally associates Christ's birth with AD 1. Furthermore, since the compilation also contains amongst other items a paschal table for AD 312–54, death dates for bishops of Rome for AD 255–352, a martyrology, a list of bishops of Rome from Peter to Liberius, and a chronicle based on that of Bishop Hippolytus, this is clearly a collection of critical information relating to the activities of the upper echelons of the Christian hierarchy in mid-fourth century Rome. It is apparent, therefore, that in Rome the Julian year we identify as AD 1 was explicitly associated with the birth of Christ amongst some well-educated and highly-placed Christians at least one hundred and seventy years before Dionysius implicitly employed it in his paschal table.[36]

Next, regarding the nineteen-year cyclic aspect of the three-way synchronisms found in the *Annals of Tigernach*, which are asynchronous not only with Dionysius's paschal cycle, but also with the table of his predecessor, the Cyrillan table; since the synchronisms in the *Annals of Tigernach* do not derive from these cycles, from whence could they have plausibly come? Well, we know that Eusebius also composed a nineteen-year paschal cycle, for Jerome recorded the fact in his entry in *de Viris illustribus* dealing with Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, wherein he first related how Hippolytus had discovered a 16-year cycle, to which he added: 'et Eusebio, qui super eodem pascha decem et novem annorum circulum, id est, ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδα conposuit, occasionem dedit'.[37] However Eusebius's paschal cycle clearly did not find favour in orthodox ecclesiastical circles, for very few references and practically no technical details of it have been transmitted to us, with the significant exception of Insular sources. Namely, in the *Annals of Tigernach* we find the only record of the year of the composition that I have been able to locate:

Chronograph see, see *Le Calendier de 354*, ed. by Henri Stern (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1953), pp.42–45 (date), pp. 46 and 122 (scribe).

[36] Declercq, *Anno Domini*, pp. 125–27 discusses the possibility that Dionysius had used this source, but he raises the objection that it would be difficult to use because in the manuscript the list was 'only organised by the names of the two consuls, without any numerical dating system', which ignores the presence of both ferial and epactal data in each consular year, viz. 'Sat. XIII', either of which may be used to reckon long intervals of years. Declercq may have been misled by the Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus*, p. 70 citation, which he references, wherein Jones replaced the ferial and epactal data with ellipses.

[37] *Hieronymus Liber de Viris inlustribus*, ed. by E. C. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen, 14 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896), pp. 1–112 (p. 35), which may be translated as, 'and this then gave inspiration to Eusebius, who composed a nineteen-year Paschal cycle on the basis of it, i.e. the enneakaidekaeterida'. A paraphrase of this is found in the *Annals of Tigernach*, at AD 220: see Stokes, *Annals of Tigernach*, I, 56; and a corresponding passage in Bede, see Jones, *De temporum ratione*, p. 503 (at footnote 4 above).

[AD 309] 'K.uii. Eusebius Cessarius ciclum decennouenalem composuit'.[38] Then Bede in Chapter 44 of his *De temporum ratione* tells us that: 'Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, first devised the sequence of the 19-year cycle in order to find the fourteenth Moons of the Paschal feast and the day of Easter itself, because after this period of time a Moon of a given age will recur on the same day of the solar year'.[39] Some of Bede's information was cited earlier in *c.* AD 710 by Ceolfrid in his letter to Nechtan, King of the Picts.[40] Surely the implication of these details and their geographical distribution is that the Insular churches had received information about Eusebius's paschal cycle which was not preserved in mainland European records?

Which brings me back to Eusebius's reference to the year 305, for, as those readers who habitually divide numbers by nineteen will have realized, this number is also of the form N×19+1, viz. 305=16×19+1, and so it fits perfectly into the sequence of synchronisms in the *Annals of Tigernach*, exactly nineteen years before their final synchronism. I propose the hypothesis, therefore, that these three-way synchronisms in the *Annals of Tigernach* are a vestige of Eusebius's paschal cycle, transmitted most likely via the edition of Eusebius's *Chronicle* consulted by Rufinus. How does this hypothesis reconcile with what we know of Eusebius's works? Well the *Annals of Tigernach* indicate that Eusebius composed his paschal cycle in AD 309, that is, some years after composing his *Chronicle* and at least four years before completing Book 7 of his *Ecclesiastical History*.[41] So the cycle in progress when he

[38] Stokes, *Annals of Tigernach*, I, 70 for the citation, which may be translated as, 'Kalends [January, feria] uii [i.e. Saturday]. The Caesarean Eusebius composed a 19-year cycle'; note the textual resemblance to Jerome's record. For the assignment of AD 309 to this entry see Mc Carthy, 'Chronology' for the basis, and Mc Carthy, *Chronological Synchronisation*, at AD 309.

[39] Wallis, *Bede*, p. 121.

[40] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), vol. 21, pp. 545–46:

> But through the industry of Eusebius, who took his surname from the blessed martyr Pamphylius, it [the computation of Easter] was reduced to a plainer system; so that while up to that time information was sent out annually each year to all the churches from the patriarch of Alexandria, thenceforward it could be easily understood by everyone, a list being made of the dates of the fourteenth moon.

[41] Most scholars have agreed that Books 1 to 7 (excepting parts of the last chapter) of the *Ecclesiastical History* were composed before the persecution in Caesarea, i.e. at least by 303, and that shortly after the end of the persecution in 313 Eusebius extended Book 7 and added Books 8 and 9. See for example Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p. 149: 'To the original seven books, slightly retouched (especially at the end), Eusebius now added two more'. See also Barnes's chronological summary in *Constantine and Eusebius*, pp. 277–78. Recently, however, Richard Burgess, 'Dates and Editions', has presented a substantial argument in favour of abandoning this consensus; briefly he proposes that the *Chronicle* was composed between 306 and 313/4 (p. 486), and he personally favours 311 (p. 496), followed by composition of all books up to Book 9 of the *History* by 313 (pp. 498–99). It is too early yet to

was extending his *Ecclesiastical History* in 313 would be that which commenced just a few years earlier. Furthermore, it is clear from the paragraph with which he concluded Book 7, that, at that time, Eusebius himself believed that the destruction of the Caesarean churches had occurred a precise three hundred and five years after the birth of Christ. So I suggest that it was this synchronism between the beginning of his first and then-current paschal cycle and this fearful event of Diocletian's persecution, which prompted Eusebius to state so precisely the year of the destruction of the Caesarean churches referred to the year that he had identified with the birth of Christ. Indeed, Eusebius placed the third of his references to the destruction of the Caesarean churches in an explicitly Paschal context, writing:

> It was the nineteenth year of Diocletian's reign and the month of Dystros, called March by the Romans, and the festival of the Saviour's Passion was approaching, when an imperial decree was published everywhere, ordering the churches to be razed to the ground and the Scriptures destroyed by fire.[42]

Furthermore, with this synchronism between the destruction of the churches and the year Diocletian 19, together with his earlier statement that from Christ's birth to the destruction covered three hundred and five years, Eusebius provided an equation between the two chronological systems—AD 305 = Diocletian 19—which I will refer to as Eusebius's AD-Diocletian equation.

I would further point out that when Eusebius undertook to compose a paschal table he was obliged to deal with the chronology of Jesus's life down to the accuracy of one day, for it is the objective of a paschal table to locate the celebration of the Pasch as closely as is possible to the day corresponding to the gospel accounts of Jesus's Passion and Resurrection. Thus, in contrast to the construction of his *Chronicle*, where Eusebius was able to reduce all chronological units to integral multiples of one year, the construction of his paschal cycle required that he deal with the chronology of Jesus's life down to the level of each day of the year. I suggest it was this exercise that prompted Eusebius to specify exactly the number of years he believed lay between Christ's birth and the destruction of the Caesarean churches in the nineteenth year of Diocletian. It seems certain that his basis for this computation was his *Chronicle*, for indeed at the nineteenth year of Diocletian we find the entry 'XVIIII. Diocletiani anno mense Martio in diebus paschae ecclesiae subuersae sunt'.[43] However it seems clear that, between the time of the composition of his

know whether this revision will be accepted by scholarship, but if so the hypothesis above that the paschal cycle was composed between the two works is readily accommodated to it by either: a) retarding *Tigernach*'s date by three years, for the entry's location is unlikely to be chronologically precise; or, b) choosing an earlier year in Burgess's range of 306–13/4 for the *Chronicle*.

[42] Williamson, *Eusebius: The History*, pp. 258–59.

[43] Helm, *Die Chronik*, p. 228. The passage may be translated as, 'In year 19 of Diocletian,

Chronicle and his extension of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius had re-assessed the relative chronology of these two events. In the former he located them respectively at the years of Abraham 2015 and 2320, which represents an inclusive interval of 2320–2015+1=306 years. However his expression in the *Ecclesiastical History* 'from our Saviour's birth to the destruction of our places of worship, a story covering 305 years', suggests an inclusive interval of one year less than 306.[44] In particular it is significant that the *Annals of Tigernach* reflect Eusebius's AD-Diocletian equation and so reproduce this latter chronology precisely; at the Julian year AD 1 they have Christ's birth, at AD 287 they have the first year of Diocletian's reign, and at AD 305 they have the entry 'xix. anno Dioclitiani. Dioclitianus in Oriente diuiis libris adustis, Maximimianus Hercolius in Occidente uastari eclesias et affligi interficique Christianos praecipiunt'.[45] With this evidence affirming Eusebius's want of accuracy in chronological matters, it is readily understandable how he misjudged the interval from AD 1 to the destruction of the Caesarean churches by two years, and why his paschal table was allowed to fade into oblivion. Given Dionysius's silence regarding his AD-Diocletian equation it is, of course, impossible to be sure whether he was aware of these implications or not. However, the fact that the Cyrillan paschal table carried the very same implication, that the Julian year AD 303 = Diocletian 19, suggests that it was either the author of this table, or his predecessor(s), who had already identified the inaccuracy in Eusebius's later chronology, and had modified it to locate the nineteenth year of Diocletian at the Julian year we call AD 303. In these circumstances it seems most likely to me that Dionysius's AD-Diocletian equation originates either with the Alexandrian author of the Cyrillan table, or his predecessor(s); a simple statement in the preface to the Cyrillan table amending Eusebius's AD-Diocletian equation would be all that was required.[46]

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the month of March, and in the days of the Pasch, the churches are thrown down'.

[44] An 'inclusive interval' includes the years of the initial and final epochs; hence the difference 2320–2015, which excludes the year of the Nativity, must be incremented by one to render it inclusive.

[45] Stokes, *Tigernach*, I, 67–68; see Mc Carthy, *Chronological Synchronisation*, at AD 287 and 305. The passage may be translated as, 'Year 19 of Diocletian. Diocletian in the East burned the holy books, and with Maximimian Hercolus in the West ordered the churches to be destroyed and the Christians attacked and killed'. It is also significant that in Bede's version of this entry in his *Chronica maiora*, because he placed Diocletian's reign one year later, effectively AD 288–307, Bede amended the year of Diocletian to 'XVIII', thus maintaining the destruction at AD 305; viz., Bede has AM 3952 = Nativity = AD 1, AM 4258 = Diocletian 20 = AD (4258–3951) = AD 307, hence Diocletian 18 = AD 305. See Jones, *De Temporum Ratione*, pp. 495, 507 and 508 for Bede's entries. Wallis, *Bede*, p. 211; and Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. by J. McLure and R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 318, unaccountably have, 'In the seventeenth year', but Jones's apparatus on *De temporum ratione*, p. 508 shows no variant readings on 'XVIII'.

However, it is also clear that when Dionysius substituted AD 532 for Diocletian 248, Eusebius's AD-Diocletian equation was implicitly rejected, because Dionysius's equation implies that the nineteenth year of Diocletian fell in AD [532 – (248–19)] = AD 303 = Diocletian 19. That is, Dionysius implicitly placed the nineteenth year of Diocletian, and hence the destruction of the Caesarean churches, two years earlier than Eusebius with respect to the year of the Incarnation, and modern scholarship has emphatically endorsed this view and has concluded, moreover, that not only is Eusebius's AD-Diocletian equation faulty, but that his chronology of most imperial reigns in the third century up to and including his own time is incorrect.[47]

In conclusion, I submit that Dionysius's silence, Eusebius's references to the birth of Christ in both his *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History*, and the *anno ab Incarnatione* synchronisms in the *Annals of Tigernach,* together constitute good grounds to believe that it was Eusebius, who, as a consequence of composing his paschal cycle, had established which Julian year was to be considered the year of Christ's birth. Thus it appears to me that Eusebius is entitled to at least some of the credit for devising our present chronological apparatus, for it rests upon his principle of counting the years of the Lord, starting from the Julian year which he identified with the birth of Christ. At the same time, in consequence, Eusebius must also bear the opprobrium that has been visited upon Dionysius's head in respect of the doubtful historical accuracy of the Julian year that he implicitly employed for the year of the Incarnation of Christ. At the very least, the placing, by both the *Chronograph of 354* and the *Annals of Tigernach* of Christ's birth at the Julian year

[46] Note added in proof. The paschal data of the first festal letter of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, shows that it refers to the Julian year of AD 329, which year Athanasius identifies as Diocletian 45; see E. Schwartz, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), pp. 24–25. Since this implies the AD-Diocletian equation, Diocletian 19 = Diocletian 45–26 = AD 329–26 = AD 303, and the same relationship is maintained by all his subsequent festal letters, it is clear that the AD-Diocletian equation employed by Dionysius was in use in Alexandria at least from AD 329 up to Athanasius's death in AD 373.

[47] Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p. 146: 'Despite his valiant efforts, chronology was not Eusebius' forte', and, 'Even when writing about his own lifetime, Eusebius is not immune from serious chronological errors'. Richard Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), p. 36 is much more specific:

> Within the first 260 years of imperial history Eusebius errs in his chronology only once, but it is deliberate and makes no difference to the overall sum of regnal years. This accuracy is completely the result of the accuracy of his regnal-length source (Theophilus) and his Olympiad chronicle. However once he advanced his chronology into the third century, and left his accurate sources behind, he made three errors that disrupted his entire chronological sequence [. . .], with the result that his chronology for most of the third century is off by one or two years.

On p. 36 he states that Diocletian's accession is late by two years.

of AD 1, over one century before Dionysius's time, must surely exonerate him from any responsibility in the selection of that particular year for Christ's birth. Rather, Dionysius's role in the emergence of *Anno Domini* was simply to conspicuously transmit, in what transpired to be a crucial Christian text, a version of the chronological apparatus identified by Eusebius over two hundred years earlier, which version incorporated a correction to the chronology of Diocletian's reign already made by the Alexandrian author of the Cyrillan table.

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'Sexta aetas continet annos praeteritos DCCVIIII' (Bede, *De temporibus*, 22): A Scribal Error?

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During the Middle Ages the reckoning of Easter was one of the most important and difficult problems for the church, since the festival had to be fixed by following a complicated lunisolar calendar.[1] The system adopted in the medieval West was composed by the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus in the early sixth century,[2] in which he also introduced in his paschal table a new style of counting years from the birth of Jesus Christ. This is the AD (*Anno Domini*) reference that is now used world-wide. However, it was not Dionysius but Bede who really introduced the AD into historiography in the West. The *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (731) uses the AD to describe English and non-English events.[3] Thus Bede adopted it in his famous history, but it was nearly thirty years before the publication of that work that he first explained how to calculate the 'Year of the

[1] On medieval Easter reckoning in general, see C. W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de temporibus* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1943), pp. 6–113 (hereafter *BOT*); *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. with introduction, notes and commentary by Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. xv–ci.

[2] The computistical works of Dionysius Exiguus were edited by B. Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*; II: *Die Entstehung unserer heutigen Zeitrechnung* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938), pp. 75–81 (*Argumenta titulorum paschalium*); pp. 82–86 (*Ep. ad Bonifacium et Bonum*); pp. 63–68 (*Ep. ad Petronium*).

[3] The standard editions of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* are: *Baedae opera historica*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896); and *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). In this paper, I use the Plummer edition.

Lord' by following Dionysius.

When he was about thirty years old, Bede started his career as a scholar, and *De temporibus* was one of his earliest works.[4] In Chapter 14, in which he explains how to calculate the 'Year of the Lord', he gives an indication of the year of composition *(annus praesens)*. This is given as AD 703, the fifth year of the Emperor Tiberius III.[5] The reference to the same emperor (and the same regnal year) is found in the last chapter of the work.[6]

However, there remains a problem in the transmission of the text. At the beginning of Chapter 22, we read 'Sexta aetas continet annos praeteritos DCCVIIII' ('the sixth age contains 709 completed years').[7] Here Bede shows the traditional theological division of the universal history. The sixth age started at the birth of Jesus Christ, and the sum of the years (here 709) should give the *Anno Domini.* But the number does not correspond with the AD found in Chapter 14 of the same work. Historians have suggested that this number is a scribal error. Charles Plummer, for instance, the editor of Bede's historical works in the late nineteenth century (*Baedae Opera Historica*), reading the number as DCCVIII, states: 'this is a mistake for DCCIII, the V being wrongly inserted'.[8] Theodor Mommsen, the editor of Bede's *Chronica minora* and *Chronica maiora* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, also suggests that the number should be emended.[9] Given the unreliability of medieval manuscripts, particularly as regards numbers, this interpretation seems to be plausible. However, the five manuscripts used by Mommsen for his edition (followed by Jones) offer conflicting evidence on the number. Manuscripts F and P record it as DCCVIIII; manuscripts E, H and M, which insert the sentence 'Sexta aetas annos iam *(om. E)* praeteritos' into a different line, omit the number itself.[10]

[4] Bede's *De temporibus* (*DT*) is divided into two parts, one is the main text of the computus (ch. 1–16) and the other the *Chronica minora* (ch. 17–22). The former part was first edited by Jones, *BOT*, pp. 295–303. The latter part was edited by Theodor Mommsen, *Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi, 9, 11, 13 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–98), III (1898), 247–317. The whole work is available in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica*, ed. by C. W. Jones, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 123, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–80), III (1980), 585–611, which uses Mommsen's edition for Chapters 17–22. Here I use CCSL.

[5] Bede, *DT*, 14, pp. 598–99.

[6] Bede, *DT*, 22, p. 611.

[7] Bede, *DT*, 22, p. 607.

[8] Plummer, *Baedae opera historica*, I, cxlvi. Jones simply follows Plummer about the year of composition. Jones, *BOT*, p. 130.

[9] Mommsen states: 'Numerus p. Chr. 709, qui ponitur c. 173, minus fidus est venitque opinor a librario auctoris aequali' (*Chronica minora*, III, 226n.3), thus dating the error to one of the first earliest copies.

[10] Bede, *DT*, 22, p. 607 (Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*); and p. 280 (Mommsen, *Chronica minora*).

Since the editor(s) chose the reading of manuscripts F and P for the main text, the number DCCVIIII in question here must have entered the text at a relatively early period (MS F was transcribed in *c.* AD 800; MS P in AD 810).[11] But why the same supposedly mistaken number in the two earliest manuscripts? And why do the three other manuscripts omit the number itself, although the scribes clearly tried to copy the sentence? To consider this point, we will at first examine Bede's understanding of the relationship between the *Anno Domini* and the *Anno Passionis.* The investigation will then offer another possibility for solving this problem.

Since the fifth year of the Emperor Tiberius III was from AD 702 to 703, Bede's calculation of the *Anno Domini* in *De temporibus*, 14, presents no difficulty. When we consider, however, the earlier methods of chronology, the adoption of the AD by Bede should be carefully examined. What kind of chronology had been used before Bede introduced the *Anno Domini*? Bede's reference to the monks of the Wearmouth-Jarrow monastery in *De temporum ratione* (725) may shed some light on this issue.[12] In Chapter 47, Bede states that when his colleagues visited Rome in the 701st year of Jesus's incarnation according to Dionysius, the fourteenth indiction, they found and copied the inscription from the candles in St Mary's Church, revealing that it was 'the 668th year from the Passion'.[13] Bede offers this story in order to 'prove' that the date of Easter in the 566th year of the Dionysiac table should correspond with the historical date of the Passion (=AD 34). Because Jesus started his preaching at the age of around thirty, and continued his activity for three and a half years, the year of the Incarnation will be found by adding thirty-three (or thirty-four) years to the year of the Passion (668 + 33 = 701).

The visit to Rome took place during the time Ceolfrith was abbot, and in the papacy of Sergius I. The references to the privilege received by the Wearmouth-Jarrow monastery at the time of Sergius (a reconfirmation of the privilege given earlier by Pope Agatho) are found in the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi*[14] and Bede's *Historia abbatum*.[15] It is not certain if Bede had received the information about the year of the Passion before he published *De temporibus* in 703. But Bede's reference

[11] See Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica*, III, 584.

[12] *De temporum ratione* (*DTR*) is also divided into two parts: the main text (ch. 1–65), and the *Chronica maiora* (ch. 66–71). The former part was edited in Jones, *BOT*, pp. 175–291; the latter by Mommsen in Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi, 13 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898) with the *Chronica minora* in parallel (pp. 247–327). Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica*, II (1977) includes the whole work. The translation by F. Wallis is also available (see Wallis, *Bede*).

[13] Bede, *DTR*, 47, p. 431.

[14] *Vita Ceolfridi Abbatis*, 20; see Plummer, *Baedae opera historica*, I, 395.

[15] Bede, *Historia abbatum*, 15; see Plummer, *Baedae opera historica*, I, 380. Bede also refers to the original privilege given by Pope Agatho in the same work, 1, 6; see Plummer, *Baedae opera historica*, I, 369.

in *De temporum ratione* suggests that the introduction of the *Anno Domini* had not yet been fully accepted. It was necessary for him to guarantee the precision and usefulness of the AD with some authority. Bede, then, sought a new explanation of the relationship between the *Anno Domini* and the *Anno Passionis* when he was writing the second book on time.

Traditional ways of designating years varied in the medieval West. In Bede's time, three ways were mainly used in referring to the history of Christianity: *Anno Mundi* (AM), *Anno Passionis* (AP) and *Anno Domini* (AD). The *Anno Mundi*, the year of the world from the Creation, had been calculated by many authors especially in the East. They used the Septuagint, and traditionally calculated 5000–5500 years from the Creation to the Incarnation. The Westerners followed the examples in the East, and the calculation by Eusebius of Caesarea (AM 5199 for the Incarnation) was influential through the Latin translation of the *Chronicon* by Jerome.[16] Bede in *De temporibus* refers to the Eusebean chronology, but he had another view on the question. Bede states that there were only 3952 years from the Creation to the Incarnation.[17] This number, he shows, derives not from the Septuagint but from the Hebrew as given in the Vulgate translation by Jerome which was based on the *Hebraica Veritas*. This however caused an accusation of heresy to be brought against him. Bede apologized in the letter to Plegwin (written five years after the publication of *De temporibus*)[18] and again in *De temporum ratione* in which Bede, nonetheless, still insisted upon his calculation.[19]

Besides the AM calculations by Eusebius and Bede, there was another tradition having influence in the West. Victorius of Aquitaine composed the Easter cycle of 532 years at the request of Archdeacon Hilarus (later Pope Hilarus), and used two chronological standards for his reckoning: the *Anno Mundi* and the *Anno Passionis.* In his letter to Hilarus, Victorius explains that he calculated the year of the Passion as being AM 5228,[20] and the publication of his table as AM 5658, the consulate of Constantine and Rufus.[21] From this we know that the year of composition was AD 457. Victorius shows that the Passion took place in AM 5228, whereas Eusebius put this as the year of the baptism of Jesus. Thus there is a three-year-interval between Eusebius and Victorius in the AM calculation. Victorius's calculation, however, contained another chronological problem. Since he calculated AM 5228 for the

[16] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicon*, in *Eusebius Werke: Die Chronik des Hieronimus*, ed. by R. Helm, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte, 47 (Berlin: Akademie, 1956).

[17] Bede, *DT*, 22, p. 607.

[18] Bede, *Ep. ad Pleguinam*, ed. by Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica*, III, 617–26; translation by Wallis, *Bede*, pp. 405–15.

[19] Bede, *DTR*, 67, pp. 535–37.

[20] Victorius Aquitanus, *Prologus ad Hilarum archidiaconum*, 9, in Krusch, *Studien*, II, 24.

[21] Victorius Aquitanus, *Prologus*, 7, in Krusch, *Studien*, II, 23.

Passion and AM 5658 for his own writing, the latter was the 430th year from the Passion. From a comparison between the Victorian and the Dionysiac tables (which have minor differences in the dates for Easter), it is clear that the historical year of the Passion given by Victorius was AD 28.[22]

When Bede, in *De temporum ratione*, Chapter 47, insisted that the date of Easter in AD 566 should correspond with the historical date of Jesus's resurrection in the Dionysiac table (AD 34), did he compare the Victorian and the Dionysiac tables? The first year of the *Anno Passionis* by Victorius is AD 28, and the second cycle of the 532-year table begins in AD 560 (28 + 532 = 560), six years before the calculation by Bede according to the table of Dionysius (AD 566). In this case, the problem is that Dionysius Exiguus omitted any reference to the year of the Passion. As has been suggested above, Bede needed some witness to explain the relationship between the *Anno Domini* and the *Anno Passionis.* The AP referred to by Bede here is not that of Victorius but of St Mary's Church in Rome, which the monks of Wearmouth-Jarrow had visited in AD 701.

When computists in Bede's period found the term *Anno Passionis*, it is probable that they understood it as the AP given by Victorius of Aquitaine. For instance, the *Munich Computus* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS lat. 14456, early ninth century; exemplar written in AD 718),[23] comparing the Irish 84-year, Victorian and Dionysiac cycles, basically follows the AM by Victorius in the chronology. And it states that the Passion took place in AM 5228, the same year as given by Victorius.[24] The same author copied a computistical work written in AD 689 that was based on the Victorian table. The exemplar refers to the AP 130 of the Victorian table (= AD 157) in fol. 23^{r}, implying that it had been written in AD 689 (157 + 532 = 689).[25]

The Victorian cycle was one of the two 'erroneous' methods of Easter reckoning in Bede's estimation (another is the Irish 84-year cycle). In *De temporum ratione*, Chapter 51, Bede vigorously attacks Victorius,[26] and the basic points of

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[22] Krusch, *Studien*, II, 27.

[23] On the major studies of the *Munich Computus*, see B. Krusch, 'Die Einführung des griechischen Paschalritus im Abendland', *Neues Archiv*, 9 (1884), 99–169; E. Schwartz, *Christliche und judische Ostertafeln* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905); *Annals of Ulster: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from AD 431 to AD 1540*, ed. by W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, 4 vols (Dublin: [Stationery Office], 1887–1901), esp. IV (1901) edited by MacCarthy; D. J. O'Connell, 'Easter Cycles in the Early Irish Church', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 66 (1936), 67–106.

[24] The MS states 'Rimari ad initium huius creaturae per annos V̄CCXXVIII. usque ad passionem' (fol. 23^{v}).

[25] For Krusch this was the main evidence for composition in AD 689, but other scholars agree that this part was copied by the compiler of the *Munich Computus* in AD 718.

[26] Bede, *DTR*, 51, pp. 437–41.

criticism are: (1) the lunar limits for Easter Sunday between the sixteenth and the twenty-second; (2) the limits of the first day of the first month between 5 March and 2 April. Here Bede attacks the Victorian cycle for allowing the possibility of celebrating Easter before the vernal equinox on 21 March. The same attack had already been made by Abbot Ceolfrith in his letter to King Nechtan of the Picts,[27] and Bede's attitude towards the Victorian cycle clearly follows that of his master. Although Bede never states that the Victorian cycle had ever been used in Britain, it is obvious that this traditional way of reckoning Easter was used by those who were following the Roman church custom before the Synod of Whitby (664). In his letter attempting to persuade King Geraint of Wales and his clergy to stop using the British way of Easter reckoning (which followed the same criterion as the Irish 84-year cycle), Aldhelm of Malmesbury refers to the Victorian cycle as being inferior to the more certain method brought from Rome.[28] The reason for Bede's attack was thus the theological danger involved in the Victorian cycle.

Turning now to the text under consideration, we may admit that because of the ease of confusion in Roman numerals, it is highly possible that the sentence in *De temporibus*, Chapter 22, contains a scribal error in the numeral. However, when we consider the different attitudes towards the Victorian cycle in the early Middle Ages, another interpretation of the problem is possible.

Since the calculations of the *Anno Mundi* and the *Anno Passionis* by Victorius were directly connected, the Victorian 532-year cycle could be widely adopted as an Easter table. The usefulness of a 532-year cycle had already been known by computists in the British Isles before Bede published his main work on time, as the letter of Ceolfrith to King Nechtan shows.[29] Did, then, the users of the Victorian cycle adopt it to record events, as Bede did with the Dionysiac table for his histories? We may point out that Jonas of Bobbio, who had written the Life of Columbanus in *c.* 640, used the Victorian table for his chronology in the Life of Abbot John of Réôme. At the beginning of the work, it is stated that Jonas wrote the life in 'Anno centesimo post explicionem numeri sancti Victori episcopi, ciclum recapitulantem' ('the one-hundredth year of the recapitulated cycle of Holy Bishop Victorius after the completion of the number').[30] This means that he composed his work in AD 659.

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[27] The letter of Ceolfrith (705/16) is preserved in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 21; in Plummer, *Baedae opera historica*, I, 333–45. Some historians, such as Plummer (Plummer, *Baedae opera historica*, II, 332, 392), suggest that the letter was written by Bede himself, but recent studies tend to recognize that Ceolfrith was the author. See D. Ó. Cróinín, '"New Heresy for Old": Pelagianism in Ireland and the Papal Letter of 640', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 505–16, esp. pp. 515–16.

[28] Aldhelm, *Ep. ad Gerontium*, in *Aldhelmi opera*, ed. by R. Ehwald, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi, 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), pp. 480–86.

[29] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 21; see Plummer, *Baedae opera historica*, I, 341.

[30] Jonas, *Vita Iohannis abbatis Reomaensis* (Incipit), ed. by B. Krusch, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici, et antiquiorum aliquot*, ed. by B. Krusch and W.

In Merovingean Francia, the Victorian calculation (both the *Anno Mundi* and the *Anno Passionis*) was sometimes used to designate the years in the history of the Franks. The Victorian cycle continued to be used in Gaul even after the publication of Bede's *De temporum ratione*.[31]

This situation may have influenced the transmission of Bede's works. Generally speaking, the scribes of the five manuscripts used in Mommsen's edition (reproduced in Jones) are careful in copying the first sentence of each chapter for the first five ages in the *Chronica minora* (*De temporibus*, chapters 17–21). Only the last chapter, 22, presents a problem. Of course, Bede should have written the year as DCCIII if he really believed that the calculation of the *Anno Domini* by Dionysius should give the historical years from the Incarnation of Jesus. But what of other computists (or copyists) in Gaul or elsewhere who were following the Victorian chronology? Is it possible to suggest that a later computist added six years to DCCIII in order to make it correspond with the Victorian chronology for the fifth year of the Emperor Tiberius III? As has been mentioned above, Bede inserts a so-called 'proof' of the relationship between the *Anno Domini and* the *Anno Passionis* in Chapter 47 of *De temporum ratione.* Bede maintains that the historical year of the Passion and Resurrection was AD 34, and that the same date should recur in AD 566 of the Dionysiac table. But the historical year of the Passion was calculated as AM 5228 (= AD 28) by Victorius. So, there was a six-year-interval between the Victorian and the Dionysiac calculations of the year of the Passion, and therefore, of the Incarnation (the beginning of the sixth age). This caused confusion among computists. Chapter 22 could have been changed by a scribe (ignoring the main text of *De temporibus*) to give the years of the sixth age according to the Victorian calculation, while in another manuscript tradition the problematic number was simply omitted.

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Levison, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, 3–7, 5 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1896–1920), I, 505. Victorius of Aquitaine was probably not a bishop, but some later authors give him the title.

[31] Krusch, *Studien*, II, 53–57.

Abbo of Fleury and the Computational Accuracy of the Christian Era

PETER VERBIST

A new critical attitude, observed from the end of the tenth century onwards, reveals the computational inaccuracy of the Christian era.[1] Using the repetitive character of a 532-year Easter cycle, computists found out that the era *ab incarnatione Domini* conflicted with chronological data contained in the synoptic gospels concerning the year of Christ's Passion. Using the same computistical technique, they then tried to establish the 'real' year of Christ's Passion. Consequently, they proposed a correction of Dionysius Exiguus's era *ab incarnatione Domini*. In this paper, I will investigate the computistical works of Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004), probably the first author to attack the computational accuracy of Dionysius's Christian era.[2]

In AD 525, the papal curia asked Dionysius Exiguus (d. *c.* 540), a modest Scythian monk and *magister* in Rome, to calculate the correct date of Easter for the following year, 526. Because of his knowledge of an Alexandrian Easter table that was more accurate than the one used in Rome until then, Dionysius Exiguus promoted the Alexandrian method of reckoning. He also created a new paschal table (532–626), which was no more than a continuation of the Alexandrian table, except for one far-reaching change: Dionysius preferred to count the years not from the imperial coronation of Diocletian (AD 284), as was the custom in Alexandria and in the East, but

[1] I would like to thank Dr Marco Mostert (University of Utrecht) who read the various drafts of this article and improved it in many respects.

[2] I am preparing a doctoral thesis studying all corrections proposed between the late tenth century and the middle of the twelfth century. Apart from Abbo of Fleury, I will also discuss the computistical works of Heriger of Lobbes, Marianus Scottus, Gerlandus Compotista, Sigebert of Gembloux and Heimo of Bamberg.

rather from the Incarnation of the Lord (*ab incarnatione Domini*). He explained his decision in his prologue calling Diocletian a tyrant and an impious persecutor of Christians.[3] For Dionysius, however, this new counting method was nothing more than a numerical system to denote the individual years in his table. He never thought that it was to result in a highly successful new era.[4] This might explain why Dionysius Exiguus did not feel the need to explain how he had come to replace 'the 248th year of Diocletian's reign' with 'the 532nd year since the Incarnation of our Lord'.[5]

In the first centuries of its existence, the spread of Dionysius's Christian era was rather slow. At the beginning of the eighth century, however, things changed in its favour. As Dionysius's Easter table proved more accurate than earlier tables, so the era *ab incarnatione Domini* continuously gained importance. In the last decades of the tenth century it was well established and accepted by most intellectuals among the monks. One of them was Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004).[6] Abbo was born around 940 near Orléans. At an early age he entered the Abbey of Fleury (St-Benoît-sur-Loire). The young and intelligent monk soon became master of the abbey school, and, after a stay in Ramsey (985–87), the monks of Fleury elected him as their new abbot in 988. Abbo was a well-known intellectual, active at the highest political and diplomatic levels. He died in 1004 in rather exceptional circumstances.[7]

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[3] 'Nos a ccxlviii anno eiusdem tyranni potius quam principis inchoantes, noluimus circulis nostris memoriam impii et persecutoris innectere, sed magis elegimus ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi annorum tempora praenotare': Dionysius Exiguus, *Epistola ad Petronium*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie. Die Entstehung unserer heutigen Zeitrechnung*, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 8 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1938), pp. 63–68 (p. 64).

[4] This is clearly illustrated by Dionysius himself, who wrote the usual dating method in the preface of his Easter table. 'In praesenti [anno] namque tertia indictio est, consulatu Probi iunioris': Dionysius Exiguus, *Cyclus decemnouenalis*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, pp. 68–74 (p. 68).

[5] Several attempts to reconstruct Dionysius's calculations failed to convince. See Gustav Teres, 'Time Computations and Dionysius Exiguus', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 15 (1984), 177–88; and Georges Declercq, *Anno Domini: The Origins of the Christian Era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 130–47.

[6] On the life and work of Abbo in general, see: Marco Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: A Study of the Ideas about Society and Law of the Tenth-century Monastic Reform Movement*, Medieval Studies and Sources, 2 (Hilversum: Verloren, 1987), pp. 40–64. A new biography is being prepared by Pierre Riché on the occasion of Abbo's millennial commemoration in 2004.

[7] 'Interea vir Domini Abbo, intra claustrum monasterii residens et quasdam computi ratiunculas dictitans, tumultuantium clamore exaudito, foras ab inferiori montis parte progreditur, et ad reprimendos suos, qui superiora occupaverant loca, festinans, ab uno

Abbo's scholarly works comprise treatises on canon law, dialectics, grammar, astronomy, mathematics and chronology. He revealed his computistical interest in a manual, and in two letters to Gerald and Vital, dateable to 1003 and 1004.[8] In the manual, Abbo presents several astronomical figures and computistical tables, accompanied with detailed, sometimes elaborate annotations.[9] According to the Berlin manuscript, Abbo composed the first part of his *Computus* in 982.[10] The

adversae partis satellite lancea tam valide vulneratur in laevo lacerto ut interiora costarum adactum penetraret ferrum': Aimoin of Fleury, *Vita sancti Abbonis*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1853), vol. 139, cols 387–414 (col. 410).

[8] On Abbo's computistical works: André Van de Vyver, 'Les oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', *Revue bénédictine*, 47 (1935), 125–69 (pp. 150–58); Charles W. Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings falsely attributed to Bede* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1939), pp. 59–80; Alfred Cordoliani, 'Abbon de Fleury, Hériger de Lobbes et Gerland de Besançon sur l'ère de l'Incarnation de Denys le Petit', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 44 (1949), 463–87; Alfred Cordoliani, 'Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Berne provenant de Fleury au XIe siècle: le comput d'Abbon', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique suisse*, 52 (1958), 135–51; Eva-Maria Engelen, *Zeit, Zahl und Bild: Studien zur Verbindung von Philosophie und Wissenschaft bei Abbo von Fleury*, Philosophie und Wissenschaft: Transdisziplinäre Studien, 2 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1993), pp. 113–51; Michael Lapidge and Peter S. Baker, 'More Acrostic Verse by Abbo of Fleury', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 7 (1997), 1–27; Arno Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften, 46 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), pp. 326–28; and Marco Mostert, 'Gerbert d'Aurillac, Abbon de Fleury et la culture de l'An Mil: Étude comparative de leurs oeuvres et de leur influence', *Gerberto d'Aurillac da Abate di Bobbio a Papa dell' Anno 1000*, Archivum Bobiense. Studia, 4 (Bobbio: Associazione culturale, 2001), pp. 397–431 (pp. 414–15). A critical edition of Abbo's computistical works will be published in 2004 in the *Opera omnia Abbonis Floriacensis*, edited under the auspices of the IRHT (Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes).

[9] It is difficult to define the specific contents of Abbo's *Computus*, because in the manuscripts there are several versions preserved, mostly with a different and sometimes incomplete structure. A list of the manuscripts can be found in Marco Mostert, 'Gerbert d'Aurillac, Abbon de Fleury et la culture de l'An Mil', p. 414 n.51. All quotations and the previously unedited tables at the end of this paper are taken from Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. 138 (Phill. 1833), s.XI^{in}, fols 23^{r}–55^{v}, undoubtedly the most important manuscript of Abbo's computistical works.

[10] Two tables in the first part of the Berlin manuscript refer to 982: being the table on fol. 33^{r}: 'eo anno quo epacta est vigesima tertia in Kal. Aug.'; and the table on fol. 34^{v}: 'et postea supputa usque ad hunc annum qui est dcccclxxxii'. Van de Vyvers argument, however, to fix the starting date of Abbo's *Computus* in 978, is untenable, because the sentence 'utputa anno decimo cicli decemnouenalis sunt epactæ .viiii.' in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 250, fol. 12^{r} (Fleury, s.X/XI) is not referring to 978; it is only used as an exemplary year, i.e. the tenth year of a decennovenal cycle: Van de Vyver, 'Les oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', p. 152.

second part, however, was written after his stay in Ramsey (985–87).[11] It ends with an edition of a 532-year paschal table, preceded by a very interesting *Praefatio ad cyclos paschales*.[12] In it, Abbo launches his attack on the computational accuracy of Dionysius's Christian era.

In the first part of this *Praefatio* (written after 988), Abbo explained the cyclical character of a lunisolar 532-year cycle as the product of a lunar 19-year cycle and a solar 28-year cycle. In the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus had composed only a lunar paschal table of 95 (5 x 19 years), which had been extended to a lunisolar 532-year cycle after his death.[13] As the dates of Easter return in the same order after any period of 532 years, the Dionysian 532-year cycle is completely cyclical. This is a very useful observation when one wants to calculate Easter dates in the past or in the future.

Abbo of Fleury was well aware of this lunisolar technique.[14] He also knew the

[11] The year 982 is mentioned in the paste tense in a text at the top of fol. 41^{r}: 'Ut igitur dictorum fides sit anno dominicæ incarnationis dcccclxxxii fuit decemnouenalis ciclus xiiii epacta secundum ægiptios xxiii secundum romanos prima kalendæ ianuarii feria prima'. Moreover, the table on fols 42^{v}–43^{r} is clearly an elaborated version of an earlier table in the first part of Abbo's *Computus* (fol. 34^{v}): Van de Vyver, 'Les oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', pp. 153–54.

[12] 'Dyonisius abbas genere romanus paschales circulos mira breuitate composuit': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fols 45^{r}–45^{v}. This preface is not preserved in any of the English manuscripts deriving from the copy Abbo took with him to Ramsey in 985.

[13] It remains unclear whether the Venerable Bede (d. 735) has been the first author to create a 532-year Dionysian paschal cycle. In 710, Ceolfrith of Yarrow (d. 716) already referred implicitly to such a 532-year cycle. His letter is preserved in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 21:

> Cyril drew up a table of 95 years, being five cyclus of 19 years each. After this Dionysius Exiguus added as many more 19-year tables employing the same scheme and these extend down to our own day. This table is approaching its end but there are so many mathematicians today that even in our churches here in Britian there are several who have committed to memory these ancient rules of the Egyptians and can easily continue the Easter cycles for an indefinite number of years, even up to 532 years if they wish; after this period all that concerns the succession of the sun, the moon, the month and the week returns in the same order as before

see Beda Venerabilis, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981; repr. 1991), p. 547. In Wallis's opinion, it is more than likely that a Dionysian 532-year cycle was in circulation before Bede. According to Declercq, however, Ceolfrith apparently had no knowledge of an extant table of 532 years based on the Dionysian system; *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. with introduction, notes and commentary by Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 352n.195 and Declercq, *Anno Domini*, p. 158.

[14] 'Magnus annus quingentorum xxx duorum annorum iteratur, ut paschalis ratio ad solem uel lunam pertinens inerrato repetatur': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fols 45^{r}–45^{v}.

synoptic gospels, which told him that the Last Supper fell on a Thursday (Maundy Thursday), which was also the day of the Easter full moon (*luna xiv*).[15] Because Christ was considered to have been thirty-four years old when he died on the cross, Abbo would have expected the date of Christ's Passion in AD 566 (because 34 + 532 = 566). According to Dionysius's paschal tables, however, the Easter full moon in that year fell on 21 March, which was a Sunday, and definitely not a Thursday. Therefore, Abbo had to conclude that, as far as the year of Christ's Passion was concerned, Dionysius Exiguus conflicted with the *fides catholica*, providing as he did a different calendar day (solar) and a different age of the moon (lunar).[16]

	Fides catholica	Dionysius Exiguus
Paschal full moon:	Thursday 24/3 (*luna xiv*)	Sunday 21/3 (*luna xiv*)
Good Friday:	Friday 25/3 (*luna xv*)	Friday 26/3 (*luna xviiii*)
Easter Sunday:	Sunday 27/3 (*luna xvii*)	Sunday 28/3 (*luna xxi*)

Table 1: The divergence between the *fides catholica* and Dionysius Exiguus concerning the year of Christ's Passion.

The next test to which Abbo subjected Dionysius Exiguus's paschal table consisted of checking the year of the death of St Benedict.[17] Abbo investigated several sources in which he found the following data on this event: 1) St Benedict died after AD 529;[18] 2) St Benedict died before AD 604;[19] and finally, 3) St Benedict died on Easter Saturday, 21 March.[20]

When Abbo consulted the Dionysian 532-year cycle, he found three possible years in which Easter Saturday fell on 21 March, namely AD 72, AD 414 and AD

[15] The expression '*luna xiv*' means that the (paschal) moon is 14 days old on that particular day.

[16] 'Cum haec ita sint quaeritur de anno dominicæ passionis qui a natiuitate xxxiiii terminum paschæ xiiii scilicet lunam qua deus ad immolandum traditur dominica facit occurrere per concurrentes et regulares eiusdem lineæ, licet catholica fides habeat post peractam coenam feriae v traditum et xv luna feriae vi crucifixum [. . .] Qui etiam in eo ab omnibus æcclesiasticis doctoribus discrepat, quod dominum xviiii luna crucifixum demonstrat.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}.

[17] In AD 703, some Fleury monks had gone to Italy and had taken the relics of St Benedict from the destroyed monastery of Monte Cassino in Italy. This incomparable event made St Benedict into the most important person in the history of Fleury.

[18] Confirmed by both Paulus Diaconus (*Historia romana*, I, chap. 26) and Victor of Capua (probably in his lost work *De equinoctio*).

[19] Because his biographer, Gregory the Great, died in this year.

[20] According to the *Vita sancti Mauri abbatis Glannafoliensis*. Abbo thought this *Vita sancti Mauri* was written by Faustus, a disciple of St Benedict at Monte Cassino (d. 620). It has since been shown to be a forgery by Odo, Abbot of Glanfeuil (d. *c.* 868).

509.[21] The last two years were impossible, because St Benedict had died after AD 529. Moreover, Abbo tells us, the first date must also be rejected: although AD 72 is identical to AD 604 (because 72 + 532 = 604), this date cannot be the 'real' year of his death, for St Benedict died before AD 604.[22] Therefore, Abbo had to conclude that Dionysius Exiguus's Easter table conflicted with several reliable historiographical sources concerning the year of St Benedict's death. According to Abbo, Dionysius Exiguus was wrong both in dating the Passion of Christ and in dating the death of St Benedict.[23]

Because of these two incongruities, Abbo decided to count the years between Christ's Incarnation and the first year of Diocletian's reign using the chronicle of Eusebius and Hieronymus.[24] The olympiads proved a difference of 287 years, whereas Dionysius had suggested a difference of 284 years.[25] Instead of 532 years, Abbo counted 535 years between Christ's Incarnation and the first year of Dionysius's Easter table.[26] Using this chronographic argument, he proposed to correct the Christian era by three years.

Concerning the year of Christ's Passion, Abbo found out that only in the thirteenth year of a lunar 19-year cycle the Easter full moon (*luna xiv*) fell on 24 March—the day of the Last Supper as taught by the *fides catholica*.[27] In the year of

[21] Abbo forgot to mention a fourth possible year, i.e. AD 319. This negligence, however, did not undermine his theory.

[22] Abbo mentioned AD 605 instead of AD 604: 'Quia uero eius uitæ mirabilis relator papa gregorius anno ab incarnatione domini dcv obiit': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}. Apparently, it did not distract him from his theory.

[23] 'Quare nisi summa fides gestorum esset, praelibatus ciclicus de utriusque domini scilicet ac serui transitu calumniam induceret': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}.

[24] 'Qua calumnia impulsus discutere coepi, quid faceretur controuersiam huiusmodi, et primum de annis domini ad chronicorum dicta me contuli, Eusebii maxime cesariensis et ieronimi diuinæ legis interpretis, ut quot anni essent ab incarnatione christi usque ad imperium diocletiani comprehenderem, quoniam inde usque ad primum annum ciclorum dyonisii ccxlviii deprehendissem.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}.

[25] 'Instans ergo diutius ab unius natiuitate usque ad alterius principatum, comperi spatium cclxxxvi uel potius cclxxxvii annorum, quoniam christus natus est tercio anno centesimæ nonagesimæ quartæ olimpiadis, et diocletianus imperium usurpauit secundo anno ducentesimæ sexagesimæ sextæ rursus olimpiadis.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}. In the preface to his Easter tables, Dionysius had equated the 248th year of Diocletian's reign with the 532nd year of Christ's Incarnation. As a consequence, the remaining 284 years must be placed before Diocletian's reign.

[26] 'Assumpti uero in unum anni ab incarnatione domini omnes pariter usque ad primum ciclorum dyonisii, qui fuerunt ante uel post principatum diocletiani, fiunt collecti undique dxxxiiii uel magis dxxxv': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}.

[27] 'assero quod nullus annus alicuius cicli xviiii dominicæ passioni ac resurrectioni competit, nisi xiii habens xiiii lunam viiii kalendarum aprilis.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult.,

St Benedict's death the Easter full moon (*luna xiv*) should fall on 21 March, according to Abbo's historiographical sources. These lunisolar data can be found only in the sixteenth year of a lunar 19-year cycle.[28] Curiously enough, Abbo decided not to elaborate on these computistical data, keeping to his chronographic correction of three years (AD 535 instead of AD 532).

At the end of his preface, Abbo drew attention to two paschal tables, which immediately followed his 532-year paschal cycle.[29] These two 19-year cycles *secundum ordinem annorum* reproduce the Easter dates for the period AD 535–72, whereas the first two 19-year cycles of Dionysius Exiguus's Easter table had given the Easter dates for the period AD 532–69. The difference between Dionysian and Abbonian years corresponds to Abbo's chronographic correction of three years (AD 535 instead of AD 532). Furthermore, in the year of Christ's Passion (AD 34), Easter Sunday fell on 27 March (*luna xvii*), which is fully concordant with the *fides catholica*.[30] The year of St Benedict's death, however, is not found using these corrective tables. This must have aroused the interest of Abbo's curious disciples.

Towards the end of his life, Abbo reconsidered and elaborated his theory, writing two letters to his disciples Gerald and Vital.[31] At the beginning of the *Epistola prima* (AD 1003), Abbo stated expressly that every single combination of lunar and solar data occured once only in a lunisolar 532-year cycle.[32] Following

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MS 138, fol. 45^{v}.

[28] 'Annus quoque talis qualis quæritur in transitu patris Benedicti, numquam euenit nisi xvi anno eiusdem cicli, habente xiiii lunam xii kalendarum aprilis.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}.

[29] 'Nos tamen omnibus his xxviii decemnouenalibus ciclis duos subiecimus, ut quod dyonisium facere debuisse dicimus, ei[u]s lectoris diligentiæ manifestemus.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}. These tables are found in Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 53^{r}. Cfr. below, Table 2: Scribal errors are silently corrected.

[30] Cfr. above, Table 1.

[31] The editions of Abbo's first letter by Varin and Cordoliani are both insufficient: Abbo of Fleury, *Epistola prima ad Geraldum et Vitalem*, ed. by Pierre Varin, 'Lettre critique d'Abbon de Fleury sur les cycles dionysiaques', *Bulletin du comité historique des monuments écrits de l'histoire de France. Histoire, science, lettres*, 1 (1849), 117–27; and Abbo of Fleury, *Epistola prima ad Geraldum et Vitalem*, ed. by Alfred Cordoliani, 'Abbon de Fleury, Hériger de Lobbes et Gerland de Besançon sur l'ère de l'Incarnation de Denys le Petit', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 44 (1949), 476–80. Abbo's second letter is still unpublished. I am preparing a new critical edition of both letters.

[32] 'Cuius magni hæc anni natura ut nulla praedictorum duorum luminum concordia sit, fuerit, aut futura sit, quæ non contineatur circulo eiusdem magni anni, quem dyonisius quidem coepit, sed beda usque ad finem perduxit. Si quid igitur de praeteritis uel futuris annis inuestiga[n]s, notato quolibet anno ei dxxxii siue addas siue subtrahas, talem procul dubio praeteritum annum subtrahendo, uel futurum addendo inuenies qualem antea praesentem notaueris.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 56rb.

Eusebius and the Septuagint, Abbo also held the opinion that Christ was born in the 5199th year since the creation of the world (AM 5199). He thought it 'common knowledge' that the first year of the creation of the world was the seventeenth year of a solar cycle, and the sixteenth year of a lunar cycle; this combination occurred only once in a 532-year lunisolar cycle, namely in the 149th year (149/532).[33] Knowing this, Abbo added 149 to 5198, which resulted in 5347. Subtracting ten *anni magni* (10 x 532 = 5320), Abbo was left with 27. He then concluded that Christ must have been born in the twenty-seventh year of a 532-year cycle (27/532).[34] By doing so, Abbo created a computistical link between the creation of the world (149/532) and the Incarnation of Christ (27/532).

However, Abbo knew well that Christ's Incarnation was generally accepted to be found in the second year of a Dionysian 532-year cycle (2/532).[35] He therefore concluded that Dionysius Exiguus should have placed AD 533 instead of AD 558 in the twenty-seventh year of an 532-year cycle (27/532).[36] As a result, he proposed to

[33] 'Si uero queris in supradictis xxviii cyclis una serie dispositis, quis in his annus conueniat primo ubi dicitur caput saeculi, scito cognoscens illum esse absque ullo scrupulo ubi sibi communicant xvii annus solaris et xvi decemnouenalis': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 56rb. In the old Julian calendar the world was created on 18 March, the day the Sun entered the constellation of Aries. On the fourth day, i.e. on Wednesday 21 March, God created at once a full moon (*luna xiv*), because the Creator would never make something in an imperfect state. See Wallis, *Bede*, pp. xxxvi–vii. From a theoretical point of view, the date of Easter should have been Sunday 25 March (*luna xviii*). The first year of creation must have been also a leap year, because the first intercalation of a *dies bissextilis* had to occur after a period of nearly four years, i.e. from 18 March AM 1 until 24 February AM 5. Only the 149th year of a Dionysian 532-year lunisolar cycle meet all these requirements.

[34] 'Occurrit autem huiusmodi supputatione natiuitas christi, in secundo cyclorum dyonisii eo loci, ubi communicant vii annus solaris et viii decemnouenalis': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 56va. The twenty-seventh year of a lunisolar 532-year cycle (27/532) is indeed the seventh year of a solar cycle (7/28) and the eighth year of a lunar cycle (8/19). Note that the first year of a 532-year cycle is also the first year of a lunar cycle, but the ninth year of a solar cycle.

[35] This is a rather precarious point, because Dionysius Exiguus never gave accurate information about his dating *ab Incarnatione Domini*. He had merely composed a 95-year cycle, which had been extended to a 532-year cycle after his death. The Venerable Bede (*De temporum ratione*, chap. 47) had thought that Dionysius Exiguus pinpointed Christ's Incarnation in the second year of his cycle: 'Quia ergo secundo anno circuli quem primum Dionysius scripsit quingentesimus tricesimus tertius ab incarnatione domini completus est annus, ipse est nimirum iuxta concursus siderum ille in quo incarnari dignatus est.': Beda Venerabilis, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Charles W. Jones, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 123B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), pp. 263–544 (p. 428). Abbo of Fleury accepted Bede's statement.

[36] 'Cui supputationi dyonisius contradicit, ponens ibidem dlviii': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 56va.

correct Dionysius's Christian era by 25 years (AD 533 instead of AD 558). Abbo then thought that the Alexandrian Easter table and Dionysius's Easter table had been linked incorrectly. This conclusion made him abandon his entire theory of correcting Dionysius's Incarnation era by 25 years.[37] He blamed Dionysius for having disturbed the natural order of Easter cycles, and he wondered why the Catholic church had accepted this obvious error.[38]

Abbo of Fleury now wanted to find the 'real' year of Christ's Passion. This had to be fully concordant with the chronological data provided by the *fides catholica*.[39] In a 532-year cycle, four years match these data, namely the 13th year (AD 12), the 260th year (AD 259), the 355th year (AD 354) and finally the 450th year (AD 449). As the difference between Dionysian and Abbonian years is unacceptable for the last three years, only the first year (AD 12) was likely to have been the year of Christ's Passion. Abbo concluded that Christ died in the thirteenth year of a lunisolar 532-year cycle, which corresponded to the year AD 12 (13/532).[40]

But Abbo wanted to confirm his new theory. To this end, he returned to the matter of the year of St Benedict's death and the data provided by trustworthy sources about this event.[41] Earlier, in his *Praefatio ad cyclos paschales*, Abbo had

[37] This is an unfortunate misunderstanding by Abbo, because both original Easter tables do link up in a fully correct way. In Isidorus's *Etymologiae*, VI. 17, however, Abbo had found some corrupted Easter tables, falsely attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), and being already a continuation of Dionysius's own Easter tables! On these corrupted Cyrillian Easter tables in Isidorus's *Etymologiae*: Bruno Krusch, 'Die Einführung des griechischen Paschalritus im Abendlande', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 9 (1884), 99–169 (pp. 117–19).

[38] 'Et quid mirum si uir tantæ auctoritatis annis domini aliquid addidit uel subtraxit, cum ipsos circulos quos natura formauit immutauerit nec ei contradicat æcclesia uniuersalis.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 56va.

[39] The Betrayal took place on Thursday 24 March (*luna xiv*); the Passion took place on Friday 25 March (*luna xv*); and the Resurrection took place on Sunday 27 March (*luna xvii*).

[40] 'Undæ annos dominicæ incarnationis rursum uersus contradiximus, ut eundem primum cyclum a dliii non a dxxxii inchoaremus, et sic dlxv annum eidem tercio decimo anno deputauimus.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 56vb. In the Berlin manuscript the original number 'dxxxiii' (533) was changed into the more correct number 'dxxxii' (532) by a contemporary hand. The validity of this correction is confirmed by Abbo's unambiguous statement that the year 565 should occur in the thirteenth year of this lunar 19-year cycle (AD 544). At this crucial point, unfortunately, both Varin and Cordoliani misinterpret Abbo's computistical theory, erroneously stating that Abbo proposed a correction of only 20 years: Varin, 'Lettre critique d'Abbon', p. 123; and Cordoliani, 'Abbon de Fleury', pp. 466–68. This major error caused much confusion, even in recent publications. See Engelen, *Zeit, Zahl und Bild*, pp. 150–51; and Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, p. 327.

[41] St Benedict died after AD 529, before AD 604 and on an Easter Saturday, 21 March (*luna xiv*): cfr. above.

found that three years matched the information: AD 72, AD 414 and AD 509. He then had had to reject all these possible dates. This time, however, Abbo found an important indication to make his theory work. The last possible Dionysian date (AD 509) could be converted into a date *secundum ueriorem assertionem*. Thus, AD 509 would become 530 VA (because AD 509 + 21 = 530 VA).[42] After having made this conversion, the number of the year fully matched the data provided by the reliable sources for the death of St Benedict.[43]

Abbo also added three paschal tables *secundum fidem historiographorum* to this letter.[44] In the year of St Benedict's death (530 VA), Abbo gave Easter Sunday on 22 March (*luna xv*), which was fully concordant with his historiographical

[42] 'Quam paschalem huiusmodi festiuitatem, si praedictos xxviii cyclos reuoluas, nec ante nec post obitum eiusdem sanctissimi patris infra c fere annos inuenies, nisi in penultimo cyclo, anno xvi quem dxxx ab incarnatione domini annum fuisse arbitror.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 56vb. The notation VA (*uerior assertio*) indicates the use of a 'corrected' era, whereas AD (*anno Domini*) continues to be the Dionysian era.

[43] Abbo's argument, however, implies that his reliable sources all counted the years already *secundum ueriorem assertionem*, i.e. according to the corrected Christian era newly invented by Abbo himself!

[44] Cfr. below, Table 3: Scribal errors are silently corrected. The first table is entitled 'Ultimus xxviii cyclorum decemnouenalium, id est xxviii, talis esse debuit secundum fidem historiographorum' (515–533 VA); the second one 'Primus ciclus decemnouenalis xxviii° per omnia similis excoeptis indictionibus et annis christi' (534–552 VA); and the third one 'Secundus ciclus decemnouenalis primo per omnia similis excoeptis indictionibus et annis christi' (553–571 VA). The expression 'per omnia similis excoeptis indictionibus et annis Christi' means that the paschal table is linked up to the previous one in a correct computistical way, because only the years of the Incarnation (linear) and the indiction numbers (15-year cycle) do have their own structure. Abbo stated this already at the end of his preface: 'Sciendum denique quod in his circulis dyonisii anni domini sua serie prodeunt et xv annis euolutis indictiones redeunt nec ad solem nec ad lunam pertinentes, et idcirco finito magno anno non eo modo quo coeptæ sunt redeuntes.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 45^{v}. The two latter 19-year cycles can be found also in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 5543, s.IX (Sens) and s.X/XI (Fleury), fols 23^{v}–24^{r}. They are entitled respectively 'Ultimus ciclorum Cyrilli talis esse debuit propter fidem euuangelii' (534–552 VA) and 'Primus cyclorum Dionisii talis esse debuit propter fidem euuangelii' (553–571 VA). Referring to these two cycles, Charles W. Jones suggests that the historical inaccuracy of the Dionysiac era troubled Fleury already before Abbo's days, but Richard Landes thinks that the cycles were probably added at the beginning of the eleventh century. See Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha*, p. 81; and Richard Landes, 'A Libellus from St Martial of Limoges written in the time of Ademar of Chabannes (989–1034)', *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscripts*, 37 (1983), 178–205 (pp. 184–85n.25). On codicological grounds, Landes's suggestion seems to be the right one, because these two paschal tables are written onto one single bifolium: Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, 7 vols (Paris: CNRS, 1959–84), II, 264.

sources. In the year of Christ's Passion (565 VA), however, he gave Easter Sunday on 27 March (*luna xvii*), which was in full conformity with the *fides catholica*. By doing so, Abbo finally managed to create a computistical link between these two dates. He corrected Dionysius's Christian era by 21 years.

Abbo's second letter to Gerald and Vital, dateable to AD 1004, is an extended commentary on a well thought-out *laterculus*.[45] In the first column, Abbo gave the era *secundum Dyonisii ordinem*. This he followed by his own era *secundum ueriorem assertionem*.[46] Both in his letter and in his *laterculus*, Abbo showed unambiguously that the numbers in his own era are twenty-one years higher than in the Dionysian era.[47] Further to the right in the table, there are 28 rows of 19 years. Together they make up the 532 years of an *annus magnus*.[48] Each year is provided with a *concurrens*—a number from 1 to 7 indicating the day of the week on 24 March (1 stands for Sunday, 2 for Monday and so on). Finally, in the extreme right-hand columns of the table, we find two other eras, starting from the Creation of the world. The first one is based on the Septuagint, the second one is based on the *Hebraica veritas*.[49]

In Abbo's *laterculus* we find the date of Christ's Passion in 1097 VA, which is identical to 33 VA (because 1097 – 532 – 532 = 33).[50] The *concurrens* is 5, which means 24 March was a Thursday. At the bottom of the same column, we find the Easter full moon (*luna xiv)* on 24 March. All these data indeed match the *fides catholica*.[51] Secondly, Abbo pinpointed the year of the creation of the world in the

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[45] 'Quapropter hic unum laterculum indidi': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 58^{r}. Cfr. Table 4 below. For reasons of clarity, I changed the roman numerals into the arabic equivalents. Scribal errors are silently corrected.

[46] In his second letter, however, Abbo wrote more modestly that the new era was created by the weak spirit of his own insignifance: 'sed annorum domini ordo alter est secundum dyonisium, alter secundum meæ paruitatis ingeniolum': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 58^{r}.

[47] 'Cum annuis successibus ad solitam summam annorum domini adduntur xxi': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fols 58^{r}–58^{v} and 'Inter utramque summam annorum Domini est ubique indifferentia xxi': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 60^{r}.

[48] Both Van de Vyver and Cordoliani erroneously think that the Abbonian *laterculus* does not contain a full lunisolar 532-year cycle: Van de Vyver, 'Les oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', p. 156; and Cordoliani, 'Abbon de Fleury', p. 467.

[49] The Septuagint era states that Christ was born in AM 5199, i.e. the 5199th year of the creation. The era *secundum hebraicam veritatem* reduces the pre-Christian period by 1247 years to AM 3952. For both era's, the numbers are corresponding to the last year of a 19-year cycle. Concerning the Septuagint era, for instance, AM 6262 corresponds to AD 1063, AM 6281 to AD 1082, and so on.

[50] In his letters to Gerald and Vital, Abbo dated Christ's Passion at AD 33, whereas in his *Praefatio ad cyclos paschales* he prefers AD 34.

[51] The Betrayal took place on Thursday, 24 March (*luna xiv*); the Passion on Friday, 25

149th year of a Dionysian 532-year cycle, which is fully concordant with the theory explained in Abbo's first letter to Gerald and Vital.[52] Thirdly, the year of St Benedict's death is found in 1062 VA, which is identical to 530 VA (because 1062 – 532 = 530). The *concurrens* is 3, which means 24 March fell on a Tuesday. At the bottom of the same column, we find the Easter full moon (*luna xiv*) on 21 March, which was also Easter Saturday. These data match the information provided by Abbo's reliable sources: Victor of Capua, Paulus Diaconus and the *Vita sancti Mauri Glannafoliensis*. Finally, we find the year of the Incarnation of the Lord as 1065 VA, the last year of this 532-year cycle, which is identical to 1 VA (because 1065 – 532 – 532 = 1).[53] Comparing 1 VA to Dionysius's era, we must conclude that Abbo dated the Incarnation of our Lord as AD 1044, which is identical to 21 BC (AD 1044 – 532 = AD 512, and AD 512 – 532 = 21 BC), because there has never been a year zero (0) between 1 BC and AD 1.[54]

Abbo of Fleury attacked the computational inaccuracy of Dionysius's Christian era. After a correction of 3 years, using chronographic arguments (AD 535 instead of AD 532), Abbo failed in his first attempt to complete a fully computistical theory (AD 533 instead of AD 558). In a second attempt, however, Abbo proposed a correction of 21 years (AD 553 instead of AD 532), giving the year of Christ's Passion as AD 12 (= 33 VA), and that of St Benedict's death as 530 VA (= AD 509).

Abbo's *laterculus* (AD 1004) was the final stage in his correction of Dionysius's Christian era. He managed to compress his entire theory onto one folio.

March (*luna xv*); and the Resurrection on Sunday, 27 March (*luna xvii*).

[52] 'Si uero queris in supradictis xxviii cyclis una serie dispositis, quis in his annus conueniat primo ubi dicitur caput saeculi, scito cognoscens illum esse absque ullo scrupulo ubi sibi communicant xvii annus solaris et xvi decemnouenalis': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 56rb. Reading Abbo's *laterculus*, it is important to know that the first row of concurrents represents the last 19-year cycle of a Dionysian *annus magnus* (AD 1045–63), the second row represents the first 19-year cycle (AD 1064–82), and so on. As a consequence, the year of the creation of the world (AM 1) corresponds, indeed, to the 149th year of a Dionysian 532-year cycle (149/532).

[53] 'Sicut nos uno laterculo ostendimus, in quo dxxxii annorum concurrentes disposuimus, ita ut ultimum cyclum bedæ nostro praeponeremus operi, quod a dxxxiiii incipiens, manifestat eiusdem laterculi in annum ultimum esse dominicæ incarnationis primum.': Berlin, Staatsbib. Preuß. Kult., MS 138, fol. 59^{r}. As we can see in the *laterculus*, Abbo marked also the year of the Incarnation *secundum Dionisium*, namely in AD 1065 (2/532).

[54] 'In carrying the reckoning backward as well as forward, no year zero was established, but the first year of the period prior to Christ was placed immediately before the first year of the Christian era, that is the year 1 BC and AD 1 followed each other in immediate succession. Mathematically speaking the omission of zero in a sequence of numbers involves an error.': Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology: Principles of Time Reckoning in the Ancient World and Problems of Chronology in the Bible*, rev. edn (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998), p. 114.

By doing so, the table almost perfectly exemplified the biblical words that God created everything in measure, number and weight (Wisdom 11. 20). For Abbo, it had been merely a matter of time to perceive the intelligible unity of God's Creation. For us, Abbo's era also showed its author's intellectual autonomy. He could easily have stopped when his research threatened to collide with authoritative tradition. But Abbo was content with nothing but the truth. He stood up to the authority of Dionysius Exiguus, and blamed the Venerable Bede several times for not helping him to resolve this obscure question.[55] Abbo of Fleury's computistical works are a telling illustration of a new critical attitude at the end of the tenth century.

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[55] Apart from an ironical note, Bede had remained remarkably silent about this topic. Wallis, *Bede*, p. 338: 'Had Bede pointed out the error and proposed a correction, he would have put a risk his main project of securing acceptance for the computistical system to which his chronology was attached. Dionysius's system was his table, and if there was a small mistake in a computistically irrelevant part of the table, that would have to be tolerated for the sake of promoting orthodox Easter reckoning'.

Table 2: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. 138 (Phill. 1833), fol. 53[r].

Primus ciclus dionisii talis esse debuit secundum ordinem annorum domini.

	Anni domini	Indic tiones	Anni domini	Indic tiones	Epactæ lunæ	Concur rentes	Ciclus lunæ	XIIII[mæ] lunæ paschales	Dominici dies paschæ	Luna ipsius diei		Primus ciclus sancti Cyrilli Alexandrini			Luna ipsius diei
	iii	vi	dxxxv	xiii	nulla	i	xvii	Nonæ Apr.	vii Id. Apr.	xvi		iii	C	ii Id. Apr.	xxi
	iiii	vii	dxxxvi	xiiii	xi	ii	xviii	viii Kal. Apr.	iii Kal. Apr.	xviiii		v	C	vi Kal. Apr.	xv
B	v	viii	dxxxvii	xv	xxii	iiii	xviiii	Id. Apr.	xiiii Kal. Mai.	xviiii		vi	E	xvi Kal. Mai.	xvi
	vi	viiii	dxxxviii	i	iii	v	i	iiii Non. Apr.	iii Non. Apr.	xv		vii	C	vi Id. Apr.	xx
	vii	x	dxxxviiii	ii	xiiii	vi	ii	xi Kal. Apr.	vii Kal. Apr.	xviii		i	C	viiii Kal. Apr.	xvi
	viii	xi	dxl	iii	xxv	vii	iii	iiii Id. Apr.	xvii Kal. Mai.	xviiii		iii	E	ii Id. Apr.	xvi
B	viiii	xii	dxli	iiii	vi	ii	iiii	iii Kal. Apr.	viii Id. Apr.	xxi		iiii	C	ii Non. Apr.	xviiii
	x	xiii	dxlii	v	xvii	iii	v	xiiii Kal. Mai.	xiii Kal. Mai.	xv	OCD.	v	E	viii Kal. Mai.	xx
	xi	xiiii	dxliii	vi	xxviii	iiii	vi	vii Id. Apr.	iii Id. Apr.	xviii		vi	C	v Id. Apr.	xvi
	xii	xv	dxliiii	vii	viiii	v	vii	vi Kal. Apr.	iii Non. Apr.	xxi		i	C	ii Kal. Apr.	xviii
B	xiii	i	dxlv	viii	xx	vii	viii	xvii Kal. Mai.	x Kal. Mai.	xxi		ii	E	xii Kal. Apr.	xviiii
	xiiii	ii	dxlvi	viiii	i	i	viiii	ii Non. Apr.	vii Id. Apr.	xvii		iii	C	Non. Apr.	xv
	xv	iii	dxlvii	x	xii	ii	x	viiii Kal. Apr.	iii Kal. Apr.	xx		iiii	C	v Kal. Apr.	xviii
	xvi	iiii	dxlviii	xi	xxiii	iii	xi	ii Id. Apr.	xiii Kal. Mai.	xxi		vi	E	xvi Kal. Mai.	xviii
B	xvii	v	dxlviiii	xii	iiii	v	xii	Kal. Apr.	iii Non. Apr.	xvi		vii	C	vi Id. Apr.	xxi
	xviii	vi	dl	xiii	xv	vi	xiii	xii Kal. Apr.	vii Kal. Apr.	xviiii		i	C	viiii Kal. Apr.	xvii
	xviiii	vii	dli	xiiii	xxvi	vii	xiiii	v Id. Apr.	xvii Kal. Mai.	xx		ii	E	Idus Apr.	xviii
	xx	viii	dlii	xv	vii	i	xv	iiii Kal. Apr.	ii Kal. Apr.	xvi		iiii	C	ii Non. Apr.	xx
B	xxi	viiii	dliii	i	xviii	iii	xvi	xv Kal. Mai.	xiii Kal. Mai.	xvi	END.	v	E	viii Kal. Mai.	xxi

Table 3: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat.138 (Phill. 1833), fols 57^{v}–58^{r}.

Ultimus XXVIII cyclorum decemnouenalium, id est XXVIII, talis esse debuit secundum fidem historiographorum.

Anni domini	Indic tiones	Æpactæ	Concur rentes	Cyclus lunaris	XIIII luna	Dominica paschæ	Luna ipsius diei
dxv	ii	nichil	v	xvii	Non. Apr.	iiii Id. Apr.	xviiii
dxvi	iii	xi	vi	xviii	viii Kal. Apr.	vii Kal. Apr.	xv
dxvii	iiii	xxii	i	xviiii	Id. Apr.	xviii Kal. Mai.	xv
dxviii	v	iii	ii	i	iiii Non.	viii Id. Apr.	xviii
dxviiii	vi	xiiii	iii	ii	xi Kal. Apr.	iiii Kal. Apr.	xxi
dxx	vii	xxv	iiii	iii	iiii Id. Apr.	iii Id. Apr.	xv
dxxi	viii	vi	vi	iiii	iii Kal. Apr.	iiii Non. Apr.	xvii
dxxii	viiii	xvii	vii	v	xiiii Kal. Mai.	x Kal. Mai.	xviiii
dxxiii	x	xxviii	i	vi	vii Id. Apr.	xviiii Kal. Mai.	xxi
dxxiiii	xi	viiii	ii	vii	vi Kal. Apr.	iii Kal. Apr.	xvii
dxxv	xii	xx	iiii	viii	xvii Kal. Mai.	xiiii Kal. Mai.	xvii
dxxvi	xiii	i	v	viiii	ii Non. Apr.	iiii Id. Apr.	xx
dxxvii	xiiii	xii	vi	x	viiii Kal. Apr.	vii Kal. Apr.	xvi
dxxviii	xv	xxiii	vii	xi	ii Id. Apr.	xvii Kal. Mai.	xvii
dxxviiii	i	iiii	ii	xii	Kal. Apr.	viii Id. Apr.	xix
dxxx	ii	xv	iii	xiii	xii Kal. Apr.	xi Kal. Apr.	xv
dxxxi	iii	xxvi	iiii	xiiii	v Id. Apr.	iii Id. Apr.	xvi
dxxxii	iiii	vii	v	xv	iiii Kal. Apr.	iiii Non. Apr.	xviiii
dxxxiii	v	xviii	vii	xvi	xv Kal. Mai.	x Kal. Mai.	xix

Table 3: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat.138 (Phill. 1833), fols 57^{v}–58^{r} [continued].

Primus ciclus decemnouenalis XXVIII per omnia similis excoeptis indictionibus et annis Christi.

Anni domini	Indic tiones	Æpactæ	Concur rentes	Cyclus lunaris	XIIII luna	Dominica paschæ	Luna ipsius diei
dxxxiiii	vi	nichil	i	xvii	Non. Apr.	vii Id. Apr.	xvi
dxxxv	vii	xi	ii	xviii	viii Kal. Apr.	iii Kal. Apr.	xviiii
dxxxvi	viii	xxii	iii	xviiii	Id. Apr.	xiii Kal. Apr.	xx
dxxxvii	viiii	iii	v	i	iiii Non.	iii Non. Apr.	xv
dxxxviii	x	xiiii	vi	ii	xi Kal. Apr.	vii Kal. Apr.	xviii
dxxxviiii	xi	xxv	vii	iii	iiii Id. Apr.	xvii Kal. Mai.	xviiii
dxl	xii	vi	i	iiii	iii Kal. Apr.	ii Kal. Apr.	xv
dxli	xiii	xvii	iii	v	xiiii Kal. Mai.	xiii Kal. Mai.	xv
dxlii	xiiii	xxviii	iiii	vi	vii Id. Apr.	iii Id. Apr.	xviii
dxliii	xv	viiii	v	vii	vi Kal. Apr.	iii Non. Apr.	xxi
dxliiii	i	xx	vi	viii	xvii Kal. Mai.	xvi Kal. Mai.	xv
dxlv	ii	i	i	viiii	ii Non. Apr.	vii Id. Apr.	xvii
dxlvi	iii	xii	ii	x	viiii Kal. Apr.	iii Kal. Apr.	xx
dxlvii	iiii	xxiii	iii	xi	ii Id. Apr.	xiii Kal. Mai.	xxi
dxlviii	v	iiii	iiii	xii	Kal. Apr.	ii Non. Apr.	xvii
dxlviiii	vi	xv	vi	xiii	xii Kal. Apr.	vii Kal. Apr.	xviiii
dl	vii	xxvi	vii	xiiii	v Id. Apr.	xvii Kal. Mai.	xx
dli	viii	vii	i	xv	iiii Kal. Apr.	ii Kal. Apr.	xvi
dlii	viiii	xviii	ii	xvi	xv Kal. Mai.	xii Kal. Mai.	xvii

Table 3: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat.138 (Phill. 1833), fols 57^{v}–58^{r} [continued].

Secundus ciclus decemnouenalis primo per omnia similis excoeptis indictionibus et annis Christi.

Anni domini	Indic tiones	Æpactæ	Concur rentes	Cyclus lunaris	XIIII luna	Dominica paschæ	Luna ipsius diei
dliii	x	nichil	iiii	xvii	Non. Apr.	iii Id. Apr.	xx
dliiii	xi	xi	v	xviii	viii Kal. Apr.	vi Kal. Apr.	xvi
dlv	xii	xxii	vi	xviiii	Id. Apr.	xvi Kal. Mai.	xvii
dlvi	xiii	iii	vii	i	iiii Non.	vi Id. Apr.	xx
dlvii	xiiii	xiiii	ii	ii	xi Kal. Apr.	x Kal. Apr.	xv
dlviii	xv	xxv	iii	iii	iiii Id. Apr.	ii Id. Apr.	xvi
dlviiii	i	vi	iiii	iiii	iii Kal. Apr.	ii Non. Apr.	xviiii
dlx	ii	xvii	v	v	xiiii Kal. Mai.	viii Kal. Mai.	xx
dlxi	iii	xxviii	vii	vi	vii Id. Apr.	vi Id. Apr.	xv
dlxii	iiii	viiii	i	vii	vi Kal. Apr.	ii Kal. Apr.	xviii
dlxiii	v	xx	ii	viii	xvii Kal. Mai.	xii Kal. Mai.	xviiii
dlxiiii	vi	i	iii	viiii	ii Non. Apr.	Non. Apr.	xv
dlxv	vii	xii	v	x	viiii Kal. Apr.	vi Kal. Apr.	xvii
dlxvi	viii	xxiii	vi	xi	ii Id. Apr.	xvi Kal. Mai.	xviii
dlxvii	viiii	iiii	vii	xii	Kal. Apr.	vi Id. Apr.	xxi
dlxviii	x	xv	i	xiii	xii Kal. Apr.	viiii Kal. Apr.	xvii
dlxviiii	xi	xxvi	iii	xiiii	v Id. Apr.	ii Id. Apr.	xvii
dlxx	xii	vii	iiii	xv	iiii Kal. Apr.	ii Non. Apr.	xx
dlxxi	xiii	xviii	v	xvi	xv Kal. Mai.	viii Kal. Mai.	xxi

Table 4: Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. 138 (Phill. 1833), fol. 60^{r}: Laterculus Abbonis.

Dyonisii ordo		*Uerior assertio*		17	18	19	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16			
Anni Dom.	Indic.	Anni Dom.	Indic.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		*lxx interpretes*	*Hebraica ueritas*
1045	13	1066	4	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	1	6262	5015
1064	2	1085	8	4·	**5**	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	**5·**	6	7	1	3·	4	5	2	6281	5034
1083	6	1104	12	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	3	6300	5053
1102	10	1123	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	4	6319	5072
1121	14	1142	5	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	5	6338	5091
1140	3	1161	9	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	6	6357	5110
1159	7	1180	13	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	7	6376	5129
1178	11	1199	2	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	8	6395	5148
1197	15	1218	6	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	**7·**	1	2	3	9	6414	5167
1216	4	1237	10	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	10	6433	5186
1235	8	1256	14	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	11	6452	5205
1254	12	1275	3	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	12	6471	5224
1273	1	1294	7	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	13	6490	5243
1292	5	1313	11	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	14	6509	5262
1311	9	1332	15	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	15	6528	5281
1330	13	1351	4	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	16	6547	5300
1349	2	1370	8	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	17	6566	5319
1368	6	1389	12	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	18	6585	5338
1387	10	1408	1	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	19	6604	5357
1406	14	1427	5	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	20	6623	5376
1425	3	1446	9	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	21	6642	5395
1444	7	1465	13	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	22	6661	5414
1463	11	1484	2	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	23	6680	5433
1482	15	1503	6	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	24	6699	5452
1501	4	1522	10	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	25	6186	4939
988	1	1009	6	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	26	6205	4958
1007	5	1028	11	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	3	4	5	7·	1	2	3	5·	6	7	1	3·	4	27	6224	4977
1026	9	1047	15	5	6	1∴	2	3	4	6·	7	1	2	4·	5	6	7	2·	**3**	4	5	7·	28	6243	4996
Inter utramque summam annorum Domini est ubique indifferentia xxi		Æpactæ		Nichil	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18		Inter utramque summam est ubique indifferentia mccxlvii	
		Termini paschales		Apr. Non.	Apr. viii Kal.	Apr. Id.	Apr. iiii Non.	Apr. xi Kal.	Apr. iiii Id.	Apr. iii Kal.	Mai. xiiii Kal.	Apr. vii Id.	Apr. vi Kal.	Mai. xvii Kal.	Apr. ii Non.	Apr. viii Kal.	Apr. ii Id.	Apr. Kal.	Apr. xii Kal.	Apr. v Id.	Apr. iiii Kal.	Mai. xv Kal.			
		Regulares		5	1	6	2	5	3	6	4	7	3	1	4	7	5	1	4	2	5	3			

The Influence of Bede's *De temporum ratione* on Ælfric's Understanding of Time

AARON J. KLEIST

One crucial perspective to be considered when approaching the question of the Anglo-Saxon perception of the millennium is the influence of Bede's *De temporum ratione* on Ælfric of Eynsham's understanding of time. Ælfric—one of the most educated and prolific writers of the late tenth century—was trained at one of the foremost centres of learning in his day: Winchester, under Bishop Æthelwold (963–84), a leader of the Benedictine reform which revitalized literacy in England after the Viking depredations of the ninth century. Convinced of the widespread need for orthodox instruction, Ælfric sought to make the teachings of the Church Fathers and other ecclesiastical authorities accessible to his contemporaries. In his first volumes of homilies, for example, the *Sermones catholici*, he translated and adapted such writers as Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, and his erudite Anglo-Saxon predecessor, the Venerable Bede. Ælfric's work did not go unnoticed. In his appointments at Cerne and later at Eynsham as abbot, Ælfric wrote not only for his local community but at the request of bishops and powerful laymen, with his works having such influence that they were copied for centuries following their composition. While much of Ælfric's writing focused on theological issues, scriptural exegesis, and instruction for righteous living, one issue he explored repeatedly in his work was that of time.

In addition to a survey of biblical history (*De ueteri testamento et nouo*) and a treatise on the ages of the world (*De sex etatibus huius seculi*), Ælfric's studies of time included *De temporibus anni*, a work drawn largely from a central study of

chronology, Bede's *De temporum ratione*.[1] Written around 725, in the last decade of Bede's life, *De temporum ratione* provides both an analysis of units of time, from the *atomus* or *that-which-cannot-be-divided*, right up through the ages of the world, and a chronology of world history that synchronizes biblical and extra-biblical events to form a single time line. This brief examination shall seek to show that Bede's work influenced Ælfric's view of history in at least two key ways: Ælfric's understanding of what we may refer to as astronomical and eschatological time.

First of all, there is astronomical time—the cycle of days, months, and years as measured by the heavenly bodies. On the one hand, Ælfric is adamant that such forces do not control man's fate. Speaking of the star that leads the wise men to Bethlehem, for example, he condemns those *gedwolmen* ('heretics') who assert that 'ælc man beo acenned. be steorrena gesetnyssum: and þurh heora ymbrynum him wyrd gelimpe' ('every man is born in keeping with the position of the stars, and by means of their movements his fate befalls him').[2] At the same time, however, he does not see their movements as being without significance. Writing on the octaves and circumcision of the Lord, for example—that is, the first of January—he considers the problem of the beginning of the year. Drawing on Bede's *De temporum ratione*,[3] Ælfric argues not for the Roman-based practice of dating from 1 January, but for the Hebraic custom of dating from 21 March, the spring equinox, on which the length of day equals that of night. As Ælfric explains both here and in *De temporibus anni*, while God divided light and darkness on the first day of Creation, it was only on the fourth day that God made the heavenly bodies to be 'in signa et tempora et dies et annos' ('as signs and seasons and days and years').[4] While time began on the first day, therefore, the *measurement* of time began on the fourth day, on the first equinox, when the division of day and night was marked by the passing of the hours. Properly celebrated on 21 March, it is this point, Ælfric says, from

[1] *De temporum ratione*, ed. by C. W. Jones, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (hereafter CCSL), 123B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), pp. 263–460. Analysing the sources of *De temporibus anni*, Heinrich Henel shows that while Ælfric structures his text according to Bede's earlier *De temporibus* (on which, see p. 90 below), and incorporates material from Bede's *De natura rerum* and *Libri iv in principium Genesis*, Ælfric draws primarily on *De temporum ratione* (see Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*, ed. by Heinrich Henel, Early English Text Society, o.s. 213 (London: Oxford University Press, 1942; repr. 1970), pp. liiii–liv).

[2] *Sermones catholici*, I. 7. 116–18, in *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series, Text,* ed. by Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Society, s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 232–40 (p. 235).

[3] See *Sermones catholici*, I. 6. 157–58 (see Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*); and Malcolm Godden, 'Records for Anglo-Saxon text *Catholic homilies* 1.6', *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, at <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk>.

[4] Genesis 1. 4 and 14; see *Sermones catholici*, I. 6. 148–58, and *De temporibus anni*, 2.

which the year should be reckoned.[5] The change is of twofold significance. On the one hand, as Malcolm Godden has noted, Ælfric is concerned about the use of 1 January as the basis for divinations and auguries, perhaps as a by-product of computational calculations by his ecclesiastical colleagues.[6] On the other hand, like Bede, Ælfric places great weight in the symbolism attached to the equinox. He teaches that Easter, for example, is never to be observed *ær oferswiðdum þeostrum*, before the overcoming of darkness.[7] As Bede makes it clear in both *De temporum ratione* and the *Historia ecclesiastica*, since Christ is the light by which men are saved (see, for example, John 1. 9), celebrating men's redemption before light outweighs darkness (that is, before the equinox) is tantamount to saying that men can be saved apart from Christ's grace:

> Nam si qui plenilunium paschale ante aequinoctium fieri posse contenderit, ostendat uel ecclesiam sanctam priusquam saluator in carne ueniret extitisse perfectam, uel quemlibet fidelium ante praeuentum gratiae illius aliquid posse supernae lucis habere.[8]

For Ælfric, therefore, while the movements of the heavens do not determine the course of men's lives, they are imbued with theological principles that should direct men's way of living.

Second, and more significantly, Ælfric makes references to eschatological time: the progression of history on a macrocosmic level to the end of the ages. Speaking of the wedding at Cana, for example, where Christ turns water into wine, Ælfric explains the six stone water jars as the six ages of the world.[9] Earlier, treating

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[5] While this association of the spring equinox with the beginning of the year would long have been known from Bede (*De temporum ratione*, 6), Godden notes that Ælfric was exceptional in actually arguing for Bede's date; when March was used to mark the year's beginning, as on the Continent from the ninth century and in England from the mid-eleventh century, the date in question was not 21 but 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation; see Malcolm Godden, 'New Year's Day in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 39 (1992), 148–50 (p. 150).

[6] Godden, 'New Year's Day', p. 150.

[7] *De temporibus anni*, 6. 4, in Henel, Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*, p. 46.

[8] 'If anyone were to assert that the full moon at Easter can come before the equinox, it would appear either that the holy church was perfect before the Saviour came in the flesh, or that one of the faithful can have some of the eternal light prior to the prevenient gift of Christ's grace': Jones, *De temporum ratione*, 6. 46–50, p. 292; see *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 21. Bede speaks against this Pelagian heresy in his preface to *In Cantica Canticorum allegorica expositio*, ed. by David Hurst, CCSL, 119B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980), pp. 165–375.

[9] *Sermones catholici*, II. 4. 100–293, in *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series, Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Early English Text Society, s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 29–40; John 2. 1–11.

Christ's description of the last days, Ælfric describes the world as an ageing man.[10] In his homily for 1 January, he interprets Christ's circumcision on the eighth day as humanity's final cleansing in the eighth age.[11] All these passages reflect concepts that Bede discusses in *De temporum ratione*.[12]

Ælfric's source for his exposition of the wedding at Cana is probably Bede's homily for the occasion, *Homiliae* I. 14.[13] Bede interprets the jars of water as scripture, which Jesus turns into wine by fulfilling them in the New Testament; there are six jars, he says, because there are six ages of history that Christ fulfils. In the first age, therefore, we find the innocent Abel, who Cain kills out of envy even as the Jews kill Christ. In the second age, we find Noah saving some from the flood even as Christ saves some from condemnation. In the third age, Abraham offers Isaac as a sacrifice even as God the Father offers Christ—and so on, right through to the sixth age, when Jesus undergoes circumcision as a sign of the old covenant even as believers undergo baptism as a sign of the new. 'Gif we ðus understandað þa ealdan gereccednysse,' Ælfric concludes, 'þonne bið þæt wæter us awend to winlicum swæcce. for ðan ðe we tocnawað urne cyning crist. and his rice. and ure rice ðær awritene. þær we ær swilce be oðrum mannum gereccednysse ræddon'.[14]

It is not Bede's homily, however, that chiefly provides Ælfric with his understanding of the ages, but *De temporum ratione*.[15] Bede's division of world history was part of a tradition dating back to the *Χρονικοὶ Κανόνες* of Eusebius of Caesarea (*c*. 260–340), which had considerable influence on the West following its

[10] *Sermones catholici*, I. 40. 110–20; Luke 21. 25–33.

[11] *Sermones catholici*, I. 6. 121–23; Luke 2. 21.

[12] For the sources of Ælfric's homilies on Cana and the circumcision, see pp. 87–88 below and n. 3 above. While Godden suggests that Ælfric relies on Gregory the Great's *Homiliae xl in Euangelia*, 1 and 28 for his description of the world as an aged man, he also notes that a few lines later Ælfric draws on *De temporum ratione*, 70—a passage not far from *De temporum ratione*, 66, where Ælfric would have found an extended treatment of this ageing-world image: see 'Records for Anglo-Saxon text *Catholic homilies* 1.40', *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*; see pp. 89–90 below and Appendix 2 below.

[13] Godden, 'Records for Anglo-Saxon text *Catholic homilies* 2.4', *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*.

[14] 'If we understand the Old Testament in this way, then the water will be changed so that it tastes pleasant to us, because we will recognize Christ our king, and his kingdom, and our kingdom recorded there, where we had previously read the account as about other men'; see *Sermones catholici*, II. 4. 205–09 in Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, p. 36.

[15] On the contemporary dating of these works, see L. T. Martin, 'Introduction', in *Bede the Venerable: Homilies on the Gospels*, ed. by Martin and D. Hurst, 2 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991), pp. xi–xxiii, (p. xi); and *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. with introduction, notes and commentary by Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. xvi, n. 4. For the following, see Wallis, *Bede*, pp. 354–66.

translation and edition by Jerome.[16] Two aspects of Eusebius's work are of interest to us here: first, following the Septuagint, Eusebius dated Christ's birth to annus mundi 5197 or 5198, which Jerome adjusted to what had become the traditional date in the West, 5199.[17] Second, Eusebius divided the pre-Messianic period into six parts: (1) Adam to the flood, (2) the flood to Abraham, (3) Abraham to Moses, (4) Moses to the building of Solomon's temple, (5) Solomon's temple to the post-exilic temple, (6) and the post-exilic temple to Christ's ministry. In the third and fourth century, Augustine adjusted this scheme to correspond to the division in Matthew's gospel (see Appendix 1): the third age was thus from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the Babylonian exile, and the fifth from the exile to Christ, with the present era forming the sixth age.[18] Augustine was fascinated by the symbolism latent in such a division. On the one hand, he likened the ages to the days of Creation, with each day having a morning, noon, and evening—that is, a promising

[16] Eusebius actually produced his chronicle in two parts: a preliminary volume of raw data, comprising regnal lists from major empires (the *Chronographia*), followed by a compiled, synchronized table of biblical and extra-biblical events (the *Χρονικοὶ Κανόνες*); it was the latter part which Jerome translated. While no copy of Eusebius's Greek original survives, an Armenian translation is ed. and trans. by Josef Karst, *Die Chronik des Eusebius*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, 20 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911); Jerome's Latin translation, *Chronicon*, is ed. by Rudolf Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, 47 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956). On Eusebius's work and the influence of Jerome's translation, see Richard Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronology 100–800 CE', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Werner Verbeke and others (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), pp. 137–211 (pp. 149–51 and 165); Brian Croke, 'The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle', in *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Brian Croke and Alanna M. Emmett (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1983), pp. 116–31 (pp. 116 and 120–27); and Alden A. Mosshammer, *The* Chronicle *of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1979).

[17] Eusebius dates the beginning of Christ's ministry, when Christ is about thirty (*quasi annorum triginta* (Luke 3. 23)), to AM 5228 (*Chronicon*, pp. 14–18 and 173–74; cf. p. 169). See Hildegard L. C. Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi: Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen und Texte* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1985), pp. 22–22, and the useful overview in Wallis, *Bede*, pp. 355–56.

[18] 'Omnes ergo generationes ab Abraham usque ad David generationes quattuordecim et a David usque ad transmigrationem Babylonis generationes quattuordecim et a transmigratione Babylonis usque ad Christum generationes quattuordecim' ('Therefore, all the generations from Abraham to David number fourteen; from David to the Babylonian exile, there are fourteen; and from the Babylonian exile to Christ, there are fourteen' (Matthew 1. 17)). See *De ciuitate Dei*, XXII. 30, *De trinitate*, IV. 4, *De catechizandis rudibus*, 22. 39, *Sermones*, 125. 4, and *In euangelium Ioannis tractatus*, 9. 6 and 15. 9.

beginning, apex, and final decline.[19] On the other hand, he spoke of the ages in terms of human life: infancy, childhood, adolescence, youth, decline, and old age.[20]

Bede takes up and develops both these analogies in *De temporum ratione*. In Book Ten, he discusses the ages in terms of the six days of Creation (Appendix 2, column one). Just as God created light on the first day, so in the first age he placed man in the perfection of Eden. Man sinned, however, and the earth became corrupt, and thus the first age ended with the destruction of the flood. On the second day, God drew the earth from the midst of the waters, even as in the second age he suspended the ark upon the waves. Noah's progeny too, however, fell into sin, and because of their arrogance at Babel, God scattered them across the earth. Bede continues in this vein right through to the sixth day, when God created men in his own image, even as Christ re-creates men through his sacrifice in the sixth age—an age that will end in the greatest darkness of all: the persecution of the saints by the Antichrist. As we shall see, this association between the ages and the days of Creation has important ramifications for Bede's understanding of the end times and of the seventh and eighth Ages.[21] Next, then, in Book Sixty-six, Bede draws on Augustine's association of the ages of the world with human age (Appendix 2, second column): in the first age the world was destroyed by the flood even as infancy is submerged in the depths of human memory; in the second, the Hebrews emerged as a people and developed a language, even as in childhood people begin to speak; and so the parallels progress, continuing on to the sixth age, when the demise of the earth—as Ælfric notes[22]—echoes the dotage and death of human beings.

It is in immediately after this in Book Sixty-six that Bede presents his chronology of world events dated according to *annus mundi*, from the world's creation. Bede's predecessor in this regard was Isidore of Seville, who had reorganized Eusebius's history according to Augustine's paradigm of the six ages.[23] Like Eusebius, Isidore drew his chronology of biblical events from the Septuagint, and thus dated Christ's birth—which he set as the beginning of the sixth age—to AM 5196.[24] In *De temporibus*, however, composed some years prior to *De temporum*

[19] *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, I. 23. 35–40. Wallis notes that this association of the ages with the days of creation was not original to Augustine, but a patristic commonplace (*Bede*, p. 356, citing P. Siniscalco, 'Le età del mondo in Beda', *Romanobarbarica*, 3 (1978), 297–331 (pp. 316–17)).

[20] *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, I. 23. 35–40, De uera religione, 26. 48, and *De ciuitate Dei*, XVI. 43. See Wallis, *Bede*, p. 356, and Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi*, pp. 22–24.

[21] See appendices 2 and 3 below.

[22] See pp. 85–86 above.

[23] *Etymologiae*, V. 29.

[24] *Chronologia*, ed. by Theodore Mommsen, Monumenta Germanica Historica: Auctorum antiquissimorum, 11 (Berolini: Weidmannos, 1894), pp. 425 and 453–54. Isidore places Christ's birth in the forty-second year of Augustus's fifty-six year reign, the end of which he

ratione, Bede revised Isidore's system radically by drawing not on the Septuagint but on the 'puro Hebraicae Veritatis fonte' ('pure fountain of Hebrew Truth')—that is, the Vulgate, Jerome's translation of the Hebrew Old Testament.[25] The difference is considerable: in all, the Septuagint and Vulgate diverge by 1248 years.[26] As a result, Bede dated the Incarnation to AM 3952—a move that led to a charge of heresy from certain clerics, or, as Bede puts it, babbling drunken lewd peasants, who accused him of denying that Christ came in the sixth age of the world.[27] C. W. Jones suggests that *De temporum ratione*, and Book Sixty-six in particular, is designed at least in part as a refutation of that charge.[28] Bede himself, defending his choice of the Vulgate over the Septuagint, cites no less than Augustine, who concluded that 'Cum diuersum aliquid in utrisque codicibus inuenitur [. . .] ei linguae potius credatur, unde est in aliam per interpretes facta translatio' ('When some divergence between the two books is found, one should give greater credence to the language from which interpreters made a translation in another tongue').[29] Why, however, would Bede's revised chronology—and thus the paradigm of the ages on which Ælfric would draw—be a cause of such concern?

The answer is bound up with popular views of the millennia and the question of the seventh age. On the one hand, there was the influence of verses such as II Peter 3. 8: 'Unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni, et mille anni sicut dies unus' ('With the Lord one day is like a thousand years, and a thousand years like one

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dates to AM 5210 (5210 – 56 + 42 = 5196); see Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi*, p. 25. One consequence of this scheme is that the six-thousandth year of the world would have fallen around AD 799—that is, only seventy-five years away from the composition of *De temporum ratione* in AD 725.

[25] As noted in *De temporum ratione*, LXVII. 6, p. 536.

[26] Septaguint: first age, 2242 years; second age, 942 years; fourth age, 485 years; Vulgate: first age, 1656 years; second age, 292 years; fourth age, 473 years; see *De temporibus*, in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica*, ed. by C. W. Jones, CCSL, 123, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–80), III (1980), 585–611 (pp. 601–4).

[27] The defamation comes, he says, 'a lasciuientibus rusticis [. . .] per pocula decanta[ntibus]' ('from lustful rustics babbling because of drink'); see *Epistola ad Pleguinam* 1, in Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica*, III (1980), 617–26 (p. 617).

[28] 'Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis', *Sacris Erudiri* 19 (1969–70), 115–98 (pp. 194–95); and 'Bede's Place in Medieval Schools', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. by Gerald Bonner (London: S.P.C.K., 1976), pp. 261–85 (p. 268); but see Wallis, *Bede*, p. xxxi.

[29] *De ciuitate Dei*, XV. 13, ed. by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCSL, 47–48, 2 vols, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), II, 472, lines 89–93; quoted in *De temporum ratione*, 66, AM 1656.

day').[30] Given (1) that the earth was created in six days; (2) that Augustine divided history into six ages, with Christ's advent marking the sixth age; and (3) that Eusebius, Jerome and Isidore all placed the Incarnation in the sixth millennium, it seemed natural for some to conclude that the earth would last for six thousand-year periods.[31] This perspective was reinforced by a reference in Revelation to a thousand years during which Satan would be bound and the saints would reign with Christ, having been raised in the 'first resurrection'.[32] If the ages of the world corresponded to the days of Creation, might not this period constitute a seventh age of sabbath rest? True, such assumptions did contain a fundamental flaw: if history were limited to these seven distinct millennia, anyone with a world-chronology could predict when the second coming would be—something Christ explicitly denies, saying: 'De die autem illo uel hora nemo scit neque angeli in caelo neque Filius nisi Pater' ('About that day or hour no one knows, neither the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father').[33] Nevertheless, Bede's dating of Christ's birth—and thus the start of the sixth age—to AM 3952 seemed antithetical to an understanding of the ages as literal millennia.

Augustine addresses the issue of the seventh age in the twentieth book of *De ciuitate Dei*, which he wrote between AD 425 and 427, some three to five years before his death.[34] Some men, he notes (called millenarians or chiliasts),[35] understand

[30] Cf. Psalm 89. 4 (90. 4): 'Quia mille anni in oculis tuis sicut dies' ('For a thousand years in your sight are like a day').

[31] On the widespread nature of this belief, see for example Landes, 'Apocalyptic Expectations', pp. 153–54.

[32] Et [angelum] adprehendit draconem serpentem antiquum qui est diabolus et Satanas et ligauit eum per annos mille. Et misit eum in abyssum et clusit et signauit super illum ut non seducat amplius gentes donec consummentur mille anni post haec oportet illum solui modico tempore. Et uidi [. . .] qui non [. . .] acceperunt caracterem in frontibus aut in manibus suis et uixerunt et regnauerunt cum Christo mille annis. Ceteri mortuorum non uixerunt donec consummentur mille anni. Haec est resurrectio prima.

Then [the angel] seized the dragon, the ancient serpent, who is the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years. He threw him into the abyss, shut him in, and set a seal over him, so that he would not deceive the nations further until the thousand years should have passed; after these things he must be released for a brief time. Then I saw [. . .] those who […] had not received the mark on their foreheads or on their hands; and they came to life and reigned with Christ for a thousand years. The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years had passed. This is the first resurrection. (Revelation 20. 2–5).

[33] Mark 13. 32; on which see: Augustine, *De trinitate*, I. 12. 23; *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 6. 1; and *Sermones*, 93. 8.

[34] Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), p. 379. For what follows, see *De ciuitate Dei*, XX. 7–9.

[35] While Augustine here uses these terms interchangeably, derived as they are from the Latin and Greek words for 'thousand' (*mille* and *χιλιάς*), 'chiliasts' may also more precisely

the first resurrection spoken of in Revelation in physical terms: following the six ages, they say, the saints will rise bodily to reign with Christ for a thousand years and to enjoy a sabbath rest, even as God rested from his labours after six days of Creation (this is the 'alternative seventh age' in Appendix 3). Earlier in his career, Augustine confesses, he himself had shared such views.[36] Ultimately, however, he was horrified by those who envisioned this as a time not of spiritual joys but of fleshly pleasures: a profligate feast lasting a thousand years. By the time Augustine writes *De ciuitate Dei*, therefore, he has come to view the reign of the saints as a spiritual reign taking place in the present, either in heaven (the deceased elect) or in the church on earth (the living elect). As he says, 'Regnant cum illo, qui eo modo sunt in regno eius, ut sint etiam ipsi regnum eius' ('They reign with [Christ] who are in his kingdom in such a way that they themselves are his kingdom').[37] The first resurrection is thus a spiritual passage of righteous souls from death to life; the wicked take no part in it, but are raised only at the end of the thousand years, when every soul is reunited with its body at the day of Judgment.

If Augustine is clear that the millennial reign of the saints does not follow the six ages, he is less precise as to when the seventh age will be. On occasion, he speaks of a *sabbato uitae aeternae* ('sabbath of eternal life') which corresponds to God's rest on the seventh day; in it, he says, the saints will rest after their good works, and their rest will have no end.[38] In *De ciuitate Dei*, however, while he states that the sabbath comes after the six ages, he defines this rest as the rest of the spirit, which (as he says elsewhere) 'post hanc uitam excipit sanctos' ('greets the saints [directly] after this life').[39] In other words, the seventh age appears to be synonymous with the reign of the saints; it 'follows' the six ages inasmuch as it follows the believer's experience of the ages. This rest has no end because it does not cease at the second resurrection; rather, the sabbath is followed by an unending Lord's Day, an eighth age in which body and soul find rest together.[40]

Augustine's immediate focus when discussing the seventh age is on believers in the present church: it is they, he says, who now reign with Christ during the thousand years in which Satan is bound.[41] In paralleling the saints' reign with the period of Satan's bondage, however, Augustine provides an opportunity to extend

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be described as those who understood the six ages as literal thousand-year periods, as opposed to those who anticipated a thousand-year reign of the saints on earth.

[36] See, for example, *Sermones*, 259 and *De catechizandis rudibus*, 17. 28.

[37] Dombart and Kalb, *De ciuitate Dei*, XX. 9. 47–48, II, 716.

[38] *Confessiones*, XIII. 36. 51; *Sermones*, 125. 4; *De catechizandis rudibus*, 17. 28; and *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 92. 1.

[39] *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, XII. 19, ed. by Joseph Zycha, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 25.1 (Prague: Tempsky, 1891), pp. 251–797 (p. 348).

[40] *De ciuitate Dei*, XXII. 30.

[41] *De ciuitate Dei*, XX. 9; for what follows, see also XX. 7.

his paradigm to the elect who perished prior to the Crucifixion. Augustine offers two explanations for the period of Satan's imprisonment: while the thousand years may refer to the current era following Christ's triumph over Satan—the remainder of the sixth day or sixth millennium—he says that it may also be taken as a metaphor for the whole of human history, during which God restrains Satan's power over the elect (see ‡ and ‡‡ in Appendix 3).[42] In the latter case, both Satan's bondage, the reign of the saints, and the seventh age itself would parallel not only the sixth age but the whole of human history.

Although he does not discuss the subject in the context of the seventh age, another aspect of Augustine's thought may shed light on the way in which early saints may have entered their rest: Augustine's teaching on the harrowing of hell. In *Epistula* 164, for example, Augustine distinguishes between sinful souls, such as Adam, who abide in hell until delivered by Christ, and righteous souls such as the beggar Lazarus who receive rest with Abraham (cf. Luke 16. 22). As Christ describes a *chasma magnum* or 'vast gulf' that separates Abraham from the wicked (Luke 16. 26), Augustine suggests that Abraham may have been in a place either outside the confines of hell (*Epistulae* 164. 3. 7) or in an upper portion of hell in which he waited but was not tormented (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 86. 17). While Augustine may not explicitly associate this rest of Abraham with the seventh age, Bede and Ælfric after him clearly portray the age of rest as concurrent with, not subsequent to, the six ages of the world.[43]

In its day, Augustine's teaching stood in contrast to established views of the millennium. Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Lactantius, for example, had all espoused millenarian thought, looking forward to a future reign of the saints on

[42] *De ciuitate Dei*, XX. 7. While Augustine speaks of the post-resurrection period as taking place in the sixth millennium, in accordance with Eusebius's dating of the Incarnation to AM 5197/8 (see p. 88 above), this is not to say that he limits history to six thousand years. On the contrary, Augustine states, 'Omnium uero e hac re calculantium digitos resoluit et quiescere iubet ille, qui dicit: *Non est uestrum scire tempora, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate*' ('In this matter [God] spreads wide the fingers of all who are counting [i.e., takes away their means of calculation] and commands silence, he who says, "It is not for you to know the times which the Father has in his power" [Acts 1. 7])': *De ciuitate Dei*, XVIII. 53.

[43] While Wallis speaks of 'Augustine's redefinition of the Seventh Age as the duration of the Church Expectant, *from the time of Abel* until the Last Judgement' (*Bede*, p. 360; italics mine), I know of no passage where Augustine describes the seventh age in these terms. Bede does so explicitly in *De temporum ratione*, 10. 46–54, but Jones's apparatus suggests no sources for this or parallel passages in *De temporum ratione*, 66, 67, and 71. As Tristram, in her survey of insular accounts of the ages, distinguishes between texts (like those of Ælfric) based on 'Bede's Scheme', which define the seventh age as running from Abel to the Judgment, and texts based on 'Augustine's/Isidore's Scheme' or Augustinian variations, which say little to nothing about the seventh age (*Sex aetates mundi*, pp. 35–42 and 48), it may be that the explicit extension of this age to those who perished before the Crucifixion may be a Bedan innovation rather than an Augustinian precedent. See p. 95 below.

earth.[44] At the same time, millenarianism was not without opponents. One of the most prominent of these was Origen, for whom the notion of a single millennial kingdom was at odds with his Neoplatonic views on the reincarnation of souls in successive worlds; Origen's influence did much to limit the impact of millenarianism on Eastern Christianity. A century and a half later, Jerome likewise argued against millennial ideas. It was Augustine, however, Jerome's contemporary, whose mature teachings became the standard for the medieval church.[45]

Bede was one of those who clearly espoused Augustine's view of the Ages. The seven days of Creation, he says, 'non sex annorum milia seculi laborantis et septimum regni beatorum in terra cum Christo, sed sex potius aetates significare mundi labentis, in quibus sancti laborant in hac uita pro Christo, et septimam perpetuae quietis in alia uita', which began with Abel and will end with the resurrection of the body before judgment (the 'seventh age' in Appendix 3).[46] At this point, Bede affirms, the eighth age will begin.[47] Like Augustine, moreover, Bede goes on to warn against understanding the ages as literal thousand-year periods:

> Et quia nulla aetatum quinque praeteritarum mille annis acta repperitur [...] neque ulla alteri similem habuit summam annorum, restat ut pari modo haec quoque, quae nunc agitur, incertum mortalibus habeat suae longitudinis status, soli autem Illi cognitum, qui seruos suos [. . .] uigilare praecepit.[48]

This said, not all who studied chronology in Anglo-Saxon England were content with Bede's paradigm. In his edition of the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Simon Keynes notes that a tract on the six ages circulated in the late tenth century that affirmed that the sixth age would end either in 999 (as stated in the 'Leofric missal') or at the millennium (as stated in

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[44] *Aduersus haereses*, V. 32; dialogue with Tryphon 80–81; *Aduersus Marcionem* IV; and *Diuinae institutiones*, VII. 14–25, respectively.

[45] See, for example, Landes, 'Apocalyptic Expectations', p. 156, though cf. pp. 158 and 167.

[46] '[The seven days] stand not for six millennial ages of toil and a seventh of the reign of the saints on earth with Christ, but rather six ages of this transient world in which the saints toil in this life for Christ, and a seventh age of continual rest in another life'; *De temporum ratione*, 67. 43–52, pp. 536–37.

[47] *De temporum ratione*, 10. 54; see also 66 and 71.

[48] 'Since none of the five previous ages is found to have been a thousand years old [. . .] and none had the same number of years as the rest, it follows that in the same way this age also which now is passing will have a length unpredictable to men, but known only to him who commanded his servants to keep watch'; Jones, *De temporum ratione*, 67. 52–58, p. 537). See Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 6. 1, and note 42 above.

'Ælfwine's prayerbook').[49] Such is not the position of Ælfric. Carefully reflecting the patristic tradition, he states:

> Seo seofoðe yld ys þe yrnð mid þisum sixum fram Abele þam rihtwisan oð þissere worulde ende, na on lybbendum mannum, ac on forðfarenum sawlum on þam oðrum life, þær þær hig blissiað andbidiende git þæs ecan lifes þonne hig arisað, swa swa we ealle sceolon, of deaðe gesunde urum Drihtene togeanes.[50]

'On ðam dæge', he affirms, 'onginð seo eahteoðe yld. na on ðissum life ac on ðam écean life. And seo yld ðurhwunað ungeendod.'.[51]

In the same vein, Ælfric does not advocate a millennial reign of the saints on earth. Rather, drawing again on *De temporum ratione*, he maintains that at the resurrection of the body the righteous will go directly to heaven, where they will remain with God:

> Ne bið se dom on nanum eorþlicum felda gedemed: ac [. . .] we beoð gegrypene on wolcnum togeanes criste geond þas lyft and þær bið seo twæming rihtwisra manna. and arleasra; Ða rihtwisan nahwar syððan ne wuniað buton mid gode on heofenan rice.[52]

How then does Bede, himself indebted to Augustine, influence Ælfric's understanding of his place in human history? Ælfric speaks of a year beginning with the spring equinox, towards the end of the first millennium of the sixth age of man,

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[49] Simon Keynes, 'The Contents of the "Liber Vitae"', in *The Liber Vitae of the Mew Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. by Simon Keynes, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), pp. 79–110 (p. 99).

[50] 'The seventh age is that which runs together with these six, from the righteous Abel to the world's end; [it is composed] not of living men but of departed souls in that other life. There they rejoice, waiting still for eternal life when they will arise, even as we all must rise from death sound [of body] to meet our Lord'; *De ueteri testamento et nouo*, lines 1187–91, in *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. by S. J. Crawford, Early English Text Society, o.s. 160 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922; rev. edn 1969), pp. 15–75 (p. 70).

[51] 'On that day the eighth age will begin, not in this life but in the life eternal. And that age shall continue without end'; *De sex etatibus huius seculi*, lines 189–91, ed. by Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi*, pp. 195–201 (p. 201).

[52] 'The Judgment will not be carried out on any part of earth, but [. . .] we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and there the separation of righteous and wicked men will take place. Thereafter the righteous will dwell nowhere save with God in the kingdom of heaven': *Sermones catholici*, I. 40. 150–55, in Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, p. 529; see Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 70; and Godden, 'Records for *Catholic homilies* 1.40'.

with the world in its last days and with the Judgement soon to come. Like his patristic predecessors, however, Ælfric is careful to stress:

> Seo geendung þyssere worulde cymð þonne men læst wenað. swa swa se apostol cwæð; [. . .] Drihtnes dæg cymð. swa swa ðeof on niht; Oft cweðað men. efne nu cymð domes dæg. for ðan ðe ða witegunga sind agane. þe be ðam gesette wæron; Ac gefeoht cymð ofer gefeohte. gedrefednys ofer gedrefednysse. eorðstyrung ofer eorðstyrunge. hungor ofer hungre. þeod ofer ðeode. and þonne gyt ne cymð se brydguma; Eac swilce þa six ðusend geara fram adame beoð geendode. and ðonne gyt elcað se brydguma; Hu mage we þonne witan hwænne he cymð? [. . .] Nis nan gesceaft þe cunne ðone timan þyssere worulde geendunge. buton gode anum.[53]

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[53] *Sermones catholici*, II. 39. 108–20, in Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, pp. 330–31:

> The ending of the world will come when men least expect it, even as the apostle said, […] 'The Lord's day will come as a thief in the night' [I Thessalonians 5. 2]. Men often say, 'See, now the day of Judgment comes', because the prophecies which were made concerning it have taken place. But war after war shall come, distress after distress, earthquake after earthquake, famine after famine, nation after nation, and even then the bridegroom will not come. Likewise, six thousand years since Adam will have passed, and even then the bridegroom will delay. How then can we know when he will come? […] There is no creature that knows when this world will end, save God alone.

Appendix 1

Augustine's Revision of Eusebius of Caesarea's Division of Pre-Messianic Time

A. Eusebius of Caesarea

I	Adam – flood
II	Flood – Abraham
III	Abraham – Moses
IV	Moses – Solomon's temple
V	Solomon's temple – post-exilic temple
VI	Post-exilic temple – Christ's ministry

B. Augustine

The First and Second Age (as understood from Genesis 5. 3–32 and 11. 10–27)		The Third, Fourth and Fifth Ages (as inspired by Matthew 1. 2–17)			
I	II		III	IV	IV
1 Adam	1 Shem	1	Abraham	Solomon	Jeconiah
2 Seth	2 Aophaxad	2	Isaac	Rehoboam	Shealtiel
	[2b Cainan][54]	3	Jacob	Abijah	Zerubbabel
3 Enosh	3 Shelah	4	Judah	Asa	Abihud
4 Cainan	4 Heber	5	Perez	Jehoshaphat	Eliakim
5 Mahalaleel	5 Peleg	6	Hezron	Joram	Azor
6 Jared	6 Reu	7	Ram	Uzziah	Zadok
7 Enoch	7 Serug	8	Amminadab	Jotham	Akim
8 Methuselah	8 Nahor	9	Nahshon	Ahaz	Eliud
9 Lamech	9 Terah	10	Salmon	Hezekiah	Eleazar
10 Noah (the flood)	10 Abraham	11	Boaz	Manasseh	Matthan
		12	Obed	Amon	Jacob
		13	Jesse	Josiah	Joseph
		14	David	'Jeconiah and his brothers'[55] (the exile)	Christ

[54] Cainan is omitted in the Vulgate version of Genesis 11. 12–13, but included in the Septuagint and in Luke 3. 36.

[55] See II Kings 23. 30 and 36, II Kings 24. 8 and 18, and I Chronicles 3. 16.

Appendix 2

Bede's Development of Two Augustinian Analogies of the Ages

The World Ages and Days of Creation

First day	Light created
First age	Man placed in the perfection of Eden
Evening: earth corrupted by sin; flood	
Second day	The earth suspended on the waters
Second age	The ark suspended on the waves
Evening: diaspora after the Tower of Babel	
Third day	Green plants grow from dry ground
Third age	Abraham leaves his homeland and becomes fruitful in virtues
Evening: the Jews demand a king; slaughter of the priests of Nob	
Fourth day	Heaven adorned with lights
Fourth age	Renown of David and Solomon; splendour of the temple
Evening: Babylonian exile	
Fifth day	Fishes and birds appear
Fifth age	Some Jews abide by rivers of Babylon; some fly back to Jerusalem
Evening: Subjection to the Romans	
Sixth day	God creates humans in his image
Sixth age	Christ re-creates humans in the image of God
Evening: persecution of the righteous by Antichrist	

The World Ages and Human Ages

First world age	World submerged in flood
First human age (infancy)	Infancy submerged in the oblivion of memory
Second world age	Emergence of Hebrew as the Jewish language
Second human age (childhood)	Children learn to speak
Third world age	Abraham established as the father of nations
Third human age (adolescence)	Adolescents able to reproduce
Fourth world age	Era of the kings begins
Fourth human age (youth)	Men become apt for governing a kingdom
Fifth world age	The Jews weakened by many evils
Fifth human age (maturity)	Humanity oppressed by afflictions of age
Sixth world age	The death of the world
Sixth human age (senility and death)	The death of human beings

Appendix 3

A Composite History of time According to Augustine, Bede and Ælfric

The Seven Days of Creation	The Six Human Ages	The Three Times[56]		The Eight Ages	
First day	Infancy	*Ante legem* before the law	**Seventh age ‡‡** Spiritual resurrection *Not* six thousand years	**First age**	Adam – Noah
Second day	Childhood			**Second age**	Noah – Abraham
Third day	Adolescence	*Sub legem* under the law		**Third age**	Abraham – exile
Fourth day (the reckoning of time begins)	Youth			**Fourth age**	David – exile[57]
Fifth day	Maturity			**Fifth age**	Exile – Christ[58]
Sixth day[59] (humans created in image of God)	Senility and death	*Sub gratia* Under grace		‡ **Sixth age*** (humans recreated in the image of God)	Christ – Judgement[60]
				Physical resurrection	
Seventh day (God rests)				**(Alternative Seventh Age†)**	
				The Judgement	
(Eighth day) (Christ's circumcision)				Eighth age	*You are here

[56] *Sermones catholici*, II. 12. 7 and II. 26. 82; see also Augustine, *De trinitate*, IV. 4 and *Sermones*, 72. 2. 3.

[57] Ælfric describes the end of this age slightly differently in various places, dating it to the beginning of the exile, the end of the exile, or to Daniel (see *Sermones catholici*, II. 4. 210–76 and *De ueteri testamento*, lines 535 and 538–40; *De sex etatibus huius seculi*, lines 171–81; and *De ueteri testamento*, line 472, respectively).

[58] *Sermones catholici*, II. 4. 277 and *De ueteri testamento*, line 536. At another point, he states that the fifth age ends with John, noting Luke's statement that 'Lex and prophete usque ad Iohannem' ('The law and the prophets [lasted] until John'); see Luke 16. 16 and *De ueteri testamento*, line 848; see also Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 92. 1.

[59] Other intriguing parallels include Satan's rebellion on the sixth day after creation and the creation of man on the sixth day after Satan's rebellion (*De ueteri testamento*, lines 67–70 and 108–10).

[60] Again, Ælfric defines the close of the sixth age variously as the ending of the world, the coming of Antichrist, or the Judgment; *De sex etatibus*, line 186; *Sermones catholici*, II. 4. 89–91; and *De ueteri testamento*, line 1185.

† The saints reign physically with Christ on earth for a literal period of a thousand years, during which Satan is bound: premillennialism, espoused by the early Augustine.

‡ The saints reign spiritually with Christ for a 'thousand years', either in heaven (the deceased elect) or in the church on earth (the living elect): amillennialism, espoused by the mature Augustine; Satan bound for a 'thousand years', referring metonymically to the remainder of the sixth age following Christ's resurrection.

‡‡ Satan bound for a 'thousand years', referring figuratively to the whole of human history, in which God prevents Satan from deceiving God's elect: alternate explanation espoused by the mature Augustine; the saints live after death in a sabbath age of rest: the first or spiritual resurrection.

Coping with Conflict: Lunar and Solar Cycles in the Liturgical Calendars

JOYCE HILL

In its liturgical observances the church has always simultaneously operated two annual calendar cycles: the solar calendar, arranged according to months, each of which has a fixed numerical sequence of dates; and the lunar calendar, which has a changing interrelationship with the fixity of the solar calendar. The solar calendar derives from Roman tradition, and it was the Roman method that provided the early Middle Ages with its system of dating. This is the calendar governing the annual cycle of saints' days, the *sanctorale*, and it reflects the historical reality that the saints' deaths occurred primarily within societies which recorded dates by the Roman system. The lunar calendar, as used in the Christian church, derives from Judaic custom, and persisted despite the rapid spread of Christianity to the gentile world because, as the gospel narratives make very clear, the redemptive act, the events of the first Easter, took place at the time of the Passover, a Judaic feast whose variable date was determined by the lunar calendar. This calendar, then, is the basis for the annual commemoration of the Incarnation and Redemption, the *temporale* sequence. There is an anomaly, however, in that within this commemorative cycle there is the pivotal fixed date of 25 December for the feast of the Nativity, from which are calculated certain other fixed dates relating to the birth and childhood of Jesus, for example 6 January for the Feast of the Epiphany, 2 February for the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and 25 March for the Annunciation. The choice of 25 December for the Nativity and the growth of the importance of this feast-day within the liturgy was in fact a relatively late development and, tellingly enough, was one which had its origins in the Roman world and thus within the Roman—not the Judaic—calendar, being first mentioned in the Philocalian calendar or Liberian catalogue, an early list of popes down to Liberius (352–66).

Conventionally, despite having a *sanctorale*-type date, Christ's birth is counted

in the *temporale*. In practice, this is accommodated well, but the cross-over between the solar and lunar calendars within the commemorative cycle of the gospel narrative nevertheless draws attention to the inherent difficulty of coping with two systems simultaneously. The purpose of the present study is to examine some of the early medieval solutions to this problem, using evidence from Anglo-Saxon England, and to pose, finally, a tantalizing question about what one particular entry in the liturgical calendar might actually have meant to any Anglo-Saxon—as opposed to any Roman—ecclesiastic who consulted it.

Since the two commemorative cycles, the *sanctorale* and the *temporale*, needed to be observed year-by-year, the church struggled for centuries to find a way of bringing them together. Of course, within any one particular year there was no difficulty, because in this circumstance it was possible to calculate the actual date of Easter and consequently the dates of the feasts that it governs, and so plot that calendar onto the base-line solar calendar. But the relationship of the two systems would be different in other years, and what the church needed was something more generally applicable, so that precious liturgical manuscripts could function as reference-points year in and year out.

The movement of Easter and the feasts tied to it relative to the fixed date of 25 December for the Nativity and the dated feasts associated with that commemoration was—and is—accommodated by what we might call two buffer-zones, that of the season of Epiphany before Easter, and the season of Pentecost after it, both of which can vary in length according to the position of Easter and so absorb the awkward switch between lunar and solar calendars.[1] But the period from Pentecost to Advent is a long one, as much as twenty-two weeks, if Easter is early, and for several centuries the church provided anchor-points within this long span by designating the Sundays in relation to certain saints' days: the feasts of Peter and Paul (29 June), St Laurence (10 August), St Cyprian (4 September) and the Archangel Michael (29 September).[2] Paul the Deacon, producing a comprehensive homiliary for Charlemagne in the 790s, combined homilies for the *sanctorale* and the *temporale* in one collection, and used this old method of pinpointing the Sundays after Pentecost or, as they are known liturgically, the Sundays of Ordinary Time.[3] Yet, as I noted at

[1] The Feast of the Epiphany, as already noted, is 6 January, but it begins a season of variable length; the Feast of Pentecost, which also begins a season of variable length, has no fixed date since it is always fifty days after Easter. Pentecost is the Greek name for the Jewish Feast of Weeks, which falls on the fiftieth day after Passover, and it was on this day, according to Acts 2. 1, that the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles.

[2] For a convenient chart of the liturgical year so arranged, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington: Pastoral Press), p. 409.

[3] The most accessible schedule of the contents of Paul the Deacon's homiliary is the summary in C. L. Smetana, 'Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary', *Traditio*, 15 (1959), 163–204 (pp. 165–80). However, this follows Friedrich Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des*

the outset, the two systems fit together only in relation to particular years, so that in practice Paul's homiliary, by virtue of its interwoven *sanctorale* and *temporale* and its definition of Sundays after Pentecost by reference to a number of fixed dates, was not quite the universal handbook that it was intended to be. Only a generation later, however, the leading homilists of the Carolingian reform had developed a neat solution: the *sanctorale* and *temporale* were disentangled, so that two independent calendrical sequences of homilies were produced, and the designation of the Sundays after Pentecost was itself disentangled from the *sanctorale* by having all the Sundays counted instead in a single numerical sequence from Pentecost, the length of the sequence in any one year being variable because of the position of Easter. The homiliary of Abbot Smaragdus of S. Mihiel, produced *c*. 820, and that of Haymo of Auxerre, from the mid-ninth century, are good examples of this newer practice.[4]

Not surprisingly, given the influence of the Carolingians, this was the system used in Anglo-Saxon England in the Benedictine reform, and even manuscripts of the homiliary of Paul the Deacon were rearranged in this way, separating *sanctorale* and *temporale*, and redesignating the Sundays of Ordinary Time, so that they were counted in a continuous sequence from Pentecost. Examples include:[5]

Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii. 2. 19:

> Gneuss no. 16. Provenance: Norwich. Date: end of eleventh century. Paul the Deacon's homiliary somewhat augmented, beginning with Easter and continuing through the full cycle of the year to the season of Epiphany.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 4. 13:

> Gneuss no. 24. Provenance Norwich. Date: end of eleventh century. This begins with Septuagesima Sunday and continues, strictly as a *temporale* (with augmentations and omissions in comparison with Paul the Deacon's original), to Easter Eve. It thus completes the cycle of homilies begun in CUL Ii. 2. 19, although the manuscript is in a different hand. With the *temporale* cycle concluded, it then embarks on a *sanctorale*

Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht, Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie under der Kirche, 1, 2 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1897); one should now consult R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: analyse des manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali, 12 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano de Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1980), pp. 423–79.

[4] Smaragdus's *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia*, otherwise known as the *Expositio libri comitis* is edited in J.-P.Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (PL), 102 (Paris: [n. pub.], 1865), cols 14–594; Haymo's *Homiliae de Tempore* is in Migne, PL, 118 (Paris: Garnier, 1880), cols 11–746, with a following separate *sanctorale* collection.

[5] In the comments which follow, the references to Gneuss are to Helmut Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in Anglo-Saxon England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 1–60. I am grateful to the Librarian of Cambridge University Library, the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral Library, and the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral Library for permission to consult their respective manuscripts.

sequence, starting with Stephen (feast day 26 December). There is nothing in the manuscript to draw attention to the change in the time of year or the nature of the texts, but it is nevertheless a good example of how the problem of the calendar was solved by the separation of cycles.

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A. III. 29:

Gneuss no. 222. Provenance: Durham. Date: end of eleventh century. An augmented version of Paul the Deacon's homiliary, which begins with Easter and continues to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Pentecost (incorporating Advent in the continuous counting). There then comes a collection of saints' lives in date order, the inclusion of Birinus, Swithun and Æthelthryth indicating that the exemplar had a Winchester origin.

Cambridge, Pembroke College, MSS 23 and 24:

Gneuss nos 129 and 130. Provenance: Bury. Date: second half of the eleventh century. These are companion volumes, Pembroke 23 being an augmented Paul the Deacon *temporale*, and Pembroke 24 being the *sanctorale*, also following Paul the Deacon, but with omissions and additions.

Worcester, Cathedral Library, MSS F 92, F 93 and F 94:

Three companion volumes, of which only F 92 is listed by Gneuss: no. 763. No provenance given. Date: second half of the eleventh century. MSS F 92 and F 93 provide for the *temporale*, F 92 covering Advent to Easter, and F 93 Easter to Advent. F 94 is the *sanctorale*. They are all related to Paul the Deacon's homiliary, although there are augmentations and omissions of the usual kind.

Earlier copies from Anglo-Saxon England do not survive but, as I have argued elsewhere, it is likely that the Anglo-Saxon homilist Ælfric, when drawing upon the three homiliaries of Paul the Deacon, Smaragdus and Haymo in producing his two series of liturgically organized Catholic homilies between 989 and 994, had before him a manuscript of Paul the Deacon in which the rearrangements evident in the manuscripts described above had already taken place.[6] We should therefore not see these eleventh century manuscripts as a late response to the calendrical problem, but as witnesses to a solution which originated in the ninth century (as demonstrated by the homiliaries of Smaragdus and Haymo) and which was so effective that it led to the alteration of the authoritative and highly influential homiliary of Paul the Deacon. The new system probably entered England with the tenth-century Benedictine reform, of which Ælfric was a keen promoter.

Liturgical calendars, by contrast, were resistant to such practical changes because of their essential structure. Being organized by Roman month and Roman

[6] Joyce Hill, 'Translating the Tradition: Manuscripts, Models and Methodologies in the Composition of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 79 (1997), 43–65 (pp. 52–56) [separately published as the Toller Lecture, 1996].

date, they were ideally suited to record saints' days and of course, by the same token, they could note the feast of the Nativity and any of the fixed-date feasts derived from it. But there remained the problem of how they could accommodate Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, the principal feasts of the liturgical year. From a purely logical point of view, one would have to say that their calendrical framework was the wrong one for this purpose, so that, for all their importance, these feasts had to be ignored. But one can hardly imagine this commending itself as a solution to the medieval mind. If the calendars are a reference-point for commemorations within the church's year, how could Easter be ignored?

One solution, found in several of the Anglo-Saxon calendars collected by Wormald,[7] was to note the latest possible date for Easter, sometimes with the earliest date also noted in the same calendar, but always with the peculiarity that fixed-date entries are given in addition for Easter or Ascension or both, on 27 March and 5 May respectively. Yet, apart from the notation under 22 March and 25 April that these are the first or last dates for Easter,[8] there is no indication under 27 March or 5 May that the fixed-date entries for Easter and Ascension are in any way different from the calendars' unvarying date-entries for the saints' days. There is even one calendar in Wormald's collection that assigns Easter to 27 March and Ascension to 5 May without any allusion elsewhere to the notion that there are bracketing dates within which movement will occur.[9]

The same dates of 27 March and 5 May are used in the *Old English Martyrology*. For both dates, fixity is asserted, in statements that parallel those introducing the fixed dates of the saints: 'On ðone seofon ond twentegðan dæg þæs monðes bið se dæg on þone ure Drihten of deaðe aras' ('On the twenty-seventh day of the month is the day on which our Lord rose from death');[10] 'On ðone fiftan dæg þæs monðes bið se dæg þe ure Drihten to heofonum astag' ('On the fifth day of the month is the day on which our Lord ascended to heaven').[11]

The dates of 27 March and 5 May are indeed possible relative dates for Easter and Ascension: when Easter Day falls on 27 March, Ascension Day is necessarily

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[7] *English Kalendars before A.D.1100*, ed. by Francis Wormald, Henry Bradshaw Society, 72 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1934; repr. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988).

[8] The earliest and latest dates for Easter are usually correctly noted, but calendars 4 and 7 in Wormald's collection (pp. 47 and 89) give 24 April as the latest date, and no. 16, in what is very clearly a mistake of one week, gives it as 18 April (p. 201).

[9] Wormald, *English Kalendars*, no. 5, pp. 60 and 62. This is the calendar in the Bosworth Psalter manuscript, London, British Library, Additional MS 37517, from St Augustine's, Canterbury, datable to the period 988–1012.

[10] *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. by Günter Kotzor, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, n.s. 88, 2 vols (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), II, p 47.

[11] Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II, 84.

5 May. But we should not imagine that the *Old English Martyrology*, any more than the liturgical calendars in Wormald's collection, was intended to be consulted only at extensive intervals, when this coincidence of dates happened to occur! There are in fact manuscript witnesses to the *Martyrology*'s use from the late ninth to the early eleventh centuries,[12] and yet, if for present purposes we interpret this as meaning 875 to 1025, the Easter cycle means that 27 March and 5 May occur as the dates for Easter and Ascension only seven times within that span of 150 years. What, then, we have to appreciate is that, despite the appearance of dating exactitude, the liturgical calendars presented their users with conventional dates (i.e. the 'dates' for Easter and Ascension) alongside the actual dates of the *sanctorale* commemorations, with which the calendars are primarily concerned. It is one kind of solution to the two-calendar conflict, but a solution that requires more extra-textual knowledge, more liturgical sophistication on the part of the user, than the practical solution hit upon by the homilists.

What, then, lay behind this convention? The explanation is a satisfyingly symbolic one and was just the kind that would have appealed to the medieval mind. If Easter Day falls on 27 March, Good Friday is necessarily 25 March, and that date, in the switch between the lunar and solar calendars, is the fixed date for the Annunciation because it is nine months before the Nativity on the fixed date of 25 December. The Annunciation, falling thus with appropriate secular symbolism on the spring equinox according to the Julian calendar, commemorates the absolute beginning of Christ's earthly life, whilst Good Friday commemorates his death on the cross, by which is achieved the 'new life' of the Redemption. What better basis could there be, therefore, for establishing a conventional date for Easter (and thus for Ascension) to be used in contexts organized by the solar calendar, than to seize upon the one date that would bring together these two theologically-significant events. Good Friday is not recorded in the liturgical calendars, but the fixed-date Feast of the Annunciation is, and that precedes by two days the frequent entry of 'Resurrectio domini' for 27 March, so there would be no mistaking the extra-textual coincidence. In the *Old English Martyrology* where, as we have seen, the same conventional dating occurs, the coincidence of dates is made explicit in the entry for 25 March, which deals with the Annunciation and Crucifixion together.

Another possible conventional date within the Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendars is the entry for the Major Litany, the *Letania Maior*, on 25 April, although this a much more complicated case than the conventional dates for Easter and Ascension.[13] To all appearances, the entry is unproblematic. As we can see from such varied texts

[12] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), items 32, 127, 131.

[13] For the detailed discussion of the traditions of the Major and Minor Litany on which the concluding part of this article draws, see Joyce Hill, 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: terminology, texts and traditions', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 211–46.

as the Council of Clovesho,[14] the *Old English Martyrology*[15] and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,[16] the Anglo-Saxons knew the Roman custom of processional and intercessory prayer on 25 April, whose origins are associated with Gregory the Great. Yet they knew it as a Roman custom, which they often distinguished from something more familiar to them, namely, the three-day litany occurring on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday preceding Ascension Day, instituted by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne in the Rhône valley *c.* 461–75, when the city had been beset by a series of calamities. The Council of Clovesho explicitly identifies the observance of 25 April as a Roman rite, and contrasts it with the pre-Ascension litanies, celebrated 'according to the custom of our forefathers'; the *Old English Martyrology* describes both, but likewise identifies the observance of 25 April as a Roman custom, with the pre-Ascension observance presented without comment as if it is native and familiar,[17] and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, though using the Roman Major Litany as a reference point for dating in one of the late entries, more commonly uses the reference points of the three litany days before Ascension, which are referred to in very familiar terms by the vernacular plural *gangdagas*.[18]

Commonly today the litany of 25 April is called the Major Litany, as indeed it was in Rome from the time of Gregory; and the three days before Ascension (to which of course no fixed date can be given) are known as the Minor Litanies. But, as I have shown elsewhere,[19] this stable and apparently contrastive terminology of major and minor to distinguish these two observances was not established in the early Middle Ages; the term 'Minor Litany' was not used at all, and when the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons used the term *Letaniae Maiores* it frequently designated the three days before Ascension. This is often very clear by liturgical positioning, or by the provision of a sequence of three homilies or three prayers, which are designated as being for three successive days sometimes even specified as *feria II*, *III*, and *IV* (= Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday).

Now, the litanies on 25 April and the three days before Ascension can never actually coincide by date. Sometimes, if Easter is late, they are several weeks apart,

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[14] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869–73), III (1871), 368.

[15] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892–99), I (1892), 194.

[16] Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II, 63.

[17] See Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II, 80, for the description of the pre-Ascension observance.

[18] Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, I, 82, 96, 97, 101, 149, in the forms *gangdagas* and *gangdagum*.

[19] Hill, 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores*', especially p. 229 for the terminology, and passim for Frankish and Anglo-Saxon practices as evidenced by liturgical positioning and the provision of three homilies or prayers.

but even if Easter is as early as it can be (i.e. on Sunday 22 March), the pre-Ascension litanies cannot begin before Monday 27 April. In that case, the one-day observance of 25 April would be on the previous Saturday, i.e. the Saturday immediately preceding the Fifth Sunday after Easter. The crucial point, as this reveals, is that the one-day observance of 25 April cannot come after the Fifth Sunday after Easter, whereas the three-day observance must come immediately after the Fifth Sunday after Easter because it is in the same week as Ascension.

However, if the Roman (i.e. solar) calendar kept these events apart, there was a degree of common purpose in the penitential and intercessory nature of the two traditions, a substantial overlap in the biblical texts used and, as I have already noted, a system of nomenclature by which, in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England, the pre-Ascension litany, demonstrably the dominant observance, was commonly referred to without explanation or apology as the *Letaniae Maiores*. The considerable number of rubricated Old English homilies are clear on this point, and so also is Ælfric in the provision of exemplary texts for priests in the *Catholic Homilies*, where in this detail, as in so much else, his models are the Carolingian homily collections.[20] Instances are also to be found in authoritative liturgical manuscripts from Francia and England. But it is instructive to note that texts of this status also conflate the two traditions, with the result that the three-day pre-Ascension observance is coupled with the one-day observance and is associated with the date of 25 April or, more dramatically, that the three-day observance is clearly signalled by a tri-partite structure and by correct liturgical positioning relative to Easter and Ascension, and yet is given the solar calendar date of 25 April.

The juxtapositioning of the two observances is to be found in the Sacramentary of Gellone, a manuscript that reflects the romanizing of the liturgy associated with Pippin III. There, the *litania maior* is in an unambiguously Roman position in being between the Second and Third Sundays after Easter and between the feasts of St George (23 April) and St Vitalis (28 April). Alongside it, however—wrongly placed liturgically—are prayers for the pre-Ascension observances, which are designated as being for a succession of three days. Yet the assigned date is 25 April.[21]

The more dramatic conflation, in which the solar calendar date of 25 April is used, but in relation only to the three-day pre-Ascension observance, is found in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges and the Winchcombe Sacramentary, both works which come out of the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine reform. The Missal of Robert, produced at Winchester probably within the years 1013x1017, has three groups of prayers immediately preceding Ascension and following the Fifth Sunday after Easter (here designated as the Fourth Sunday after the Octave of Easter), the correct position for

[20] Hill, 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores*', especially pp. 212–25 for the Old English homiletic tradition and the Carolingian homily collections.

[21] *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus*, ed. by A. Dumas, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 159 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), pp. 121–24.

the pre-Ascension observance but an impossibility for the one-day observance of 25 April. Given the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon habit of using *letania maior* for the pre-Ascension days, it is not surprising that this terminology is used in the rubric for this sequence. What is surprising, however is that the Major Litany rubric specifies the date of 25 April—VII. KAL. MAI. LAETANIA MAIORE—an impossibility, unless one assumes a conflation of traditions and terms which overrides the limitation of chronology.[22] The Winchcombe Sacramentary, perhaps written at Ramsey by a Winchcombe monk in the third quarter of the tenth century and displaying strong Fleury connections, is another example.[23] Since there is only one set of provisions, not three, and 25 April is specified as the date, along with the use of the Major Litany nomenclature—UII KL. MAI. IPSO DIE LETANIA MAIORE—this might reasonably be read as a straightforward instance of the Roman observance. But appearances are deceptive because the liturgical position, as in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, is that for the movable three-day observance: it comes immediately before Ascension and immediately after the Fourth Sunday after the Octave of Easter, which places it—impossibly for 25 April—unambiguously in the same week as Ascension.

A Roman ecclesiastic visiting one of the Benedictine reform monasteries whose calendars are in Wormald's collection would find, on consulting the calendar, that there was an entry for the Major Litany on 25 April, and would naturally assume that it alluded to the observance he was familiar with in Rome and which was certainly known about in England also. But in view of the evidence from the liturgical manuscripts just referred to and the unanimity of the Old English homiletic tradition, one has to ask what it would have meant to his Anglo-Saxon colleague. We have already seen, in relation to Easter and Ascension that there is an element of conventional dating in the Anglo-Saxon calendars with regard to the movable feasts, and for these key feasts it would have been for the user of the calendar to make appropriate adjustments year by year. Since there is clear evidence in some good quality liturgical manuscripts that 25 April comes to be conventionally attached to

[22] *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. by H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 11 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896; repr. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 111–13. For the manuscript's date, see pp. xxiv–xxvi. In the introduction, p. xlix, Wilson points to other texts which show some degree of conflation between the Roman and Gallican observances, in which the Roman nomenclature of Major Litany and sometimes also the Roman date of 25 April are to be found.

[23] *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, ed. by A. Davril, Henry Bradshaw Society, 109 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), p. 104. For the Sacramentary's origins, see pp. 22–26, and also Michael Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of this Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Korhammer, with the assistance of Karl Reichl and Hans Sauer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), pp. 99–129, especially pp. 103–06.

what is unmistakably the three-day pre-Ascension observance, and since, in liturgical calendars, it is unavoidably the Roman date within the solar system which is the determiner, one cannot discount the possibility that the measure of conflation evident elsewhere was in play here also, and that 25 April was similarly open to being interpreted as a conventional date. This would have the advantage of conveniently allowing the Major Litany to be recorded in the calendars, respectful of Roman tradition perhaps, but generally interpreted as a formal prompt for the then more important pre-Ascension observance, movable as were some other apparently fixed calendar dates. It is, admittedly, an unprovable hypothesis, but it has the merit of harmonizing with the very strong evidence of Anglo-Saxon observance and nomenclature from outside the calendars, where we also see some signs that 25 April was used conventionally; furthermore, it would have made no more demands on the users of the calendars than the representation in them of the dates of Easter or Ascension.

The rigidity of the calendars obliges us to focus on the ultimately unresolvable conflict between the two calendrical systems of the church. We hear today, from time to time, suggestions that the problem should be done away with by fixing the date of Easter. The demand is for something that would be convenient from a secular point of view: let us settle it once and for all, so the argument goes, for the sake of business, school holidays, the tourist trade, and all other such considerations. But in fact the church itself long debated the fixing of Easter.[24] According to Clement of Alexandria, the Eastern Church had already proposed 21 March, 4 April or 20 April according to Epiphanius of Salamis, writing round about 374/377, Christ died on 20 March, although he acknowledged that others thought it was on 23 March. In the West generally, the favoured date for the Crucifixion was 25 March, and that, as we have seen, has the appeal of symbolic perfection, because it unites the dates of Christ's conception and death. Yet none of these prevailed to give a fixed date for Easter; the much more complicated method of a cycle based on a movable feast was eventually adopted, the conflict between the lunar and solar calendars was thus enshrined within the organization of the commemorative year, and the church was consequently obliged to devise various ingenious mechanisms for coping with it.

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[24] The summary given here follows Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 305–08.

L'importance du calendrier dans le roman de *Flamenca*

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Prémisses

Le récit du roman ancien-occitan *Flamenca* de la fin du XIII[e] siècle, se distingue par rapport aux autres textes ancien-occitans et ancien-français, notamment de genres narratifs, par le fait qu'il a été structuré à l'aide d'un calendrier bien détaillé, ce qui a été souligné plusieurs fois par les critiques depuis la découverte du roman par François Raynouard.[1] Dans leurs études sur le calendrier dans *Flamenca*, Grimm[2] et Lejeune[3] se sont concentrés sur la partie centrale, sans doute la plus intéressante quant à la structuration temporelle, la chronologie du roman se faisant dans cette partie très serrée. Il s'agit notamment de la partie du dialogue amoureux bisyllabique entre le jeune clerc-chevalier Guillaume de Nevers et Flamenca (vv. 3949–6102), la dame injustement prisonnière d'un mari jaloux.[4] La durée de ce dialogue qui embrasse trois mois (du 1 mai au 1 août), est relativement courte si l'on considère que la totalité de l'action embrasse le temps de quatre ans (cfr. calendrier en annexe).

Le fait que les rencontres entre Guillaume et Flamenca ont lieu pendant les

[1] François Raynouard, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 13 (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1835–38), pp. 80–132.

[2] Charles Grimm, *Étude sur le roman de Flamenca, poème provençal du XIII[e] siècle* (thèse d'Université de Paris, 1930; réimpr. Genève: Slatkine, 1980).

[3] Rita Lejeune, 'Le calendrier du Roman de Flamenca: contribution à l'étude de mentalités médiévales', *Littérature et société occitanes au Moyen Age* (Liège: Soledi, 1978), pp. 355–78.

[4] Ce dialogue a lieu pendant la messe, seule occasion pour la dame d'échapper à la tour où elle est enfermée avec ses deux suivantes (Alis et Margarida).

messes et les cérémonies religieuses a été jugé comme simple détail qui n'est pas, en soi, indispensable au déroulement de l'action.[5]

Que la division temporelle des événements n'est guère due au hasard, est d'ailleurs confirmé par un indice donné par Guillaume lui-même, lorsqu'il réclame un 'comtier' ou 'calendrier' à un clerc, afin de savoir quel jour de juin tombe la Pentecôte cette année-là (cfr. la troisième année):

> Ha dig suau: «Ha i comtei
> Amics, aqui, ni calendier?,
> Quar saber voil, per quan si'm costa
> Quant es li dins jus de Pantecosta?» (2575–78)

(Ami, dit-il tout doucement au clerc, y a-t-il là dedans un comput et un calendrier? je voudrais savoir, à cause de tous les frais qu'elle me coûte, à quel jour de juin tombe la Pentecôte.)

Loin de vouloir déterminer le calendrier ou comput dont s'est servi l'auteur de *Flamenca*, il nous importe d'analyser quelques-unes parmi les fêtes mentionnées à l'aide de leurs contextes et de proposer des hypothèses d'interprétation. L'analyse du choix des fêtes mentionnées dans le texte, notamment des fêtes religieuses et des fêtes des saints, nous permettra d'en souligner une fonction qui va bien au-delà de simples indices temporels. Le récit de *Flamenca* tel qu'il nous a été transmis, est clairement organisé autour des fêtes de Printemps, citées implicite- et explicitement dans le texte ce qui nous a amené à choisir les fêtes religeuses comme Pâques, l'Ascension et Pentecôte, les fêtes en l'honneur de saints et les fêtes du premier mai et du premier août.

Les fêtes religieuses

Le roman s'ouvre sur la scène des négociations concernant le mariage de la jeune Flamenca, fille de Guy de Namur,[6] avec Archimbaut de Bourbon-l'Archambault, fixé pour la Pentecôte:[7]

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[5] Lejeune, 'Le calendrier', p. 359.

[6] Quant à la problématique concernant le nom de Namur (ou Nemours) nous renvoyons à Rita Lejeune, 'Flamenca, fille fictive d'un comte de Namur', *Littérature et société occitanes au Moyen Age* (Liège: Soledi, 1978), pp. 341–53; et Ute Limacher-Riebold, *Entre «novas» et «romans»: pour l'interprétation de «Flamenca»* (Alessandria: dell'Orso, 1997), pp. 88–90.

[7] Dans les passages cités, c'est nous qui mettons en italique.

Granz pena.l fon e granz martires
De l'esperar *tro al dimenegue*.
Ben volgr'aver abbat o clergue
Que la-il des *lo venres o.l sapte*;
Si per compra ni per acapte
Pogues trobar tal indulgenza,
Del pagar non valgra crezensa.
Le disande de Pantecosta[8]
Dreg a Nemurs li cortz s'ajosta
Bela e rica e pleniera. (vv. 180–89)

(Ce lui fut une grande peine et grand martyre
d'attendre jusqu'au dimanche.
Il voudrait bien avoir abbé ou clerc
qui la lui donnât, cette médecine, le vendredi ou le samedi:
Certes si c'était une indulgence que l'on pût acheter ou obtenir par acapte,
il ne demanderait pas crédit pour le paiement.
Le samedi de la Pentecôte
la cour s'assembla à *Namur*-même
belle, riche et plénière.)

La fête de la Pentecôte, dont la fonction semble être au premier abord que simple marque temporelle, signe aussi un autre moment décisif pour ce qui est du triangle amoureux,[9] Guillaume déclarant ce jour-là son amour pour Flamenca dans la partie centrale de l'œuvre (cfr. troisième année). Lejeune souligne que c'est justement à l'heure de tierce (9 heures du matin) que «le cénacle des apôtres fut investi par l'esprit de Dieu avec la manifestation du vent impétueux soufflant aux abords de la maison tandis que les langues de feu se manifestaient à l'intérieur».[10]

[8] Le manuscrit donne clairement *Lendeman de Pamtecosta* (fol. 5[r]). Nelli-Lavaud corrigent *endeman* par *disande* en expliquant en note qu'il «n'est pas admissible que la cour s'assemble le *lundi* alors que le mariage aura lieu le dimanche» (cfr. v. 251: *Al dimenegue, lo bon mati*). À propos de ce vers, il faut remarquer que Gschwind est le seul parmi les editeurs de *Flamenca* à avoir remarqué l'intrusion de l'article féminin devant *Pamtecosta*; Ulrich Gschwind, *Le Roman de Flamenca. Nouvelle occitane du 13 siècle*, texte établi et commenté par U. Gschwind, 2 parties (Bern: Francke, 1976).

[9] Dans *Flamenca*, le triangle amoureux est formé par Archimbaut (le mari jaloux), Flamenca (la jeune femme 'malmariée') et Guillaume (le jeune chevalier amoureux de Flamenca, qui par une ruse, réussira à libérer Flamenca de sa prison).

[10] La Pentecôte se fêta cette année-là, le 11 juin: Lejeune, 'Le calendrier', p. 368.

A Pantecosta, dreit per jorn
Guillems det paz, et ans que torn
Al capella, mout temeros
A diga sa domna: per vos.

(Le jour même de Pentecôte
Guillaume donna la paix, et avant de retourner
au prêtre, tout tremblant,
il dit à sa dame: «Pour vous»)

Le soir-même de la Pentecôte, Guillaume s'adresse à Dieu pour lui proposer une tractation plutôt inattendue (vv. 5056–67): si Dieu lui permet de voir sa Dame, il lui offre en échange des apôtres, des prophètes et lui promet de bâtir des églises. L'esprit païen de ces vers, malgré les recours formulaires à Dieu et l'organisation autour de fêtes religieuses, confère à ces passages un caractère clairement a-religieux.

La Pentecôte marque donc deux moments importants dans la vie de Flamenca: d'une part son mariage avec Archimbaut et de l'autre le moment où un jeune inconnu, Guillaume, lui déclare son amour. Ces deux scènes sont d'ailleurs reliées par un autre détail: le mariage avec Archimbaut se fait sans le consentement explicite de Flamenca,[11] tandis que quand Guillaume déclare son amour à Flamenca (v.4965) elle y consent sans hésitation, heureuse d'avoir finalement trouvé quelqu'un qui la libérera de sa prison:

Aras ai trobat, si m'agrada,
Qui de sa preiso-m gitara,
Que ja garda pron no i tenra (vv. 4978–80)

(J'ai trouvé maintenant quelqu'un qui, s'il m'en prend envie, me fera sortir de prison, | et la surveillance qu'il [=Archimbaut] exerce n'y sera désormais nullement utile.)

Avec la fête de Pâques est mise en relief une scène dont la fonction est clairement proleptique. Il faut rappeler que Flamenca n'a le permis de sortir de sa prison que pour se rendre à la messe, et là aussi, elle doit se tenir dans un réduit à l'abri du regard des autres. La seule personne qui ait le droit de l'approcher est le clerc qui lui donne la paix. Dans la scène décrite aux vers 1141–48, l'accent est mis sur le détail qu'au jeune clerc manque apparemment *l'esprit et le savoir* (v. 1448): il ne sait pas profiter de l'occasion pour regarder le visage de Flamenca, caché sauf

[11] Au vers 280 il est dit de façon explicite que c'est le père de Flamenca qui consent au mariage avec Archimbaut et pas Flamenca elle-même. Elle dit: *pos vos* [=le père] *platz, ieu i consen*.

qu'au moment de recevoir la paix.

> Mais Enz Archimbautz, que la gara,
> No-il laisset descubrir la cara
> Ni traire sos gans de las mans.
> Anc non la vi le cappellans
> A Paschas ni a Roasos
> Pas li dona[va] us clersos;
> Aquel la pogra ben vezer
> Si n'agues engien ni saber. (vv. 1441–48)
>
> (Mais sire Archimbaut, son gardien
> ne lui permettait ni de découvrir sa figure
> ni d'ôter ses gants.
> Aussi le prêtre ne la vit-il jamais,
> ni a Pâques ni aux Rogations
> C'était un petit clerc qui lui donnait la paix
> et celui-là aurait bien pu voir,
> s'il avait eu l'esprit de savoir s'y prendre.)

Plusieurs éléments dans ce passage annoncent la suite du récit. Ce sera de nouveau aux alentours de Pâques (*A Pascha clusa*), une année plus tard, que le jeune chevalier Guillaume (de Nevers) arrivera à Bourbon et que grâce à une ruse (cfr. son déguisement en clerc) il parviendra à approcher Flamenca pendant la messe et réussira non seulement à entrevoir son beau visage mais aussi à lui adresser quelques mots. Après le dialogue qui durera plusieurs semaines ne pouvant échanger à chaque fois que de mots bisyllabiques, commencera leur relation amoureuse.

> So fo.l sapte de Pascha clusa
> El tems que-l rossinols accusa
> Tot sels que d'amor non an cura. (vv. 2024–26)
>
> (Ce fut le samedi après Pâques,
> au temps où le rossignol accusa d'indifférence
> par ses chants tous ceux qui n'ont soin d'aimer.)

La fête de Pâques marque un autre moment libérateur de Flamenca dans la scène du tournoi final de Bourbon. À la suite du serment ambigu que Flamenca fait à Archimbaut,[12] celui-ci la libère de sa prison et Guillaume repart pour réaffirmer sa

[12] Dans ce serment ambigu, Flamenca assure à Archimbaut qu'elle est désormais capable de se garder aussi bien qu'il l'a gardée pendant les dernières années (vv. 6686–90). Archimbaut, auquel échappe que sa femme le trompe malgré sa réclusion, la libère grâce à ce

vaillance en tant que chevalier et ne retournera à Bourbon-l'Archambault—invité par Archimbaut lui-même—qu'en l'occasion de ce tournoi qui a lieu en l'occasion justement de la libération de Flamenca.

> Apres Pascha al .xv. jorn
> Pobles alberga tot entorn (vv. 7203–04)
>
> (Au quinzième jour après Pâques
> la foule campa tout autour)

La fête de Pâques, jour de la résurrection, marque donc la double libération de Flamenca: le 'début de la libération de Flamenca' grâce à la ruse de Guillaume (vv. 2024–26), lequel acquiert encore plus de relief grâce à son annonce l'année précédente (vv. 1441–48), ainsi que sa 'libération définitive' à l'égard de la société courtoise de Bourbon-l'Archambault, lors du tournoi final.

La fête de l'Ascension (cfr. le 1 juin)[13], qui représente notamment le jour de bénédiction et de purification dont la plus ancienne mention remonte au *De solemnis paschis* de Eusebio Cesarea (saec. III–IV), acquiert, elle-aussi, une place de relief dans *Flamenca*. Dans un extrait du dialogue entre Flamenca et sa suivante Margarida, laquelle vient d'exprimer son doute concernant le fait que Guillaume ait pu comprendre (acoustiquement) le mot que Flamenca vient de prononcer lors de leur dernière rencontre (le dimanche, 28 mai *De que?* (v. 4761)), celle-ci renvoie au prochain jour de fête qui est celui de l'Ascension (vv. 4792–93).

> Pero dijous en sabrem ver
> Qu'es la festa de l'Assensïon
>
> (Mais jeudi nous en saurons plus
> car c'est la fête de l'Ascension)

Le fait que la réplique de Guillaume *D'amor* (v. 4878) tombe le jour solennel de l'Ascension, est mis en doute par Lejeune. Elle suggère de garder la version du manuscrit (*lo dijous de Roazos*), l'auteur ayant probablement préféré le terme de *Rogations* à celui de *Ascension*.[14]

serment (cfr. Limacher-Riebold, *Entre «novas» et «romans»*, pp. 206–07).

[13] Cfr. le fait de fêter l'Ascension est une coutûme occidentale de célébrer le 40ème jour après Pâques, ce qui correspond au jeudi de la sixième semaine après Pâques.

[14] Lejeune, 'Le calendrier', p. 367.

Lo dijous de Roazos a tersa (fol. 85^{v})
(Le jeudi de Rogations à tierce)

Le jous d'Assension, a tersa,
Guillems fort ben sa paz a tersa. (vv. 4873–74)

(Le jeudi de l'Ascension, à tierce,
Guillaume a préparé soigneusement sa «Paix».)

Il nous semble pourtant qu'il faudrait corriger le vers en *Assension* (comme l'ont d'ailleurs suggéré Nelli et Lavaud dans leur édition) d'autant plus il est souligné de façon explicite que Guillaume va répondre à Flamenca le jour de l'Ascension (cfr. vv. 4792–93) et que sa réplique est, en outre, un geste de 'purification', ou mieux, de 'libération'.

L'arrivée et la déclaration d'amour de Guillaume, tout comme l'apogée du discours amoureux ont tous lieu à trois moments décisifs dans le calendrier printanier de fêtes religieuses: Pâques, Pentecôte et Ascension. Cependant, le motif du vaillant chevalier libérateur de la jeune malmariée n'assume guère de signification religieuse. Le fait que Guillaume ait recours au déguisement en clerc pour approcher Flamenca, et qu'il réussisse à duper les clercs (et, par la suite aussi Archimbaut), nous semble au contraire démontrer une attitude critique de la part de l'auteur envers les religieux.

Les fêtes de saints

Parmi les fêtes en l'honneur de saints dont la fonction est bien autre que simple marque temporelle, la fête de la Saint Barnabé mérite, à notre avis, une attention particulière. Jusqu'au moment du récit où elle est citée, les messes dominicales lors desquelles ont lieu la plupart des rencontres de Guillaume et Flamenca, ne sont pas spécifiées par les saints qu'on y célèbre.

A l'uctava de Pantecosta
Feiron la festa, mais pauc costa,
De l'apostol san Barnabe,
Quar plus no i gitar[i]a-l pe
Flamencha fora de la tor
Per lui que per .I. confessor
De cui hom festa non feses
S'a dimenegues non avengues. (vv. 5083–90)

(A l'Octave de la Pentecôte
on célébra—puisque l'on y fait voeu de dépense—

la fête de l'apôtre Saint Barnabé,
et pour lui Flamenca n'eût pas mis le pied
hors de la tour,
plus que pour un simple confesseur
non fêté, si sa fête n'avait coïncidé avec le Dimanche.)

À partir de ces vers, on peut se poser la question de savoir quel valeur a l'information que Flamenca ne se serait pas rendue à la messe en l'honneur de Saint Barnabé si ce n'aurait été parce qu'elle tombait, cette année-là, le dimanche?

La Saint Barnabé se célébrait d'habitude le 11 juin, mais étant donné que cette date était déjà occupée par la fête de la Pentecôte (v. 4965), elle est reportée au dimanche suivant, le 18 juin.[15] Jusqu'au Pape Jean XXII (1316–34) chaque église était libre de célébrer cette fête, et quoique Gschwind[16] remarque que le dimanche suivant la Pentecôte est celui de Sainte Trinité, il nous semble possible que la fête de Saint Barnabé ait pu être renvoyée au 18 juin. D'ailleurs, Favati[17] a souligné que ce détail témoigne de la volonté de l'auteur de mettre en valeur le culte de Saint Barnabé. Rappelons que l'Apôtre Barnabé a introduit Saint Paul chez les autres apôtres et sût parler aux judéo-chrétiens d'Antioche. Ce qui est encore plus important dans le contexte de *Flamenca*: il guérissait les malades en leur appliquant sur la tête ou la poitrine l'évangile de Saint Matthieu dont il ne se séparait jamais.[18] Dans le passage de *Flamenca* il ne s'agit pas d'une allusion à un culte particulier, néanmoins le contexte permet de faire référence à l'usage de la lecture du texte de l'évangile de Saint Matthieu (10. 19): «ce que vous aurez à dire vous sera donné sur le moment» que l'on fait à la Saint Barnabé:

> Mais, lorsqu'on vous livrera, ne cherchez pas avec inquiétude comment parler ou que dire: ce que vous aurez à dire vous sera donné sur le moment. Car ce n'est pas vous qui parlerez, mais l'Esprit de votre Père qui parlera en vous. (Math. 10. 19–20)

Déjà dans le dialogue onirique entre Guillaume et Amour, plus précisément dans l'appel de Guillaume à Amour, on trouve l'allusion à ce passage de l'évangile:

Cujas o far si con fes Dieus
Quan trames los apostols sieus

[15] Cfr. *Les Troubadours: Jaufre, Flamenca, Barlaam et Josaphat*, ed. par René Nelli, et René Lavaud, 2 tomes (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1960), I, 621–1063 dans la note au vers 5085; et Lejeune, 'Le calendrier', p. 369.

[16] Ulrich Gschwind, 'Vorstudien zu einer Neuausgabe von Flamenca', (dissertation, Universität Zürich, 1971).

[17] Guido Favati, 'Studio su Flamenca', *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 8 (1960), 69–136 (p. 69).

[18] Cfr. Lejeune, 'Le calendrier', p. 370.

E dis lur: *Baron, quan venres*
Davan los reis, ja non penses
Que-us digas, que be-us avenra
Aqui eis so c'obs vos sera?
Anc apostols tan gran paor
Non ac davan emperador
Con eu ai ancui de faillir
Davan cella cui tan desir. (vv. 3853–62)

(Pensez-vous faire comme fit Dieu
Quand il envoya ses apôtres
et leur dit: «Barons, quand vous comparaîtrez
devant les rois, ne vous préoccupez pas
de ce que vous devrez dire, car cela vous sera donné
à l'heure même que vous en aurez besoin.
Jamais apôtre n'éprouva devant un empereur
un effroi aussi grand
que celui que j'ai, de faillir aujourd'hui
devant celle que je désire si fort.)

Dans ces vers, Guillaume va jusqu'à se comparer à un apôtre, une audace bien insolite, mais ce rapprochement se conçoit plus aisément à l'aide de l'extrait de l'évangile de Matthieu qui assume en outre une fonction proleptique par rapport à la suite du récit et en particulier du passage aux vers 5083–90 (v. supra).

À la messe du dimanche, le 18 juin, Guillaume répond à la question ambiguë de Flamenca (*Qu'en pucs?* v. 5039) par: *Garir* (v. 5096). Cette demande de guérison le jour même de la Saint Barnabé doit être mis en rapport avec le contexte immédiat de ce vers où il est question du topos courtois de la 'maladie d'amour'. L'auteur évoque avec la Saint Barnabé soit le pouvoir guérisseur du saint, soit l'évangile de Saint Mathieu qui suggère l'aide divine dans la 'recherche du bon mot'. Devant cet arrière-plan, aux suivantes de Flamenca qui ont aussi la fonction de conseillantes pour ce qui est de la plupart des *turns*, s'opposerait donc l'aide divine dont profite Guillaume. Mais Saint Barnabé n'est pas le seul saint à jouer un rôle important dans la partie du dialogue central.

La Saint Jean, plus précisément la nativité de Saint Jean Baptiste (célébrée le 24 juin), assume, elle aussi, une importance particulière par rapport aux autres fêtes de saints dans *Flamenca*. Nous trouvons l'allusion à cette fête dans un passage où est mis l'accent sur le fait que la Saint Jean tombe le samedi:

Entro al jorn de san Joan
Car lo sapte sa festa fon. (vv. 5150–51)

(Jusqu'au jour de la fête Saint-Jean
qui fut un samedi.)

Quelques vers plus loin (vv. 5158–65), Saint Jean-même semble suggérer à Flamenca le *turn*: *Cora?* (v. 5155), lequel a la fonction d'un clair signe de consentement à l'intérieur du dialogue avec Guillaume.[19]

Ben agra fait coma cortes
Sans Joans, s'o agues suffert
Que tal signe cel jorn avut;
Ben amera mais sa vertut;
Pero tan petit en falli
Que ab lo mot lo mielz compli,
Quar si l'ateis ben tro al cor. (vv. 5158–65)

(Il eût agi bien courtoisement,
Saint-Jean, s'il avait voulu
que Guillaume eût reçu ce jour-là
une telle marque d'intérêt et si claire,
Guillaume en eût beaucoup mieux aimé son pouvoir.
Cependant le saint fut si peu en faute
qu'il réalisa le «mieux» qui se pouvait avec ce mot,
car ainsi il l'atteignit vraiment jusqu'au cœur.)

Au pouvoir prophétique de Saint Jean est fait allusion également le lendemain des fêtes de noces à Bourbon-l'Archambault (vv. 471–78), ce qui donne encore plus de valeur à la fonction proleptique de ce passage. L'éloge de Saint Jean par Dieu lui-même est mis, cette fois, dans la bouche d'un religieux, un évèque de Clermont:

L'endeman fo la Sanz Joans
Una festa rica e grans,
Es anc per al non s'amermet.
L'evesque de Clarmon chantet
Aquel jorn la messa major;
Sermo fes de nostre Senor
Comen San Joan tan amet
Que plus que Propheta-l clamet. (vv. 471–78)

(Le lendemain c'était la Saint Jean,
fête grande et splendide,

[19] Cfr. Ute Limacher-Riebold, 'Der Roman und der Film: Flamenca', *Variation: Literaturzeitschrift der Universität Zürich*, 4 (2000), 73–91 (p. 85).

dont l'éclat ne fut jamais diminué pour un autre événement.
Ce jour-là, l'évêque de Clermont
chanta la grand-messe
et fit un sermon sur Notre-Seigneur
rappelant qu'il aima Saint-Jean
au point de l'appeler «plus que prophète».)

Le vers 478 renvoit aux passages des évangiles de Matthieu et Maleachi, où Saint Jean est décrit comme «plus que prophète», un prophète qui d'ailleurs «prépare le chemin»:

> Alors qu'êtes-vous allés faire? Voir un prophète? Oui, je vous le dis, et plus qu'un prophète. C'est celui dont il est écrit: Voici que moi j'envoie mon messager en avant de toi pour préparer ta route devant toi. (Math. 11. 9 (et Luc. 7. 26))

> Voici que je vais envoyer mon messager, pour qu'il fraye un chemin devant moi. (Mal. 3. 1)

Vers la fin des festivités nuptiales (vv. 753-56), la Saint Jean est mentionnée encore une fois dans un dialogue allégorique entre *Convoitise* et *Mesquinerie*, où *Convoitise* prédit à *Mesquinerie* que «ce ne sera pas tous les jours la Saint-Jean», c'est-à-dire que ce jour de fête, ne va pas durer pour toujours:

«Dona! que fas? vezes los be
Ballar e danzar antre se:
Oi! Oi! tot caira lur burbans,
Gues quec jorn non er sanz Joans. (vv. 753–56)

(Dame, que fais-tu? Tu les vois bien
baller et danser entre eux:
Oh! Oh! leur vaniteuse Pompe tombera bien vite à plat.
Ce ne sera pas tous les jours la Saint-Jean.)

Tous les passages où est mentionné Saint Jean ont une fonction proleptique et annoncent un tournant important dans le récit de *Flamenca*: l'accusation injuste et la réclusion de Flamenca par son mari jaloux. Cette fonction confère à cette fête une importance particulière étant donné que l'auteur se sert souvent du moyen de la prolepse pour souligner les épisodes les plus importants. Quoi de plus logique que de se servir aussi d'une image avec laquelle le public attentif de l'époque associait ce pouvoir comme Saint Jean?

Les fêtes du 1er mai et du 1er août

Les fêtes du 1er mai et du 1er août sont mentionnées à deux endroits bien précis dans *Flamenca*, servant, d'un point de vue formel, de cadre pour le dialogue central. L'indication très précise du lundi 1er mai (v. 3128), après la mention du 'samedi de Pâques closes' a permis d'ailleurs de placer au 23 avril la date de Pâques.[20]

> Anc non hac mais tan bon dilus
> Guillems, segon lo sieu vejaire (vv. 3128–29)
>
> (Jamais il n'avait si beau Lundi
> Guillaume, à son avis.)

La *rica festa de .ii. apostols cardinals* dont il est question au vers 2794 est celle des deux apôtres Saint Philippe et Saint Jacques, tous deux martyres. Guillaume, dans sa veste de clerc-chevalier, est d'avis que «ces deux apôtres doivent bien avoir un chevalier avec eux» quand il caresse l'espoir de voir sa Dame.

> Dema sera kalenda maia
> E po(t) mi dar tam bon loguier
> Fin'amors, si-s volm con fes ier,
> Quar festa er rica en als
> De .ii. apostols cardinals,
> E dui apostol devon be
> Un cavalier aver ab se. (vv. 2790–96)
>
> (Demain est calende de mai
> et Fin amor peut bien, s'il le veut
> me donner une aussi bonne récompense qu'hier.
> Ce sera une fête magnifique par ailleurs
> celle de deux apôtres principaux
> et deux apôtres doivent bien
> avoir un chevalier avec eux)

L'allusion aux deux apôtres n'est dans cet extrait qu'implicite, tandis que les festivités du 1er mai ou des jours suivant Pâques dont il y est question (annoncés déjà aux vv. 2661–71), sont décrites de façon détaillée.

> El pais fon acostumat
> Qu'el pascor, quant hom a sopat,

[20] Cfr. Lejeune, 'Le calendrier', p. 364.

Tota li gens balla e tresca,
E. segon lo tems, si refresca.
Cella nuh las maias giteron
E per so plus s'i deporteron.
Guillems e l'ostes s'en issiron
En un vergier, d'aqui auziron
Devas la vila las cansons
E deforas los ausellons
Que canton desot(z) la vert foilla. (vv. 2661–71)

(C'était la coutûme du pays,
qu'au temps de Pâques, après souper
tout le monde se mettait à danser et à farandoler
et à se divertir suivant le temps qu'il faisait.
Cette nuit on planta les mais,
et de ce fait, il y eut plus de réjouissances encore.
Guillaume et son hôte s'en allèrent
dans un verger; de là ils entendaient
par devers la ville les chansons; et au dehors, les petits oiseaux
qui chantaient sous les vertes feuilles.)[21]

Ce passage a clairement une fonction proleptique pour ce qui est de la *kalenda maia* chantée par des jeunes gens du village (vv. 3234–47),[22] et représente la mise en abyme du récit de *Flamenca*:

Tot dreit davan Guillem passeron
Cantan una kalenda maia
Que dis:—Cella domna ben aia
Que non fai languir son amic,
Ni non tem gelos ni castic,
Qu'il non an a son cavallier
Em bosc, em prat o en vergier,

[21] Remarquons l'allusion à la coutûme qu'à la veille du 1er mai les garçons du village vont cueillir dans la forêt ou les jardins des branches, une coutûme qui comprend également l'adoubement des fenêtres ou des portes des jeunes filles à marier en signe de courtisement.

[22] Cette *kalenda maia* a été rapprochée à la Kalenda maia de Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (Pillet-Carstens, 392, 9, I): *Kalenda maia* | *ni fueills de faia* | *ni chans d'auzell ni flors de glaia* | *non es que'm plaia,* | *Pros domna gaia,* | *tro qu'un isnell messagier aia* | *del vostre bell cors, qi'm retraia* | *plazer novell qu'amors m'atraia,* | *e jaia* | *e'm traia* | *vas vos, domna veraia,* | *e chaia* | *de plaia* | *'l gelos, ans que'm estraia*. On peut même voir dans cette kalenda maia un lien avec le chant courtois entre Guillaume et Flamenca dans le dialogue central (vv. 3949–5721); cfr. Limacher-Riebold, *Entre «novas» et «romans»*, p. 227.

E dins sa cambra non l'amene
Per so que meilz ab lui s'abene,
E-l gilos jassa daus l'esponda;
E, si parla, qu'il li responda:
—«No-m sones mot, faitz vos en lai,
Qu'entre mos bras mos amic(s) jai»—
Kalenda maia! E vai s'en. (vv. 3234–47)

(Elles passèrent juste devant Guillaume
en chantant une calende de mai
qui dit: «Que tout bien vienne à cette Dame
qui ne fait languir son ami,
qui ne craint jaloux ni blâme,
pour aller avec son chevalier,
en bois, en pré ou en verger,
et l'amenant dans sa chambre
pour mieux se réjouir avec lui,
et si le jaloux occupe le bord du lit
et qu'il parle, qu'elle lui réponde:
Ne sonnez mot, retirez-vous!
Car entre mes bras mon ami repose.»
C'est Calende de Mai! Et il s'en va.)

Si la fête du 1er mai marque le début du chant courtois du dialogue central, le 1er août signe le moment où se termine le dialogue entre Guillaume et Flamenca, les deux fêtes formant ainsi le cadre du dialogue central. Le 1er mai souligne l'explosion des 'forces' printanières, triomphes de l'amour profane, tandis que le 1er août en tant que fête de la délivrance du chef de l'Église Saint Pierre ès Liens, signe la libération, ici, de Flamenca:

Dimars er festa de san Peire,
Cil qu'es en kalenda [d']aost. (vv. 5516–17)

(Mardi, c'est la fête de Saint-Pierre
celle qui est en calende d'août.)

Pero tro al dimars s'aten
E dis: *Plas mi*, aissi con poc
E nom saup dire plus gen d'oc (vv. 5720–22)

(Elle patienta cependant jusqu'au Mardi
où, du mieux qu'elle put, elle prononça: Il me plaît.
Et elle n'avait su dire *oui* plus gentiment)

La fête de Saint Pierre ès Liens coincide d'ailleurs exactement avec le dernier *turn* du dialogue (cfr. le *Plas mi* de Flamenca) qui marque la 'libération'[23] de Flamenca par Guillaume. La première libération dite 'amoureuse' aura comme suite sa libération à tous les effets dans la dernière partie du roman. Enfin, l'année suivante (cfr. la quatrième) ce sera de nouveau à la veille de mai que l'ancien jaloux Archimbaut—guéri entretemps par le serment ambigu de Flamenca—libérera son épouse et organisera pour elle le splendide tournoi à Bourbon (cfr. à Pâques v. 7203).

Le mois de mai signe donc la date de mariage entre Archimbaut et Flamenca, l'arrivée de Guillaume qui délivrera Flamenca de sa prison et le rétablissement de l'ordre de vie à la cour de Bourbon-l'Archambault.

Conclusion

Avec ces quelques exemples des jours de fête, nous avons voulu souligner non seulement la chronologie bien précise que suit le récit de *Flamenca* mais aussi le fait que ces fêtes assument dans la plupart des cas une fonction autre que purement temporelle. L'auteur fait coincider certains événements du récit avec des jours de fête non seulement pour souligner leur importance, mais surtout pour suggérer à l'aide de ce que tel ou tel jour de fête évoque, le sens implicite qu'il veut conférer aux passages. La Saint Jean («plus que prophète») a une fonction clairement proleptique et la Saint Barnabé («guérisseur des malades») souligne la demande de guérison (d'amour) de Guillaume. La libération de Flamenca acquiert encore plus de poids, ayant lieu à Pâques, jour de résurrection et de libération, tout comme la déclaration d'amour de Guillaume assume une fonction presque cathartique seulement par le fait qu'elle est prononcée le jour de l'Ascension.

Le calendrier liturgique que l'auteur semble suivre (et qui reste toujours encore à être déterminé) et l'insistance sur les fêtes religieuses et de saints ne signifient pourtant pas qu'il ait voulu conférer à son récit une quelconque valeur religieuse. Il nous semble plutôt, qu'il se soit servi de ces noms des jours de fête de la même façon que dans le fameux catalogue des jongleurs (vv. 592–706), où les personnages cités revêtent, du fait de leur nom, une valeur emblématique.[24] Le même jeu allégorique inversé, où «une personne (un nom) est faite idée»,[25] pourrait donc, à notre avis, être adoptée aussi pour les jours de fête.

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[23] Cette libération peut donc être considérée également comme une libération des constrictions liées à la vie chrétienne: Flamenca ne se rendra plus à l'église, ou du moins, il n'en est plus question dans le récit: à partir de ce moment, les rencontres avec Guillaume auront lieu dans les bains thermales de Bourbon-l'Archambault.

[24] Limacher-Riebold, *Entre «novas» et «romans»*, pp. 212–19.

[25] Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972), p. 122.

Annexe[26]

1ère année

Jeudi [précédant Pentecôte]	Tres jorns avant lo terme venc	154
	De l'esperar tro al dimenegue Ben volgr'aver abbat o clergue Que de la-il des lo venres o-l sapte	181–83
dimanche et lundi	Le disande de Pantecosta	187
de Pentecôte: mariage à Namur	Al dimenegue, lo bon mati	251
[. . .]		
24 juin: St Jean	L'endeman fo la Sanz Joans Gues quec jorn non er Sanz Joans	471–756

2ème année

	Anc non la vi le cappellans A Paschas ni a Roasos	1444–45
[2 ans de réclusion de Flamenca]	Asi lur estet ben dos ans	1457

3ème année

29 avril: [samedi après Pâques]	So fo.l sapte de Pascha clusa	2024
dimanche 30 avril	Us auriols per aventura Lo matinet cantet el bruil	2027–28
	Usages es del tems pascal	2405
	cella nuh las maias giteron	2665
la nuit du 30 avril	E del jorn una matinada	2956
au 1 mai	A(i)si a cella nuit passada	2983
lundi 1 mai: St Philippe et St Jacques le Mineur	De .ii. apostols cardinals, E dui apostol devon ben	2793–94

[26] Le calendrier que nous proposons dans cette annexe n'est qu'une version abbrégée de celui que nous avons proposé dans Limacher-Riebold, *Entre «novas» et «romans»*, pp. 237–41.

Dialogue de Guillaume et de Flamenca à l'église (du dimanche 7 mai, au mardi 1er août)

dimanche	7 mai	*Ai las!*	3949
dimanche	14 mai	*Que plains?*	4344
dimanche	21 mai	*Mor mi.*	4503
dimanche	28 mai	*De que?*	4761
		Ques agras fag ar a dos anz[27]	4816
jeudi	1 juin	Le jous d'Assension, a tersa	4873
	Ascension	*D'amor.*	4878
dimanche	4 juin	Al dimenegue, quant venc li ora	4937
		Per cui?	4940
dimanche	11 juin	A Pantacosta, dreit per jorn	4965
	Pentecôte	*Per vos.*	4968
lundi	12 juin	Quar l'endeman [. . .]	5038
	Pentecôte	*Qu'en pucs?*	5039
dimanche	18 juin	A l'uctava de Pantecosta	5083
	St Barnabé	*Garir*	5096
samedi	24 juin: St Jean-Baptiste	Entro dijorn de san Joan car lo sapte sa festa fon	5150–51
		Consi?	5155
dimanche	25 juin	Apres dimergue apres la festa de san Joan [. . .]	5199–200
		Per gein	5204
jeudi	29 juin: Sts Pierre et Paul	Al jous apres fon passïos De dos apostols gloriïos [. . .]	5273–74
		[*Pren l'i*]	5278
dimanche	2 juillet	Lo prumier jorn que plus parlet	5307
		Pres l'ai	5309
dimanche	9 juillet	A l'uiten jorn, ill demandet	5457
		E cal?	5458
dimanche	16 juillet	Autres .viii. jorns, apres respos	5459
		Iretz	5460
samedi	22 juillet: Ste Madeleine	Dreg lo jorn de la Magdalena	5464
		Es on?	5465
dimanche	23 juillet	E l'endema Guillems respon	5466
		Als banz	5467

[27] Flamenca est prisonnière depuis deux ans.

mardi	25 juillet: St Jacques de Compostelle	Quar dimars o posc demanda Ques er festa bona e bella De san Jacme de Compostella	5484–86
		Cora?	5487
dimanche	30 juillet	Ans coven quart jorn attendre Et al quinte a fag entendre	5497–98
		Jorn breu e gent	5499
mardi	1 août: St Pierre-ès-Liens	Dimars er festa de san Peire Cil qu'es en kalenda (d') aost	5516–17
		Plas mi.	5721
mercredi	2 août	Al dimercres, quan jorns parec	5755
jeudi	3 août	Lo jous matin non s'oblidet	6347
–jeudi	30 novembre	Aissi lur estet.iiii. mes, So fon Aostz e totz Setembres Totz Ochovres e totz Novembres Tro a la festa sant Andrieu	6656–59
[. . .]			
17ème jour du Carème		A Borbo, cug ben que passes De carerma una seizena	7040–41

4ème année

15ème jour après Pâques	Apres Pasca al .xv. jorn	7203

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Jewish Concepts of Time and Redemption

The Rabbinic Concept of Time from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages

SACHA STERN

Time is so fundamental to our lived experience, so obvious and so taken for granted, that we have difficulty describing it or defining it. This self-evident notion, however, is not universal to all cultures, to all individuals, and to all situations. Indeed, the range of different perceptions of time available to individuals or to whole societies is far wider than is generally assumed.

A distinction is commonly made, for instance, between linear and cyclical time. But time can also be viewed either as a continuous duration, or as an atomistic succession of instants. Time can be viewed as homogenous, or as qualitatively differentiated into the categories of past, present, and future. Some consider time as part of objective reality, its 'fourth dimension', alongside three-dimensional space (the modern scientific model); whilst others prefer to consider time a subjective experience of the conscious self (a model favoured by phenomenologists).

Nevertheless, a common denominator that is shared by all these theories, and probably by all individuals in the modern world, is that the flow of time constitutes a separate category, an entity with its own dynamic and its own laws, and an essential component of reality or at least of our experience of reality.

This common assumption is not shared, however, by all cultures and societies. Ethnographers have found that in many—if not all—'primitive' or pre-modern societies, the concept of time as a separate category simply does not exist. Norbert Elias has argued that the concept of time is a product of the 'civilizing process' which has resulted in our modern world today.

As we shall see in the main part of this paper, the modern concept of time was alien to the early rabbinic worldview.[1] This claim will require not only

[1] By 'early rabbinic' I mean, as according to convention, the body of literary works

substantiation, but also an explanation: if time, as we all assume, is one of reality's most fundamental components, how could any sensible person account for reality without it? My argument will be that it is perfectly possible, and even sensible, to account for reality as subject only to process, change, and motion, without ever having to resort to the abstract concept of a time dimension.

At the end of this paper I will show how the early rabbinic perception of time—or rather, the absence of anything called 'time' in early rabbinic culture—contrasts with assumptions that were made in later medieval Jewish sources. This will shed light on the evolution of rabbinic culture from late Antiquity to the medieval world.[2]

The Word Zeman

On examination of the entire corpus of early rabbinic sources, it becomes immediately apparent that the concept of time is absent: it is nowhere discussed or even referred to. Indeed, there is no word for 'time' as a general category in early rabbinic literature.[3]

The Hebrew word *zeman*, which commonly designates the concept of time in the later Middle Ages, is common but never used in this sense in the early rabbinic period. Its meaning is restricted either to specific points in time, or to finite periods of time, but never refers to the dimension of time as a whole. Thus, in a punctual sense, *zeman* can mean 'appointed time', 'point in time', 'date', 'right time', or 'proper time'. *Zeman* is also used to express duration, but not with reference to the endless flow of time, as it does in later medieval sources: it only means finite, discontinuous periods of time, such as a person's age, a season, a 'period' (as in the phrase *ha-zeman ha-zeh*, literally 'this period', that is, 'nowadays' or 'now').

The absence of the concept of 'time in general' in early rabbinic literature, which we will further substantiate below, was not caused by a lexical deficiency in the Hebrew language—i.e., the unavailability of a word to express this notion.[4] Had

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including Mishna, Talmud, Midrash, and related sources, all redacted between the 3rd and 7th centuries CE. For a general survey and introduction, see H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1991).

[2] This paper represents a short version of a forthcoming monograph on the early rabbinic concept of time. The sources cited in this paper are only intended for illustrative purposes; other, problematic sources that may appear to contradict my thesis could not be examined in detail in the context of this paper, and will be treated in full in the forthcoming monograph.

[3] The same applies in fact to the Hebrew Bible and post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic sources, e.g. Qumran literature; but this lies outside the scope of this paper.

[4] In making this statement, I deliberately reject Whorf's hypothesis that conceptual thought (and culture in general) is completely determined by language or available linguistic resources. Most anthropologists would agree today that language and thought exert mutual

the rabbis wished to express this notion, they could well have invented a suitable word (as we do all the time, whenever we try to express new ideas, or whenever our thought processes require the creation of a new term); in fact, the word *zeman* would have been entirely suitable.[5] What is significant about the restrictive meaning of *zeman* is that it demonstrates the extent to which early rabbinic literature was indifferent towards time as a general concept or entity.

Time and Space in Early Rabbinic Sources

It might be argued that the absence of any reference to the concept of time in early rabbinic literature is only a reflection of its genres. The concept of time, it might be argued, is only a matter of discussion for philosophers and physicists; since, as is well known, early rabbinic sources are devoid of philosophical discourse or scientific speculation, we should not expect the concept of time to be ever mentioned or discussed.

This argument is built on a false premise, however, because it is perfectly possible for people who are not philosophers or scientists to discuss or make statements about the nature of time. We often comment about the passing of time (that it passes slowly or quickly), or about its financial costs and benefits. Even if statements like 'time flies' or 'time is money' lack the sophistication of philosophical discourse, they are still statements about the nature of time that rabbinic sources, without being philosophical or scientific, could reasonably have made. Yet we do not find such statements, anywhere, in the vastness of early rabbinic literature.

For the sake of reinforcing my argument, I would like to draw attention to passages that do not refer to time, but where a reference to time might reasonably have been expected. A number of biblical verses, for example, would lend themselves particularly well to a comment about time. According to Psalms 90. 4, a thousand years are like one day in God's eyes, or like one night watch, which may suggest a relativistic perception of the flow of time. According to Ecclesiastes 3. 1, everything has its appointed time; or better perhaps, in Ecclesiastes 3. 15 we find that 'what has been already is, and what is to be has already been'—a suggestive statement involving the notions of past, present, and future. Although these verses are frequently cited in early rabbinic literature, they are never used for the purpose of commenting on the concept of time or on its nature.[6] Other relevant verses, such as

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influence over each other, without anyone holding supremacy or logical priority over the other.

[5] A point made by Barr (J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time*, 2nd edn (London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 94–95 and 100–02) with reference to the Bible. The 'lexical argument' is firmly rejected by Barr (*Biblical Words*, pp. 110–12 and 135–58).

[6] These verses are only used in early rabbinic literature for artificial exegetical purposes:

Job 9. 25–26 ('my days are swifter than a runner, they flee away' etc.), are never cited at all.

Another indication of early rabbinic indifference to the notion of time can be found in expressions of God's pervasiveness, which in early rabbinic sources is expressed in purely spatial terms, but not in temporal terms. Thus the recitation of the *shemaʿ* (Deuteronomy 6. 4), which the Mishna describes as an 'acceptance of the yoke of the kingdom of Heaven' (*M. Berakhot* 2. 2), must be performed with the *intention* of accepting this divine yoke; but the Babylonian Talmud rules that it is sufficient to have the intention of 'making him (i.e. God) king above, below, and in the four directions' (*B. Berakhot* 13[b]). A temporal dimension, missing in this passage, was eventually added but only in the thirteenth century by R. Jonah of Gerona, with the intention that God 'was, is, and will be'.[7] But in early rabbinic literature, the notion of God's eternity is generally uncommon and poorly expressed.[8] Phrases such as 'he was, he is and he will be' or 'God was king, is king, will be king forever', frequent in later medieval literature, hardly appear in early rabbinic sources. This suggests perhaps indifference towards the temporal dimension.

Another source where one would have expected reference to the dimension of time is the *Sefer Yetzirah*, the Book of Creation. Whether this late Antique work should be classified as 'rabbinic' is admittedly debatable, but let us assume, for argument's sake, that it might be. The first part of this work comprises an esoteric description of the creation and of the structure of the universe; remarkably, time is

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for instance, Psalms 90. 4 is often used as evidence that 'one day' in some other verse can really mean a millennium (e.g. *B. Sanhedrin*, 97[a]). By contrast Abraham Ibn Ezra, writing in the 12th century, interprets Ecclesiastes 3. 15 as a vivid depiction of the flow of time. As we shall see below, the perception of time in medieval rabbinic sources is very different from that of early rabbinic literature.

[7] R. Jonah of Gerona, *Sefer Ha-Yir'ah* (*The Book of Fear*), 31, appended to Jonah of Gerona, *Sha' arei Teshuva* (Bnei-Brak: Sifsei Chachamim, 1990), p. 289.

[8] God's eternity is mentioned in a number of biblical sources (see Exodus 15. 18, Deuteronomy 32. 40, Psalms 10. 16, etc.), but rabbinic sources do not develop this notion in their exegesis of these verses: see for instance *Mekhilta de-R. Yishma'el*, *Shirah* 10 (Horovitz-Rabin, eds, p. 150), *B. 'Eruvin*, 54[a]. Only a few references to God's eternity can be found in early rabbinic literature: see *Mekhilta de-R. Yishma'el*, *Bahodesh* 6 (Horovitz-Rabin, eds, p. 224); *B. Berakhot* 32[a] (with reference to God's name); *Midrash Tanhuma* (Buber, ed.) *Shelah*, appendix 2 (p. 39[a]); *Midrash Zutta Eikhah* (A) 21. For these references I am grateful to Hyam Maccoby, who points out however that similar expressions are used for the eternal life of Elijah and for the eternal life forfeited by Adam (e.g. *Leviticus Rabba*, 27. 4), so that it could be argued that the expression does not cover eternity in the past. The concept of eternity is certainly ambiguous in these sources; it is no surprise that E. E. Urbach (*The Sages, their Concepts and Beliefs*, trans. by I. Abrahams (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975)) makes no reference, in his monumental work on early rabbinic thought, to the notion of God's eternity.

not included in it. To cite just one example, in one passage[9] the ten *sefirot*[10] that constitute the universe are identified as four elements (the spirit or breath of God, air, water, and fire) and the six directions of space. This elemental and schematic description of the universe does not account for the dimension of time.

Thus, the absence of reference to the notion of time in early rabbinic literature is not a reflection of literary genre or of lexical deficiency: it must be regarded as conceptually significant.

An Anthropological Perspective

The suggestion that the notion of time is alien to early rabbinic sources appears at first sight surprising, and may even invite incredulity. From an anthropological perspective, however, there is nothing surprising about this discovery. It has long been noted that many primitive (or as is more politically correct, 'pre-modern') societies lack the category of time within their cognitive worldview.

Many pre-modern languages do not have a word for 'time', just as in early rabbinic Hebrew. The absence of a word for 'time' was noted by Evans-Pritchard in the case of the Nuer of southern Sudan,[11] and then by others in other cultures across the world. Evans-Pritchard's analysis of Nuer time-reckoning—which went well beyond these lexical considerations—confirmed that the concept of time, in its modern Western form, was absent in Nuer cognitive thought. Instead of time, the Nuer thought in terms of change, process, and succession of mainly human activities. To quote: 'the daily timepiece is the cattle clock, the round of pastoral tasks, and the time of day and the passage of time through a day are to a Nuer primarily the succession of these tasks and their relations to one another' (pp. 101–02). He noted that the division of their year into seasons was not to be regarded too rigidly, since 'They (seasons) are not so much exact units of time as rather vague conceptualizations of changes in oecological relations and social activities which pass imperceptibly from one state to another' (p. 98). The Nuer concept was therefore summed up as follows:

> I do not think that they ever experience the same feeling of fighting against time or having to coordinate activities with an abstract passage of time, because their points of reference are mainly the activities themselves [. . .] We may conclude that the Nuer system of time-reckoning within the annual cycle and parts of the cycle is a series of conceptualizations of natural changes, and that the selection of points of reference is determined by the significance which these natural changes have for human activities [pp. 103–04].

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[9] *Sefer Yetzirah* ([Warsaw], 1884), 1. 13–14

[10] Term of uncertain meaning.

[11] E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 103.

Similar findings have since been made by more recent ethnographers; to cite just one example:

> Kaguru time concepts are concerned simply with the succession of events and their duration and the relation of these successions of events with the present; and this is not evidence of an abstract awareness of time as a dimension in relation to which several processes can be co-ordinated.[12]

Generalizing from studies of this kind, Hallpike claims, with some justification, that in primitive society time is not clearly distinguished from process, for 'time is spatialized and bound up with particular processes, particular concrete sequences of events in the natural and social worlds' (p. 346). Since time is bound up with processes and undistinguishable from them, the very notion of time becomes unnecessary and redundant: the only concepts that are needed to describe and interpret the universe are change, activity, and process.

Time and Process

The anthropological material I have briefly surveyed provides a context for the apparent absence of the concept of time in early rabbinic literature. The extent to which we ought to treat the early rabbis as 'primitive' or pre-modern is perhaps debatable; but it is equally debatable whether the 'primitive' view of time (or rather process) is intrinsically flawed or illogical. What is important to note, at present, is that the early rabbinic indifference towards the concept of time is by no means unique. Many societies, in fact, do not perceive time as a separate category; all they perceive, instead, are environmental and social processes, change, and activity.

In the sections that follow, I shall attempt to establish whether the same can be applied to early rabbinic culture. Some aspects of rabbinic culture would appear, at first sight, to *imply* a concept of time, even if this concept is not explicitly articulated or given a generic name, and even if time is embedded in the context of natural processes and human activity. The timing of rituals, the calendar, and chronology[13] are all important aspects of rabbinic culture which one would normally associate with a notion of the time dimension. The problem will be, however, whether a conceptual distinction can legitimately be drawn between the concept of time and the processes in which it is embedded. As we shall see, what appears to be a notion of

[12] C. Hallpike, *The Foundations of Primitive Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 346. Hallpike's Piagetian interpretation of 'primitive thought', implicit already in this passage, is open to serious criticism which need not detain us here; see A. Gell, *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images* (Oxford: Berg, 1992), pp. 97–117.

[13] For reasons of space, I shall have to omit a discussion of chronology in this paper.

time will often turn out, in actual fact, to be a notion about process, change, or human activity. Thus, it will be possible to argue that the notion of time, even at an implicit level, had no place at all in early rabbinic culture.

Let me begin, however, with a shorter illustration: age. In rabbinic sources, as generally in the ancient world and in the modern world today, age is measured by number of years. This may suggest that age is perceived as the amount of time a person has lived. A person's own age would thus constitute an important part of his/her experience of the passage of time. However, in actual fact, the notion of time is not essential to the experience of age. Even in modern societies, age is commonly experienced as the extent to which one has physiologically or psychologically matured and become 'old'—it is a process, rather than a measure of time. The number of one's years is not taken to represent the amount of time that has passed since birth, but rather as degree to which one has 'aged'.[14]

In the context of early rabbinic literature, this may be expressed in the statement of R. Eleazar b. Azariah in the first chapter of *M. Berakhot*, which has also found its way into the Passover *Haggadah*: 'I am like seventy years old'.[15] This is one of the rare instances in rabbinic literature where someone states his own age. The qualifying 'like' probably means that R. Eleazar b. Azariah was not certain to be seventy, and that this number was only a guess. Beyond childhood, age was largely irrelevant in the ancient world; as a result, knowledge of one's age was generally imprecise.[16] The Babylonian Talmud, however, understood this statement to mean that he was not anything near the age of seventy—he was actually eighteen—but his recent appointment as head of the academy, together with a miraculous growth of white hair, had made him feel as though he was seventy.[17] That he was actually as young as eighteen may be dismissed as Talmudic exaggeration. But where I think we may trust the Talmud is in the suggestion that a statement of one's age does not necessarily represent the actual number of years lived, but rather the extent to which one has aged, in terms of physical appearance as well as in terms of social standing.[18]

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[14] See N. Elias, *Time: An Essay* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 69.

[15] *M. Berakhot* 1. 5; the same expression is attributed to R. Yehoshua, in *Mekhilta de-R.Yishma'el*, *Bo* 16 (Horovitz-Rabin, p. 59).

[16] Age rounding is a common phenomenon in ancient funerary inscriptions, among Jews as well as non-Jews, and is likely, as in this passage, to reflect this ignorance: see P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991), pp. 73–84. For another example of age rounding in rabbinic sources, see *Genesis Rabba* 38. 13, ed. by Ch. Albeck and J. Theodor (Jerusalem: Shalem, 1996), p. 362, expanded in *Song Rabba* 2. 16 (ad 2. 5).

[17] *B. Berakhot* 28^{a}; the parallel in *Y. Berakhot* 4. 1 (7d), according to which he was only sixteen, does not refer to *M. Berakhot* 1. 5. In various recensions of this tradition, his actual age varies between sixteen, seventeen and eighteen.

[18] This is the interpretation suggested by Maimonides in his commentary on the Mishna.

Age is not an experience of the passage of time, but rather of a process. Therefore it is difficult, if not impossible, to derive implicit notions about time from the early rabbinic concept of age. The same difficulty will be encountered in the following sections, on timing and the calendar.

Timing in Halakha *(Law)*

The thesis I am suggesting, that early rabbinic sources do not conceive of time as a separate experience or entity, appears to run counter to the importance accorded in ritual *halakha* (law) to timing, and hence, one would assume, to time. I would like to argue, however, that here again the emphasis is on concrete process, activity, and change, and that even at an implicit level it is difficult to infer a notion of 'time' *per se*.

The proper timing of rituals is a central theme of Mishnaic and subsequent rabbinic law, sometimes to the point of an obsession. The Mishna begins, indeed, with this very theme: at what times in the evening and in the morning should the *Shemaʿ* be recited (*M. Berakhot* 1. 1–2). Timing regulates the performance of prayer, the observance of the sabbath and festivals, and the complex procedures of sacrifice. It may be reasonable to assume that the centrality of timing in ritual *halakha* should tell us something about the early rabbinic perception of time, even if embedded in a context of ritual activity.

The difficulty, however, is to abstract an independent notion of time out this context. Although much attention is given to timing in *halakha*, the times that are provided are frequently expressed in terms of processes, i.e. human activity and (more commonly) natural phenomena. A typical example can be found at the beginning of the Mishna. The question of when *Shemaʿ* should be recited in the evening is answered as follows: 'from when the priests enter to eat their heave-offering, until the end of the first watch—so R. Eliezer. But the sages say: until midnight. R. Gamliel says: until the rise of dawn' (*M. Berakhot* 1. 1). The end of the first watch is not precisely defined; this may depend on how, in practice, night watchers are accustomed to divide their tasks.[19] Midnight is not an abstract clock time (as in its modern sense), but rather the mid-point between nightfall and dawn. Thus the timings in this passage are not given in terms of abstract time measurements, but only through synchronization or co-ordination of the recitation of *Shemaʿ* with other human activities (the priests eating their heave-offering, the changing of the night watchers) or natural phenomena (midnight, the rise of dawn).[20]

[19] According to *T. Berakhot* 1. 3 (p. 1), it is disputed whether there are three or four watches in one night.

[20] Although the more abstract concept of 'hour' is also occasionally used (e.g. *M. Berakhot* 1. 2: in the morning, *Shema*' can be recited till 'three hours'), it is far less frequent in the context of halakhic timing than synchronization with human activities and natural phenomena.

Preference for timings of this kind would have been due to the difficulty, in real life, to know precisely the hour of the day. Time measuring devices are very rarely mentioned in early rabbinic literature. The Mishna rules that witnesses could not be expected to know whether the time of an incident had been the second or the third hour (*M. Sanhedrin* 5. 3).[21] In normal situations, people wishing to know the time would have looked at the position of the sun and made a reasonable guess. The same Mishna rules that witnesses could be expected to distinguish between the fifth and the seventh hour, because in the fifth hour (an hour before midday), the sun is to the East, whereas in the seventh hour (an hour after midday) the sun is to the West.[22] Everyone knows when it is the fourth hour, we are told elsewhere, because that is the time of the morning meal (*B. Pesaḥim* 12[b]).

Thus, time reckoning in Mishnaic *halakha* as well as in daily practice did not depend on the concept of time as an abstract, universal dimension against which all human activity could be measured. Points in time and duration of time were measured with reference to standard processes or activities. Although timing was regarded as of high importance, it did not necessarily imply the existence of a separate dimension of time: all it implied, instead, was the notion that activities and natural phenomena were to be co-ordinated with others in a variety of normative ways, e.g. in succession or in simultaneity.

The Calendar and Measure of Time

The calendar is frequently defined as a scheme for measuring time; as a result, it is commonly assumed that the concept of time, and various notions about it, are implicitly latent in the calendar of any given society. I must plead guilty for having made the same assumption myself. As I will now explain, however, calendar-derived notions of time turn out in most cases to be notions about astronomical cycles, human ritual, and historical events—in other words, about change, processes and human activity. The calendar itself, indeed, is not necessarily a scheme for measuring time, nor does it necessarily imply the existence of an abstract time dimension.

A notion of cyclical time is commonly inferred from the rabbinic (or indeed the Jewish) calendar. This is not merely a reference to the annual recurrence of festivals,

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Indeed, times are rarely given in hours in the Mishna: only in *M. Berakhot* 1. 2, 4. 1, *M. Pesaḥim* 1. 4, 5. 1, *M .Sanhedrin* 5. 3 (not in a ritual context), *M. 'Eduyot* 6. 1; see also *M. Ketubot* 10. 6.

[21] See similar idea in *B. Pesaḥim* 94[a], and the extensive discussion on this topic in *B. Pesaḥim* 11b–12b. For similar reasons, the time of midnight may have been difficult to ascertain. According to *B. Berakhot* 3[b], only God knows when exactly it is midnight.

[22] See also *B. Shabbat* 35[a–b]; *B. Pesaḥim* 11[b]–12[b], 94[a].

which is common to almost all calendars in the world, including the modern, secular calendar. The notion of cyclicity that appears to be particular to the Jewish calendar derives from the idea that similar historical events recur on the same days of the year.

This idea is expressed, for instance, in a passage of the Mishna that lists the various calamities that happened in different historical periods on the same day of the year:

> Five things happened [i.e. in different periods] to our fathers on the 17th of Tammuz, and five on the 9th of Av.
>
> On the 17th of Tammuz the tablets [of the Law] were broken, the daily sacrifice was interrupted, the city[-wall] was breached, Apostomos burnt the Torah, and a statue was placed in the sanctuary.
>
> On the 9th of Av it was decreed that our fathers would not enter the land [of Israel], the Temple was destroyed—the first and the second time—Betar was captured, and the City was ploughed [*M. Ta'anit* 4.6].

The point I wish to make, however, is that historical, cyclical recurrence does not imply a concept of cyclical time, but rather a concept of cyclical events. What is significant is not that the date of the ninth of Av repeats itself—in the context of an annual calendar, this is obvious and completely trivial—but rather that the same events repeat themselves on that same date. The distinction between 'time' and 'events' in the context of the notion of cyclicity has already been made, in fact, by a number of anthropologists dealing with similar ethnographic cases.[23] The repetition of similar events on the same days of the year only points to the cyclicity of the solar or seasonal year (an astronomical and climatic phenomenon), not to the cyclicity of time *per se*. Again, we find ourselves returning to the notions of event and process; the modern, abstract concept of time has no relevance here.

Another calendar-inferred concept of time, which I have once erroneously made, relates to the considerable changes that affected the rabbinic calendar from the third to ninth centuries CE. Until the third century CE, the Mishna and Tosefta suggest that the rabbinic calendar was almost entirely empirical: it was based on lunar observations for the determination of the new moons, and depended entirely on the *ad hoc* decisions of a rabbinic court. Between the third and ninth centuries, however, the calendar gradually evolved into a system that was based entirely on calculation.

In my book on the Jewish calendar, I argued that this calendar change is likely to

[23] If anything, some have argued, the notion of historical cyclicity implies itself the existence of a linear time-line, within which similar events can be seen, over time, to be repeated: see for instance Gell, *Anthropology of Time*, pp. 30–53, 315; Hallpike, *Foundations*, pp. 343–45. See also R. Sorabji, *Time, Creation and the Continuum* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 182–85, who argues similarly that when Greek philosophers refer to time as cyclical, what they actually mean is that events, or the motion of the spheres, are cyclical.

have led to a radical transformation of the perception of time.[24] In the Mishnaic system, where the rabbinic court controlled the dates of the calendar from month to month, the rabbis would have been perceived as exerting control over the passage of time, hence over the entire cosmos and even the divine order. Indeed, according to a number of early rabbinic sources, God and his angelic court would not sit in judgement on the New Year (the first of Tishre) until the rabbinic court had sanctified it and declared it the first day of the month.[25] The cosmic implications of rabbinic calendrical decisions explains perhaps why the determination of new months is referred to in the Mishna (*M. Rosh Ha-Shanah* 2. 7; 3. 1, etc.) as an act of 'sanctification' (*kiddush ha-hodesh*). Thus, not only was man—or more specifically, the rabbinic court—perceived to be empowered over the flow of time, but time itself was perceived as flexible, man-made, and in a certain sense, sacred.

After the institution of a calculated calendar, I argued in my book, the rabbinic experience of time would have been completely redefined. Because the calendar was now governed by fixed, mathematical rules, time came to be experienced as a rigid, objective, and 'desacralized' homogeneous continuum.

This analysis—which, I confess, was based on speculation rather than on any substantive evidence—is again unwarranted, because there is no necessity to assume that the rabbinic calendar would have determined a particular view of time. The rabbinic calendar is only about solar, lunar, and diurnal cycles, and their synchronisation; it does not necessarily imply the existence of an independent and abstract time dimension.

Indeed, the 'sanctification' referred to above (regarding the determination of new months in the Mishnaic, empirical calendar) was not a sanctification of time, but rather of the moon (*kiddush ha-hodesh* translates best as 'sanctification of the new moon'); it was the moon, not time, that the rabbinic court controlled. This finds expression in a story involving R. Hiyya, who instructed the moon to hide itself so as not to contradict the decision of the rabbinic court. R. Hiyya had seen the old moon crescent on the morning of the twenty-ninth day of the month—a clear indication that the new moon

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[24] S. Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar, 2nd century BCE–10th Century CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 230–32.

[25] *T. Rosh Ha-Shanah* 1. 12 (p. 209); *B. Rosh Ha-Shanah* 8[b]; and in more expanded form, *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* 5. 13 (Buber, 1868: 54a; Mandelbaum, 1987: 102–03); *Y. Rosh Ha-Shanah* 1. 3 (57[b]). The Tosefta (*T. Rosh Ha-Shanah* 1. 12 (p. 209)) adds that during the forty years in the wilderness, the court's decisions regarding the dates of festivals would have determined when the manna would have fallen (just as the manna did not fall on the sabbath (Exodus 16. 21–30), it is assumed in this passage that it did not fall on festivals). A passage in the Palestinian Talmud (*Y. Ketubot* 1. 2 (25[b]); *Y. Nedarim* 6. 13 (40[a]); *Y. Sanhedrin* 1. 2 (19[a])) may imply that since the court's calendrical decisions determined when a girl reached the age of three, this would affect the point in time when loss of her hymen became physically irreversible; on this passage and its interpretation, see Stern, *Calendar and Community*, section 5.1.3.

crescent would not be visible that evening. He took a clod of earth and threw it at the moon, saying: 'Tonight we want to sanctify you, and you are still here! Go and hide yourself!' (so according to the version of *B. Rosh Ha-Shanah* 25[a]). Some versions refrain, prudently, from stating whether the moon complied; but according to others, the moon immediately disappeared (*Y. Rosh Ha-Shanah* 2. 4 (58[a])), thus demonstrating that the moon was under R. Hiyya's full control.[26]

Similarly, the rabbinic court's precedence over the heavenly court for establishing the date of the New Year and the onset of divine judgement should not be interpreted as a form of rabbinic control over the flow of time. The point of the passage referred to above[27] is only that heavenly and divine activity depended on the decisions of the human, rabbinic court. Thus, what the notion of 'sanctification of the new moon' suggests is not rabbinic mastery over time, but rather, in general terms, over the sacred.

In the light of these observations, the function and purpose of time measurement and time reckoning, and more specifically, of the calendar, must be completely reconsidered. The calendar is frequently defined as a system for measuring time, or, as I once put it, for 'making sense' of the dimension of time;[28] but as I have just suggested, the notion of a dimension of time is not necessarily implicit in the rabbinic calendar. Furthermore, there is no reason to assume that the purpose of this calendar was to measure 'time'. Its purpose was only to measure the duration of other processes or activities (a contract, a tenancy), or to determine the occurrence of specific events (a festival, etc.).

In the context of early rabbinic culture, therefore, the calendar must be defined as a method designed to facilitate the co-ordination of various events and activities, or to measure the duration of various activities and processes. This is achieved by using as reference a standard process or combination of processes—typically, the courses of the sun and of the moon—that are at once universally known and fairly regular and predictable. These astronomical processes are used as standard measurements or 'yardsticks', in relation to which other earthly events and activities can be measured and co-ordinated. Thus, the notion of an abstract dimension of time is not necessary to make sense of the calendar. The calendar consists quite simply in using a standard sequence or process to identify, measure, and co-ordinate other, more irregular sequences and sets of processes.

The radical change that occurred to the rabbinic calendar after the third century, evolving from an empirical calendar based on sightings of the new moon to a fixed calendar based on a mathematical calculation, was essentially no more than the

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[26] As explicitly stated in a gloss to *Midrash Tanhuma* (ed. Buber), *Bo* 8, p. 24[a] (cited in *Yalqut Shimoni* 1. 191, on Exodus 12. 2).

[27] See note 25 above.

[28] S. Stern, 'Fictitious Calendars: Early Rabbinic Notions of Time, Astronomy, and Reality', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 87 (1996), 103–29 (p. 104), and Stern, *Calendar and Community*, preface, v.

substitution of one standard measurement or 'yardstick' for another. Just as the empirical calendar, the fixed calendar was primarily conceived of not as a measurement of the dimension of time, but as a schematic account of the courses of the moon and the sun, a standard sequence against which other sequences and processes could be measured.

The empirical calendrical system of the Mishnaic period, and its subsequent replacement with a calculated, fixed calendar, might thus have affected the perception of religious and astronomical processes; but it was not necessarily relevant to a perception of time as a separate concept or entity. No matter how abstract or how mathematical, the calendar calculation did not necessarily imply, in itself, the notion of a time dimension.

Time and Ethics

The absence of a concept of time in the early rabbinic worldview was not a purely intellectual phenomenon: it will have had practical implications in the experience of daily life. There is no doubt that the modern concept of time plays a dominant role in our society and personal lives, by governing all our social, cultural, and economic activities. Because of its centrality, the notion of time has become deeply ingrained in our personal beings, or as Elias puts it, in our *habitus*.[29] Thus for many individuals time is a source of internal anxiety, because it is perceived as one of the few things over which there is no control. But in societies where time is not perceived as a distinct category or entity, life will be experienced very differently. Social and economic activities will run according to very different principles, and individual behaviour, experience and *habitus* will consequently differ.

For the same reason, concepts of time have a profound effect on the theory and practice of ethics. Whilst *habitus* is a general and rather ill-defined notion that is difficult to capture or infer from ancient literary sources, ethics lend themselves well to systematic study. Without attempting to be comprehensive, I shall demonstrate in this section how various aspects of early rabbinic ethics were affected by the total absence of a concept of time as we perceive it. This will help to appreciate how the early rabbinic worldview might have affected in practice the nature of human experience in early rabbinic society.

Most important, perhaps, is to appreciate that because time was not conceived of as a separate entity, time would not have been viewed or treated as a commodity that could be utilized, saved, shared, spared, or wasted—sometimes even stolen—as we assume today. The notions of saving time or wasting time are alien, indeed, to early rabbinic ethics. The closest one gets to the notion of time wasting is the vice of *batala*, 'waste' or 'idleness'. However, idleness is not frowned upon as a waste of

[29] Elias, *Time*, pp. 135–36.

time, or even as a vice *per se*. *M. Ketubot* 5. 5 advises against wealthy women leading a life of total idleness, but only because this leads them either to immorality or to boredom (the respective views of R. Eliezer and R. Shimon b. Gamliel). Idleness is also condemned elsewhere, but only because it leads to *bittul Torah* ('waste of Torah': *Avot* 3. 4, as expanded in *Avot de-R. Nathan* (b) 34).[30]

A value that commonly takes the place of 'time' in early rabbinic ethics is opportunity—which is, primarily, a process-related notion. For instance, the common excuse we have today of 'not having time' is never found in early rabbinic sources. Instead, when the ailing R. Eliezer asked his younger colleagues why they had not come to visit him earlier, they answered: 'we did not have the opportunity'.[31] See also *B. Berakhot* 64[a]:

> R.Abin ha-Levi said:
> Whoever forces the moment (*sha'ah*), the moment forces him.
> And whoever yields before the moment, the moment yields before him.

The Talmud goes on to describe how R. Yosef did well to turn down his appointment as rabbinic leader, and to allow his colleague Rabbah to assume it until his death. Although *sha'ah* can be *translated* in both these passages as 'hour' or 'moment', these terms are not to be understood in a temporal sense, but rather in the process-related sense of 'opportunity'. It is not time that is a resource, but rather the opportunity to accept appointments or to undertake specific activities. Opportunities, we are told, must be carefully managed: they must not be forced or pre-empted; it is wiser to yield before them and use them with restraint.

From Antiquity to the Late Medieval Period

Lack of concern for time management in early rabbinic ethics contrasts with later, medieval rabbinic sources, where time is assumed not only as a category, but also as a precious commodity or resource. Maimonides (late twelfth century) is one of those who often refers to time as a scarce resource. In the introduction to his Code, he writes that the study of Talmud requires much time, and that the purpose of his Code will be to help people spare it. Elsewhere, he goes further and writes that the speculative study of Talmud is a 'waste of time'.[32] The study of 'external books'

[30] The prohibition of *bittul Torah*, which in some circles today has become synonymous with time wasting, carries a different meaning in early rabbinic literature: it means, quite simply, failure to learn Torah when the opportunity presents itself.

[31] *B. Sanhedrin* 68[a]. The term *penay* definitely means 'option' or 'opportunity', without any temporal connotation, in *M. Ohalot* 7. 4; see also *M. 'Avoda Zarah* 5. 6, *B. Shabbat* 157[a], etc.

[32] Fragment of a letter of Maimonides, cited by I. Twersky, *Introduction to the Code of*

such as Ben Sira, physiognomy, chronography, genealogy, and poetry, are similarly discarded by Maimonides as a 'waste of time'.[33] In his famous letter to Ibn Tibbon he writes: 'come in peace to visit me, but not to get anything out of me, because my time is very scarce'[34]—by contrast, as we have seen, the excuse of 'not having time' is never found in early rabbinic sources. The phrase *tirdat ha-zeman* ('the pressure of time') becomes a common excuse in the work of later writers, for instance in the Code of R. Yaaqov b. Asher (early fourteenth century).[35]

Later medieval sources are also the first to develop the notion of time saving as an ethical virtue, and conversely, of time wasting as a vice. This theme is raised by R. Menahem ha-Meiri (late thirteenth century) in his ethical work *Meshiv Nefesh*, and at length in a homily by R. Isaac Arama (fifteenth century).[36]

The notion of time as an independent, measurable entity also makes its way into late medieval *halakhic* (legal) literature. R. Jacob Moelin (known today as the *Maharil*: late fourteenth–early fifteenth century) prohibits the use of sand-clocks or sundials on the sabbath, even for the purpose of timing one's learning, on the grounds that this constitutes an act of measuring (measuring is generally prohibited on the sabbath). He does express, however, some reservations, by conceding that 'time measurement is not literally a measurement'; still, he concludes, it can be likened to other forms of measurement. What he means by 'not literally (or: not entirely) a measurement' is not explained, but his reservations are obviously related to the abstractness of the time dimension. For at the end of his *responsum*, he adds that sundials are possibly worse than sand-clocks because they 'literally measure a shadow'—in other words, their measurement is spatial and concrete.[37] But in spite of these reservations, the *Maharil* prohibits both sand-clocks and sundials on the sabbath, on the grounds that their use constitutes a measurement of the time

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Maimonides (Mishneh Torah) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 47.

[33] Maimonides, *Commentary on the Mishna, Sanhedrin* 10. 1 (twice).

[34] Translated from the text of A. Marx, 'Texts by and about Maimonides', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 25 (1925), 371–428 (p. 378, the MS Adler recension).

[35] *Tur Yoreh De'ah*, 246. 1: some people cannot learn Torah because of the pressure of time. See also R. Jacob Moelin (Maharil: late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries) in Y. Satz, *Responsa of the Maharil* (Jerusalem, 1979), p. 82 (beginning of no. 65).

[36] R. Menahem ha-Meiri, *Hibbur ha-Teshuvah*, *Meshiv Nefesh* 2: 9 ed. by Schreiber (New York: Hôsa'at Talpioth, 1950), p.421; R. Isaac Arama, *Aqedat Yitzhaq*, homily 59 (vol. 3, pp. 19[a]–21[a]).

[37] His distinction between sundials and sand clocks is a bit puzzling. In practice, sundials do not require any shadow to be measured: it is the position of the shadow on the dial that indicates the time of the day. The daily rotation of the shadow on the dial is, admittedly, a concrete process; but then the motion of sand through sand clocks is no less concrete. See also R. Jacob Castro (Mahariqash: late sixteenth century), *Ohalei Ya'aqov* (Leghorn, 1783), 104, who argues against the Maharil that sand clocks do not require anything to be measured; he does acknowledge, however, that the outcome of the sand clock being turned over repeatedly is that time is measured.

dimension.[38] His ruling is codified in the sixteenth century *Shulḥan ʿArukh*;[39] and although halakhists from the beginning of the eighteenth century generally allowed the use and handling of the newly invented, fast spreading pocket-size mechanical watches on the sabbath, the assumptions of the *Maharil* were never questioned or disputed *per se*.[40]

Why the rabbinic notion of time was so radically transformed from late Antiquity to the later Middles Ages is difficult to ascertain. However, it is likely to have been related to the rise and influence of Jewish medieval philosophy. Maimonides, whom I have quoted above, was among the first rabbinic philosophers to engage in systematic discussions about the notion of time as an independent entity.[41] But he was preceded in this by R. Saadya Gaon (early tenth century), traditionally regarded as the first Jewish rabbinic philosopher, who appears to have been the first to use the term *zeman*, or at least the Judeo-Arabic equivalent and cognate *al-zamen*, in the modern sense of 'time' as an independent entity.[42] This concept of time became dominant in subsequent medieval Jewish philosophy,[43] and

[38] Satz, *Responsa*, p. 317 (no. 200; the prohibition actually extends to touching or handling clocks on the sabbath, because they are defined as tools that are used for forbidden work).

[39] R. Joseph Karo, *Shulḥan 'Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 308. 51, with the Rema's gloss.

[40] The main relevant source in this period is R. Meir Eisenstadt, *Panim Me'irot*, 2. 123. The questioner argues that the Maharil only prohibited devices that require human actions, such as sand clocks that need to be turned over, or sundials that need to be positioned in the sun. These actions are treated as measuring acts. Watches, on the other hand, work on their own (once they are wound), and do not require any measuring act. His point apparently is that the prohibition is only to make measurements, whereas with watches, one only reads existing, ready-made measurements. The responder's (Eisenstadt) argument is far less clear: he states, somewhat obscurely, that watches do not measure time but only 'estimate it' (on the obscurity of this distinction, see R. Samuel Kolin (later eighteenth century), *Mahatzit ha-Sheqel* 308. 78). In support of his lenient ruling, Eisenstadt adduces M.Yoma 6. 8, whereby the progress of the scapegoat in the desert on the Day of Atonement had to be ascertained, for those who had remained in the temple, by 'walking a mil, returning a mil, and waiting a mil': Eisenstadt argues that the latter mil must have been estimated on the basis of a shadow (maybe he means the shadow of a fixed sundial, that would not have required positioning), which like a watch, would have been permitted.

[41] Maimonides, *Guide to the Perplexed*, 1. 52, 2. introduction, 2. 13, 2. 30. Maimonides's views about the creation of the time were popularized by the fourteenth-century *Midrash Ha-Gadol* (ad Genesis 1. 8).

[42] R. Saadya Gaon, *Opinions and Beliefs*, 1. 1, 1. 4, 2. 11. For a slightly earlier source, see S. Stroumsa, *Dawud ibn Marwan Al-Muqammis's Twenty Chapters (Ishrun Maqala), edited, translated and annotated* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 108–09.

[43] See in general T. M. Rudavsky, *Time Matters: Time, Creation, and Cosmology in Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000), and in particular R. Ḥasdai Crescas's fourteenth-century critique of Aristotle's concept of time, in H. A. Wolfson, *Crescas'*

also penetrated other genres of rabbinic literature, such as *halakha* (as we have seen) and poetry.[44] R. Saadya's new, medieval concept of time was obviously borrowed, together with many other ideas, from the extraneous tradition of Greek and Muslim philosophy.

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Critique of Aristotle: Problems in Aristotle's Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 93–98, 282–91, and notes.

[44] See the quasi-personification of time in Moses Ibn Ezra (eleventh–twelfth centuries), *Selected Poems*, ed. by S. Solis-Cohen and H. Brody (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1945), pp. 53–54, 60, 89.

Time and Cosmology in Late Medieval Jewish Philosophy

T. M. RUDAVSKY

Introduction

Of the many philosophical perplexities facing religious thinkers, one of the most persistent has been the question of whether the universe is created or eternal. In recent years many books have appeared which attempt to reconcile contemporary views of creation with accounts found in scripture: witness, for example, the success of such books as *Judaism and the Doctrine of Creation*; *God and the Big Bang*; *Genesis and the Big Bang*; and analogous books from the non-Jewish perspective, such as *The Moment of Creation*; and *The Mind of God*.[1] What these books have in common is the desire to harmonize accounts of creation resulting from two webs of belief: a web of religious belief and a web of scientific belief.

In what follows, I should like to explore several moments in the history of Jewish thought, with an eye to understanding the ways in which the relation between science and religion play out. I shall use the theory of creation, as portrayed in Genesis to illustrate my point. But first I would like to situate the parameters of the overall project. As an historian of medieval Jewish philosophy, much of my recent work has focused on the intersection between Judaism on the one hand, and philosophy and science on the other. I agree with the recent contention made by Avi

[1] See for example, Norbert Samuelson, *Judaism and the Doctrine of Creation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Daniel Matt, *God and the Big Bang* (Vermont: Jewish Lights, 1996); Gerald Schroeder, *Genesis and the Big Bang* (New York: Bantam, 1990); James Trefil, *The Moment of Creation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983) and Paul Davies, *The Mind of God* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991).

Ravitsky, namely that to approach Jewish philosophical texts with the presumption that their authors were completely isolated from their non-Jewish intellectual environment is to misunderstand the underlying tension inherent in these very texts.[2] Both Jewish and Islamic philosophers have had to wrestle with the project of reconciling 'outside' sources and influences with their understanding of scripture. Especially in the late medieval and early modern period, religious belief was often threatened by the adoption of a scientific cosmology antithetical to religious thought, be it the cosmology of Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy or Copernicus. Sometimes, as in the case of Maimonides, we shall see that this wrestling results in a mode of discourse that obfuscates the full force of the compromise.

For Jewish philosophers, however, I shall argue that the issue acquires an additional urgency. My own view is that Jewish thinkers worked hard to accommodate the findings of secular learning, which included science, with Judaic texts. For it is important to remember that Jewish examinations of the religion/science debate are (for the most part) elaborated in counter-position to a not unrelated issue, namely the impact of secular Christian culture upon Judaism. Hence, whereas for the Christian theologian (Augustine, Aquinas, Galileo) the problem is monodimensional—namely, how to accommodate Christianity and modern scientific outlooks—for the Jew the question becomes more complex: how to accommodate Judaism to secularism, which itself has been infiltrated first by Greek, and then by Christian influences.[3] I suggest that the very scientific world view which the Christian sees as 'godless' and void of religious content, is for the Jew already tinged (and contaminated, as it were) with classical 'Christian' elements. And if so, the enterprise of accommodation becomes even more complex for the Jew than for the Christian. The real issue in Jewish thought is at what point does the introduction of secular knowledge dilute the basic teachings found in Jewish sources. Let us turn, then, to several snap-shots that articulate the relation between religion and science, by focusing in particular upon the doctrines of creation and time.[4]

Rabbinic Interpretations of Scripture

When we turn to the history of Jewish thought, it is clear that no Jewish philosopher denied the centrality of the doctrine of creation to Jewish dogma. Jews were

[2] See Aviezer Ravitsky, *History and Faith: Studies in Jewish Philosophy* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1996), for a penetrating discussion of the status of Jewish philosophers *vis-à-vis* their intellectual environment.

[3] For a discussion of contemporary science and religion interactions, see John H. Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[4] For details of each of these snapshots, see T. M. Rudavsky, *Time Matters: Time, Creation and Cosmology in Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000).

enormously affected by scripture and in particular by the creation account found in Genesis 1–2. But like their Christian and Muslim counterparts, Jewish thinkers did not always agree upon what qualifies as an acceptable model of creation. In the context of this topic, perhaps the most important word of scripture is *b'reishit*, 'in the beginning'. The very term *b'reishit* designates the fact that there was a beginning. Not surprisingly, however, early rabbinical texts evince earnest grappling with the scriptural account of creation and what it means. Rabbinical sayings find their way into the philosophical corpus early on. In fact, we can find at least three cosmological traditions that emerged within rabbinic texts: creation from an eternal matter, creation *ex nihilo*, and emanation theory. The first tradition, creation of the world out of a pre-existing matter, is rooted in Gnostic writings as well as in Plato's *Timaeus*; in response to these authorities, the rabbis were concerned to determine whether the world was created out of a primordial matter or out of nothing. That the first statement in Genesis could be read to support a theory of pre-existent formless matter was recognized early on by the rabbis. According to one rabbinical dictum the word *b'reishit* refers to the fact that before the actual creation there pre-existed a number of things. Numerous rabbinical texts suggest that the presently existing world came into being after a series of worlds that had been created and destroyed:

> Seven things were created before the world, viz. the Torah, repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the name of the Messiah.[5]
>
> Six things came before the creation of the world, some created, some at least considered as candidates for creation.[6]
>
> He has come to receive the Torah, answered He to them. Said they to Him. 'That secret treasure, which has been hidden by Thee for nine hundred and seventy-four generations before the world was created.'[7]
>
> It is taught: R. Simeon the Pious said: These are the nine hundred and seventy four generations who pressed themselves forward to be created before the world was created, but were not created.[8]

The rabbis clearly had no religious compunctions against suggesting that our world did not represent the first creative effort on the part of God; rather, they emphasized that entire worlds, or generations, pre-existed the creation of the universe. This interpretation would explain the emptiness and void (*tohu va-vohu)* that appeared to exist already when God initiated his original creative act. Rashi, for example, along with many other rabbis, interpreted the first two sentences of Genesis as meaning that 'when God created the heavens and earth, the earth was (already) empty and void (*tohu va-vohu)*, and darkness (*hoshekh*) was upon the face of the

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[5] *Nedarim*, 39b.

[6] Genesis Rabbah, I. 4.

[7] *Shabbat*, 88b.

[8] *Hagigah*, 14a.

deep'.[9] The explicit implication of this reading is that God created the universe out of a pre-existing *tohu*, *vohu* and *hoshekh*. This pre-existent stuff was the result of at least one prior world. Ibn Ezra, however, is a bit more circumspect, suggesting that, in contradistinction to the commonly accepted notion of creation *ex nihilo (yesh me'ayin)*, the meaning of the term '*bara*' is to cut (*ligzor*) or set a boundary (*ve-leshum gevul nigzar*). The intelligent person will understand what I am alluding to'.[10] By this Ibn Ezra intimates that a pre-existent matter is cut, or limited by form.

A second question has to do with whether time itself pre-existed creation. Does the term '*b'reishit*' already imply temporality, that is, does creation occur in time, or is time created along with the creation of the universe? Nachmanides, in commenting on the phrase 'And God called the light day', claims that, 'He states here that time was created and He fixed the span of day and span of night'.[11] Nachmanides reiterates the creation of time in commenting on the phrase 'and God divided the light from the darkness:'

> It is also possible for us to explain that when the heavens and earth emerged from nothingness into the something which is mentioned in the first verse, time came into being. For although our time consists of minutes and hours which belong to light and darkness, yet from the moment when the 'something' came into existence 'time' was attached to it. On this assumption heaven and earth were created and remained as they were for the space of a night without light; and He said 'let there be light' and there was light, and He decreed that it should remain for the same space of time as the preceding (night) and later should be removed from the elements and so 'there was evening and there was morning'.[12]

In this passage Nahmanides incorporates several motifs: the notion that the original created time differs from our own 'clock-measured' time, that created substance and created time must exist simultaneously, and that the original evening was measured by the absence of light.

The Medieval Challenge: The Bible and Medieval Science

When we turn to medieval world, we see that Jewish philosophers must respond to the science of the day, namely an Aristotelian framework according to which reality

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[9] *Rashi*, in standard editions of the Hebrew Bible.

[10] Ibn Ezra, *Commentary on the Pentateuch (Genesis)*, trans. and annotated by H. Norman Strickman and Arthur M. Silver, (New York: Menorah, 1988), p. 24; Ibn Ezra, *Perushe Ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: Mossad Ha-Rav Kook, 1976), p. 12.

[11] Nachmanides, *The Commentary of Nahmanides on Genesis, Chapters 1–6. 8*, trans. and notes by Jacob Newman (Leiden: Brill, 1960), p. 39.

[12] Nachmanides, *The Commentary*, p. 39.

is a continuous plenum in which time and matter are infinitely divisible. In this eternal plenum, time is potentially, if not actually, infinite; neither time nor the universe was created. Jewish philosophers, however, must interpret Aristotle in light of the first verses of Genesis, and they must therefore determine whether this universe was created simultaneous with or subsequent to the creation of time. Furthermore, they must analyse the significance of the term *b'reishit* in the context of an Aristotelian theory of time.

Scholars have been careful to distinguish philosophical cosmology from astronomy. Largely the work of natural philosophers and physicists, cosmologists followed Aristotle rather than Ptolemy in their quest to offer a theory of the universe as an ordered whole.[13] The formative classical texts included Aristotle's *De Caelo*, supplemented by relevant passages from the *Metaphysics*, *Physics* and *De Generatione et Corruptione*. Plato's *Timaeus* and commentaries upon Genesis presented an additional dimension to this corpus.

In the Aristotelian cosmology, the universe is a finite sphere whose centre is at the earth. Nine primary concentric spheres (in turn divided into subsidiary spheres) rotate around the earth; these spheres form a compact whole with no vacuum. The superlunar heavens differ in composition from the sublunar bodies in that the former are composed of a single incorruptible element, aether, while the earth is comprised of the four elements. The order of planetary spheres, mentioned often in Jewish as well as in scholastic texts, was taken ultimately from Ptolemy (who modified the earlier order of Aristotle): the moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.[14]

The ultimate source of motion in this system is God, or the unmoved first mover.[15] But did God move the first moving sphere as an active, efficient cause, or as a passive, final cause? Aristotle had attributed to all the celestial spheres a mover, the ultimate source of motion being God. Medieval thinkers, however, introduced immobile created intelligences to explain celestial motion. These separate intelligences move the orbs with both intellect and will.[16] Each sphere has a soul or internal moving source; Maimonides identifies these spheres with angels.[17]

And yet, although cosmology and astronomy represented separate disciplines,

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[13] Edward Grant, 'Cosmology', in *Science in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Lindberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 265–302 (p. 266).

[14] For the *locus classicus* of this ordering, see Ptolemy, *Almagest*, trans. and ed. by G. J. Toomer (London: Duckworth, 1984).

[15] See Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 7. 7, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. by J. Barnes, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. by Shlomo Pines (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), I. 72; 2. 1. All references to the *Guide* will be to this edition unless otherwise noted.

[16] See Grant, 'Cosmology', p. 285.

[17] See Maimonides, *Guide*, 2. 6.

as it were, nevertheless they intersected in the area of theory formation. As Pederson has argued, tensions centred around the metaphysical status of mathematical theories in science.[18] For on the one hand the universe, as described by Aristotle in *De Caelo*, was a material entity based on the laws of physics. On the other hand, mathematical astronomy made use of geometrical devices that violated these very laws of physics.

More specifically, both Aristotle and Ptolemy agreed that there must be a plurality of spheres to account for the motion of each planet. These spheres, as we have seen, were nested contiguously. On Aristotle's model there was a series of concentric orbs, each moving in a natural, uniform, circular motion, all sharing the earth as a common centre. Ptolemy, however, recognized that Aristotle could not account for variations in the observed distances of the planets. He therefore introduced eccentric and epicyclic circles to account for planetary motions.[19] Medieval philosophers were faced, therefore, with a dilemma: they could either reject the earth's centrality and abandon a vital part of Aristotelian physics, or they could accept a cosmology that was untenable from the perspective of the astronomers.[20]

By the twelfth century, the influence of Aristotle had taken hold among Jewish philosophers. The crisis between Aristotelian celestial physics and Ptolemaic astronomy reached its apogee during the time of Maimonides and Gersonides.

In other contexts I have argued that Maimonides tended to compartmentalize physics and astronomy, a major implication being that the astronomer is free to use any mathematical model which best suits his theoretical purposes. Gersonides, however, draws a clear connection between the two. Writing in fourteenth-century France, Gersonides spent several years in the papal court in Avignon, and may at that time have come into contact with the views of Ockham and other fourteenth-century scholastics. His major work *Milhamot Hashem* is a sustained examination of the major philosophical issues of the day.[21] In contradistinction to Maimonides, for

[18] Olaf Pederson, 'Astronomy', in *Science in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Lindberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 303–37 (p. 321).

[19] For a brief introduction to the vast secondary literature dealing with this issue, cf. Grant, 'Cosmology', pp. 280ff; Pierre Duhem, *Le système du monde*, 10 vols (Paris: Hermann, 1913–59).

[20] See Grant, 'Cosmology', p. 281. Grant goes on to describe a third alternative as well, namely one in which additional orbs are introduced according to which the variation in planetary distances was incorporated into a system of concentric planetary spheres. In this way both Aristotelian and Ptolemaic systems are salvaged.

[21] The questions raised by Levi ben Gerson (Gersonides 1288–1344) are contained in his major work *Milhamot Adonai*. Reference to Book V. 2–3 and Book VI will be made primarily to the Hebrew edition. This edition first appeared as *Milhamot Adonai*, ed. by Rabbi Joseph Ottolenghi and Dr. Jacob Marcaria (Riva di Trento, 1569; repr. Leipzig: Lorck, 1866; repr. Berlin: Lamm, 1923). In addition the following recent English translations of portions of *Milhamot Adonai* should be noted: Gersonides, *The Wars of the Lord (Vols 1–3)*, trans and ed.

Gersonides natural philosophy and mathematics are mutually reinforcing disciplines which come together in astronomy: 'In its perfection the investigation [astronomy] belongs to both sciences—to mathematics because of the geometric proofs, and to natural philosophy because of the physics and philosophical proofs'.[22] As Freudenthal has cogently stated, all the sciences for Gersonides ultimately form a coherent whole. Adhering to the ability of human beings to attain to an overarching truth comprising all of reality, Gersonides presents a unified cosmology rooted in a thoroughgoing epistemological realism.[23]

This realist stance is stated in the context of examining al-Bitruji's astronomical proposals. Gersonides's contention is that 'no argument can nullify the reality that is perceived by the senses, for true opinion must follow reality but reality need not conform to opinion'.[24] That Gersonides clearly considered his own observations to be the ultimate test of his system is explicit from his attitude towards Ptolemy. The importance of empirical observation cannot be underestimated, he claims, and he values his own observations over those of others. 'We did not find among our predecessors from Ptolemy to the present day observations that are helpful for this investigation except our own',[25] he says in describing his method of collecting astronomical data. Often his observations do not agree with those of Ptolemy, and in those cases he tells us explicitly that he prefers his own. Gersonides lists the many inaccuracies he has found trying to follow Ptolemy's calculations.[26] Having investigated the positions of the planets, for example, Gersonides encountered 'confusion and disorder' which led him to deny several of Ptolemy's planetary principles.[27] He does warn his colleagues, however, to dissent from

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by Seymour Feldman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984; 1987, and 1999); Jacob Staub, *The Creation of the World According to Gersonides* (Chica, CA: Scholars Press, 1982). Unless otherwise noted, references to Books 1–4 of the work will be to Feldman's translation (*Wars*). For an extensive bibliography of scholarly works on Gersonides see the recent bibliography compiled by Menachem Kellner, 'Bibliographia Gersonideana: An Annotated List of Writings By and About R. Levi ben Gershom', in *Studies on Gersonides*, ed. by Gad Freudenthal (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 368–410.

[22] *Milhamot*, V. 1. 1, 23; in Bernard R. Goldstein, *The Astronomical Tables of Levi ben Gerson* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1974).

[23] See Gad Freudenthal, 'Epistemologie, astronomie et astrologie chez Gersonide', *Revue des études juives*, 146 (1987), 357–65 (p. 360), for a discussion of the implications of this realism.

[24] This passage is quoted in Goldstein, *The Astronomical Tables*, p. 24. Goldstein claims that Gersonides is almost unique among medieval philosophers for his effort to base a new system of astronomy on his own observations rather than on those of his predecessors.

[25] *Milhamot*, V. 1. 3; 27; in Goldstein, *The Astronomical Tables.*

[26] See examples of these inaccuracies in *Milhamot* V. 1. 14, 93ff; in Goldstein, *The Astronomical Tables*.

[27] *Milhamot*, V. 1. 46; in Bernard R. Goldstein, 'A New Set of Fourteenth-Century

Ptolemy only after great diligence and scrutiny.

Gersonides's attitude toward previous astronomers, coupled with his faith in human reason, is reflected in his discussion of creation. Maimonides goes to great length to maintain that the topic of creation is beyond rational demonstration. Gersonides, on the other hand, devotes many chapters in *Milhamot*, VI to proving that the Platonic theory of creation out of an eternal formless matter is rationally demonstrable. Further, the two disagree over the relation between the superlunar and sublunar spheres. As we have seen, Maimonides has claimed that no valid inference can be drawn from the nature of the sublunar sphere to that of the superlunar sphere. Gersonides, however, rejects the metaphysical bite to the distinction, and argues that inasmuch as both spheres contain material elements, what we know about creation is based on astronomy, and astronomy is fundamentally no different a human science than physics.[28] Astronomy can only be pursued as a science by 'one who is both a mathematician and a natural philosopher, for he can be aided by both of these sciences and take from them whatever is needed to perfect his work'.[29] Gersonides sees the ultimate function of astronomy to understand God. Astronomy, he tells us, is instructive not only by virtue of its exalted subject matter, but also because of its utility to the other sciences. By studying the orbs and stars, we are led ineluctably to a fuller knowledge and appreciation of God.[30]

Arguing that creation out of nothing is incompatible with the facts of physical reality, Gersonides adopts a Platonic model of matter drawn ultimately from the *Timaeus*. The opening verses of Genesis 1 are used to distinguish two types of material reality: *geshem* and *homer rishon*.[31] Totally devoid of form, *geshem* is the primordial matter out of which the universe was created. Since it is not informed, it is not capable of motion or rest; and since it is characterized by negation, *geshem* is inert and chaotic.[32] In contrast to *geshem*, *homer rishon* is the second type of reality. *Homer rishon* is understood in the Aristotelian sense as a substratum allied to form. *Homer rishon*, or matter, is inferior to form and hence cannot be known in itself. It

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Planetary Observations', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 132 (1988), 371–99 (p. 386).

[28] Norbert Samuelson, 'Elements and Matter in Gersonides' Cosmogony', in *Gersonide en son temps*, ed. by Gilbert Dahan (Leuven: Peeters, 1991), pp. 199–233 (p. 213).

[29] *Milhamot*, V. 1. 1, 23; in Goldstein, *The Astronomical Tables.*

[30] See *Milhamot*, V. 1. 2, 24; in Goldstein, *The Astronomical Tables*. Langermann emphasizes this point in his appendix 'Gersonides on Astrology', in Gersonides, *The Wars of the Lord (Books V–VI*), 506–19 (p. 513).

[31] *Milhamot*, VI. 1. 17, pp. 267–71. For general discussions of Gersonides's theory of creation and matter, see Seymour Feldman, 'Platonic Themes in Gersonides' Cosmology', in *Salo Whittmayer Baron: Jubilee Volume*, ed. by S. Lieberman (Jerusalem: AAJR, 1975), pp. 383–405.

[32] *Milhamot*, VI. 1. 17, pp. 367–68; p. 374. For further elaboration of these arguments, see Feldman, 'Platonic Themes', pp. 394–95.

contains within itself the potentiality to receive forms, yet has no actuality of its own.[33] Inasmuch as it does not contain its own actuality, *homer rishon* is not an ontologically independent entity. Gersonides refers to this *homer rishon* as 'the matter that does not keep its shape (*ha-geshem ha-bilti shomer temunato*)'.[34] In *Milhamot*, VI. 2. 7, Gersonides compares this matter to darkness, for just as darkness is the absence of light, so too this matter represents the absence of form or shape.

This cosmological principle plays a crucial role in Gersonides's astronomy. In an important study of the chronology of Gersonides's works, Glasner has argued that the notion of a 'matter that does not keep its shape' is essential for Gersonides's 'eccentric cosmology' in a number of ways: it explains why the movements of the different planets do not interfere with each other; it solves the problem of the contact between an eccentric orb and the orbs above or below it; and it solves the problem of the centre of motion.[35]

Prelude to Modernity: Late Medieval Jewish Philosophy

Turning finally to developments in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries let me say a few words about the impact of scholasticism upon Jewish thought. In order to appreciate the content of scholastic discussions during this period, we must say more about the importance of the condemnation of 1277. The condemnation of two hundred and nineteen propositions in philosophy and theology by Bishop Stephen Tempier on March 7, 1277, is one of best-known and well-studied events in the history of the University of Paris.[36] Many historians, such as Mandonnet, van Steenberghen, Gilson and others have presented this condemnation as a reaction to the radical Aristotelian teachings being disseminated at the University of Paris; these doctrines, such as the eternity of the universe, were seen to be in conflict with Christian belief.[37]

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[33] *Milhamot*, VI. 1. 17, p. 367.

[34] Gersonides, *Milhamot*, VI. 1. 17, p. 367; see also *Milhamot*, VI. 2. 7, p. 425: 'there was body which does not preserve its shape, from which the upper and lower [waters] came to be'.

[35] See Ruth Glasner, 'The Early Stages in the Evolution of Gersonides' *The Wars of the Lord*', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 87 (1996), 1–46. Glasner argues, further, that Gersonides's theological and astronomical projects are interrelated: 'Gersonides' theology and astronomy are deeply involved with each other through the hypothesis of the body that does not preserve its shape. The existence of this body before the creation of the world is a basic premise of Gersonides' theology; its existence between the celestial spheres is a basic premise of his cosmology and essential for the justification of his eccentric astronomy. Thus, the introduction of the concept of the body that does not preserve its shape was a breakthrough for both projects'; Glasner, 'The Early Stages', p. 41.

[36] J. M. M. H. Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), p. 40.

[37] Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy*, pp. 40–41.

One of the most pervasive results of the condemnation of 1277 was that it encouraged alternatives to Aristotelian natural philosophy.[38] More specifically, the condemned propositions directly affected theories of place, the void, and plurality of worlds, thus giving way to new ways of thinking which helped usher in the new science.[39] The two propositions most important to this new way of thinking were propositions 34 and 49: Proposition 34: 'Quod prima causa non posset plures mondos facere'; and Proposition 49: 'Quod Deus non possit movere celum motu recto. Et ratio est, quia tunc relinqueret vacuum'.[40]

As Murdoch and others have argued, these two propositions represented the foundation of the whole edifice of Aristotelian physics. Their being declared anathema implicitly demanded the creation of a new physics that would be acceptable to Christian reason.[41] In exploring the consequences of these condemnations, scholastics were encouraged to develop concepts contrary to Aristotelian physics and cosmology. For example, God was said to create multiple worlds, each with its own centre. It was plausible to suppose that an infinite empty space existed beyond our world. On the supposition that if God did make other worlds, it was argued that empty space would intervene between them.[42] So if God could create a vacuum between worlds, certainly God could create vacua within the world.[43] Out of Proposition 34, for example, arose an emphasis upon God's absolute power (*potentia Dei absoluta*) to do anything short of a logical contradiction.

Harvey suggests that Crescas's work was 'perhaps connected in some way with the pioneering work in natural science being conducted at the University of Paris'.[44] More specifically, Harvey has compared the works of Nicholas Oresme and Crescas in this context, arguing that they are the two most important philosophers representing the new physics. Both argue for the existence of many worlds; both claim that many worlds do not imply existence of more than one God; both argue that generation and corruption in the sublunary world is evidence for successive worlds. Oresme wrote in the 1340s in Paris, which was then the centre of the 'new physics'; he comes to Pamplona in 1338–42, and Crescas visited Pamplona during

[38] Edward Grant, 'The Effect of the Condemnation of 1277', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. by Anthony Kenny, Norman Kretzmann, and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 537–39.

[39] John Murdoch, 'Pierre Duhem and the History of Late Medieval Science and Philosophy in the Latin West', in *Gli Studi Di Filosofia Medievale Fra Otto E Novecento* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1991), 253–302 (p. 260).

[40] Murdoch, 'Pierre Duhem', pp. 259–62.

[41] Murdoch, 'Pierre Duhem', p 261.

[42] Grant, 'The Effect of the Condemnation of 1277', p. 539.

[43] Grant, 'The Effect of the Condemnation of 1277', p. 539.

[44] Warren Zev Harvey, *Physics and Metaphysics in Hasdai Crescas* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1998), p. 23.

this period. According to Harvey, Crescas was part of the same 'bold and innovative scientific movement' as Nicholas Bonet, Thomas Bradwardine and Nicole Oresme.[45]

Notwithstanding the Condemnation of 1277 of the doctrine of the eternity of time, the Aristotelian emphasis upon eternity was nevertheless embraced and refined by the scholastic community of philosophers.[46] The Aristotelian definition of time reappears throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But as we have heard already in this panel, Aristotle had his critics as well: Crescas, who emphasized that time is the product of the soul and is defined in accordance with duration rather than number; this critique is amplified by Copernicus whose heliocentrism threatened the Aristotelian cosmology adopted for centuries.[47] In the early Renaissance, many philosophers reintroduced Neoplatonic criticisms of Aristotle's theory of time. For example, in his commentary upon the *Enneads* of Plotinus, Ficino reiterates Plotinus's doctrine of the inseparability of time and soul.[48] Among others, Pico della Mirandola echoes Crescas in his rejection of Aristotle's theory of time, quoting Crescas's definition of time as 'the measure of continuity whether of movement or of rest, between two moments' [*Definit autem ipsum tempus ita (ut eius verbis agam) mensura continuitatis vel motus, vel quietis, quae inter duo momenta*].[49]

Although the beginnings of modern science and philosophy were indebted to Aristotle and his medieval followers, the underlying intellectual structure of the medieval world was crumbling. This tendency is reflected in changing theories of time. Throughout this paper I have emphasized the importance placed in the Aristotelian corpus upon time as the measure of change with respect to 'before' and 'after'. But, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, natural science and philosophy become more clearly distinguished, and their subject matters become subject to different types of different methodological investigation. 'Time' as a philosophical subject differs markedly from 'time' as a subject of natural science: metaphysics and physics employ different methods, and are asking different questions of their subject matter. The heliocentrism of Copernicus threatens

[45] Harvey, *Physics and Metaphysics*, p. 3.

[46] Sarah Hutton, 'Some Renaissance Critiques of Aristotle's Theory of Time', *Annals of Science*, 34 (1977), p. 348. For an excellent discussion of the impact of the condemnation of 1277 upon the development of medieval philosophy and science, see Murdoch, 'Pierre Duhem', pp. 253–302, esp. pp. 259ff.

[47] It may be instrumental to compare my reading of Aristotle with that of Bas van Frassen, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Time and Space* (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 16ff. Van Frassen suggests that Aristotle's theory of time is basically a theory of duration, arguing that time measures 'how far' and 'how long' local motion takes place.

[48] M. Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, 2 vols (Basel: Henricpetrina, 1576; repr. Torino: Bottega D'Erasmo, 1962), esp. p. 1722.

[49] Pico della Mirandola, 'Examen vanitatis doctrina gentium', in *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1573; repr Hildesheim, 1969), II, 1198; quoted in Hutton, 'Some Renaissance Critiques', p. 353.

Aristotle's equation of time with motion in that heliocentrism does not provide Copernicus and his successors with directly observable uniform motions or constant intervals of time so important to Aristotle's theory.[50]

Jewish philosophers in Renaissance Italy were influenced both by the Copernican revolution as well as by the humanist revival of Platonism and Neoplatonism. The emphasis upon philosophy, theology and science found its way into Jewish philosophical texts in the late fifteenth century onward. Tracing the impact of the Copernican revolution upon Jewish thought in the fifteenth century, Levine suggests that European Jewry, although close to the Copernican debates, was 'curiously unshaken' by the implications of the Copernican revolution upon metaphysical and epistemological speculation.[51] Ruderman and others, however, have surveyed the impact of astronomy upon sixteenth century Eastern European Jewish philosophers. Citing the works of Moses Isserles of Cracow, the Maharal of Prague, and David Ganz, Isserles's most successful student in the sciences, Ruderman raises the tantalizing question of the extent to which developments in current astronomy affected their works.[52] David Ganz, for example, appears to be up to date on contemporary work in astronomy and science; in his work *Nehmad ve-Na'im*, he traces recent developments in astronomy and mentions Copernicus as the greatest astronomer since Ptolemy. Nevertheless, as Neher and Ruderman have both pointed out, in his own astronomical writings Ganz adheres to the geocentric models of Brahe and Kepler.[53]

Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1591–1655), on the other hand, recognized the challenge of the new Copernican astronomy. Ruderman has emphasized Delmedigo's tendency, along with that of his mentor Galileo, to understand the natural world outside the framework of Aristotelian physics; it is this tendency that

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[50] Piero E. Ariotti, 'Toward Absolute Time: The Undermining and Refutation of the Aristotelian Conception of Time in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Annals of Science*, 30 (1973), p. 37. Ariotti argues that Kepler's first two laws seriously undermine Aristotle's theory of time in emphasizing the non-uniformity of the motions of the planets.

[51] Hillel Levine, 'Paradise Not Surrendered: Jewish Reactions to Copernicus and the Growth of Modern Science', in *Epistemology, Methodology and the Social Sciences*, eds. by R. S. Cohen and M. W. Wartofsky (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1983), pp. 203–25 (p. 204).

[52] See David Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 68ff. Ruderman mentions the work of Moses Isserles who, writing in Cracow, was clearly fascinated by astronomy: 'Was it merely a coincidence that Isserles lived in the same city where Copernicus had written his revolutionary work?', Ruderman asks.

[53] For discussions of David Gans, see Levine, 'Paradise Not Surrendered', p. 207; André Neher, *Jewish Thought and the Scientific Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: David Gans (1541–1613) and His Times*, trans. by D. Maisel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 216ff; Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery*, p. 83. see Gans, *Nehmad*, p. 9a.

is aligned with Delmedigo's interest in Kabbalah and Neoplatonic thought.[54] In his work *Sefer Elim* Delmedigo describes the 'strange astronomy', as well as the dangers inherent in this new astronomy, which challenged the reigning metaphysics.[55] In *G'vurot Hashem*, a work appended to *Sefer Elim*, Delmedigo is more enthusiastic in his attitude toward Copernicus, demonstrating his knowledge of the new astronomy:

> Happiness and joy were added to me when I heard that they [the researchers] have begun in our time (*be-zemanenu*) to think that the entire universe is like a lantern and is called 'lanterna'; and the candle burning within it is the solar body (*ha-guf ha-shemeshi*), which stands in the centre and whose light spreads out until the sphere of Saturn (*ad galgal shabati*) which is at the outer limit of this universe.[56]

The work of Judah Abravanel (more commonly known as Leone Ebreo) represents an excellent example of the fusion of Hebraic thought with Ficino's revival of Greek philosophy. In his philosophical dialogue *Dialoghi di'Amore* (*The Dialogues on Love*), Ebreo constructs an allegory between two Jewish courtiers, Philo and Sophia, in order to illustrate the importance of the philosophical love of God.[57] Philo has explained to Sophia the origins of love, which raises the more general question of when love was born: was it produced from eternity or was it created in time? Philo immediately connects this question with the issue of the origin of the universe, which leads to a summary of the three regnant positions on the creation of the universe—that of Plato, that of Aristotle, and that of Moses. In the course of explaining why on the Aristotelian model the universe is eternal, Philo alludes to the view that time must likewise be eternal, 'for any given instant is in reality the end of past time and the beginning of the future, and there can be no instant which is the first and the beginning of time. Time is therefore, eternal and without beginning'.[58] Philo then attempts a reconciliation of Platonic theory with Mosaic Law and Lurianic Qabbalah, applying this reconciliation to the doctrine of love.

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[54] See Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery*, p. 134. Ruderman himself does not offer a study of *Sefer Elim*, choosing to concentrate instead upon the *Matzref la-Hokhman*, a defence of Kabbalah, and *Mikhtav Ahuz*, a condemnation of Kabbalistic thought.

[55] Joseph Delmedigo, *Sefer Elim* (Amsterdam, 1629; repr. Odessa, 1864–67); see Levine, 'Paradise Not Surrendered', pp. 208–09. For a survey and discussion of Delmedigo's work, see I. Barzilay, *Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo (Yashar of Candia): His Life, Works, and Times* (Leiden: Brill, 1974); Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery*, pp. 118–52.

[56] Delmedigo, Sefer Gevurot Hashem, in *Sefer Elim*, p. 292.

[57] For details of Ebreo's work, see Hava Tirosh-Rothschild, 'Jewish Philosophy on the Eve of Modernity', in *History of Jewish Philosophy*, ed. by D. H. Frank and O. Leaman (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 499–576 (pp. 522ff).

[58] Leone Ebreo, *The Philosophy of Love (Dialoghi d'Amore)*, trans. by F. Friedenberg-Seeley and J. H. Barnes (London: Soncino, 1937), p. 280.

Primarily as an alternative to Aristotle, numerous sixteenth and seventeenth century commentators of Aristotle incorporate the notion of duration into their discussion of time.[59] By the end of the sixteenth century, the term '*duratio*' has entered the terminology of the definition of time, among both Aristotelians and others.[60] Newton's teacher, Isaac Barrow, had already distinguished time entirely from motion, arguing that time existed before the world.[61] I shall not in this work enter the recent controversy over the extent to which Newton's metaphysics and physics are influenced by Jewish thought. That Newton was aware of and studied Christian Kabbalistic texts—most notably Christian Knorr von Ronsenroth's *Kabbala denudata*—has been examined by Goldish and others;[62] and that Newton was aware of and read extensively in Maimonides has been argued suggestively by Popkin in a series of recent studies.[63] But I have not found evidence that these works actually influenced Newton's theory of time. What is clear, however, is that Newton sees his distinction between absolute and relative time as expressing the ancient distinction between permanent and successive duration.

Conclusion

In this short study I have focused upon topics within Jewish philosophy that reflect a preoccupation with cosmology and cosmogony. Starting with Rabbinic texts, and working our way through the medieval appropriation of Aristotelian theories of time,

[59] For an elaboration of the thesis that 'the introduction of the concept of absolute independent time means the realization on the part of the seventeenth century scientists of the refutation of the Aristotelian view of time by the discoveries of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Heygens and Hooke', see Ariotti, 'Toward Absolute Time', p. 31.

[60] See Hutton, 'Some Renaissance Critiques', p. 363, for the progression of this change.

[61] Isaac Barrow, *The Geometrical Lectures of Isaac Barrow*, trans. by J. M. Child (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1916), pp. 35–37, quoted in van Frassen, *An Introduction*, p. 23.

[62] See the recent study by Matt Goldish, 'Newton on Kabbalah', in *The Books of Nature and Scripture: Recent Essays on Natural Philosophy, Theology, and Biblical Criticism in the Netherlands of Spinoza's Time and the British Isles of Newton's Time*, ed. by J. E. Force and R. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1994), pp. 89–104. In this work Goldish takes issue with such scholars as Hutin, arguing that Newton found the Kabbalah 'to be full of the sort of metaphysical speculation which he abhorred'; Goldish, p. 91.

[63] See, for example, Richard Popkin, 'Newton and Maimonides', in *A Straight Path: Studies in Medieval Philosophy and Culture: Essays in Honor of Arthur Hyman*, ed. by Ruth Link-Salinger (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1988), pp. 216–29; Richard Popkin, 'Some Further Comments on Newton and Maimonides', in *Essays on The Context, Nature and Influence of Isaac Newton's Theology*, ed. by J. E. Force and R. H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1990), pp. 1–7. In these works Popkin traces the possible influences of Maimonides's theological works upon Newton.

I have tried to emphasize the continuing dialogue between Jewish thinkers and their peers. By the late thirteenth century, discussions within the Jewish world are reflective of changing tendencies within the scholastic world. Perhaps the most pressing change is brought about by the condemnation of 1277; I have tried to show that Jewish discussions reflect the rise of a scientific sensibility as a result of the condemnations, as seen in discussions of space and time in late Jewish philosophy. This tendency continues throughout the late fifteenth century.

Thus I have tried to demonstrate that theological speculation has apparently both reinforced and been reinforced by scientific considerations of time and creation. Jewish philosophers grappling with Genesis are aware of the philosophical implications of competing cosmologies of creation and time; and by the fourteenth century, natural scientists working on theories of time are affected by theological constraints. The underlying question, of course, a question that continues unabated to this very day, is whether an *ex nihilo* model of creation necessarily entails a deity. Not surprisingly, Jewish philosophers do not agree on an answer to this question; in fact, the most startling conclusion of this study may be that Jewish philosophers do not agree at all on how to interpret the ontological ingredients that comprise a philosophically coherent account of creation and time.

Against the backdrop of cosmological discussions, these issues of creation and time reinforce the tensions that exist between philosophical and scientific paradigms on the one hand, and theological belief systems on the other. But the interrelations between religion and science raise even broader epistemological questions, especially concerning the limits of human knowledge. If Jewish cosmology does in fact represent an *ex nihilo* account of the origin of creation, is it necessarily dependent upon the existence of God? Or can a Jewish philosopher reject God's causal activity? In other words, has science provided the ultimate justification for religion, or have theologians known all along what scientists are now discovering?

Let me end with a quotation by Robert Jastrow, who at the end of his book *God and the Astronomers*, suggests that

> For the scientist who has lived by his faith in the power of reason, the story ends like a bad dream. He has scaled the mountains of ignorance; he is about to conquer the highest peak; as he pulls himself over the final rock, he is greeted by a band of theologians who have been sitting there for centuries.[64]

On this portrayal, science is simply reinforcing a belief known all along on the basis of scripture. To have scientific confirmation may be reassuring, but certainly is not necessary to the believer. Of course, if it turns out that one scientific account is ultimately rejected in favour of another (and science has certainly demonstrated many occasions in which one model is replaced by another), it does not follow that the scriptural account of creation must necessarily be abandoned. Rather, it may turn

[64] Robert Jastrow, *God and the Astronomers* (New York: Norton, 1978), p. 116.

out that the science of cosmology simply constitutes one more topic in the arsenal of human understanding. By positioning Maimonides, Gersonides, Crescas and their successors in the context of cosmological dispute, I have tried to show the ways in which their analyses reflect the very questions that continue to constitute the intellectual agenda for scientists and theologians to this very day.

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Crescas's Concept of Time

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Hasdai Crescas (1340–1410) was a distinguished thinker who also played an important part in Jewish communal life in Spain at a time of bitter persecution. In the massacres of 1391, his only son was killed and he himself escaped only by royal intervention. He spent the rest of his life trying to rebuild the shattered Jewish communities, and his philosophical activity was intended as a contribution to the restoration of Jewish morale. He felt this to be particularly necessary because many young Jewish intellectuals of the time were being drawn away from religious practice and belief by the attractions of philosophical study; this movement away from Judaism was furthered by the type of philosophy particularly available to Jews, namely that of Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), who was himself a very pious believer, but promoted, in defence of Judaism, a type of Aristotelian scientific rationalism which for some, seemed to make belief otiose. Crescas therefore set himself to develop a philosophy of Judaism that was more intimately bound up with the dilemmas of the individual soul, and with the vicissitudes of human history. One of the issues, therefore, presented for anti-Maimonidean (and anti-Aristotelean) discussion by Crescas was the nature of time, which he transmuted from a minor feature of the external universe into a major dimension of living essence, whether human or divine.[1] Thus in many ways, including his attitude to time, Crescas resonates with philosophies of our own day stemming from the thought of Bergson and Husserl.

Major influences on Crescas's thinking were the Hebrew Bible and the rabbinic writings, which portrayed God as involved in history, and therefore in time and, also, as far from passionless. Here Crescas found himself in opposition to both Aristotle and Maimonides, for whom God was beyond time, and therefore also beyond passion, since the movement of passion (active or suffering emotion), with its drama

[1] For Crescas's criticism of Aristotle's view of time, see Crescas, *Or Adonai*, Proposition XV, part 2.

of action and reaction is essentially bound up with time. Crescas was also influenced by earlier Jewish thinkers who had resisted the Hellenization of Jewish thought. Particularly important here is the poet and philosopher Judah Halevi (*c*. 1075–1141), who had declared, 'The God of Aristotle is not the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob'.

Yet there was also a stream of Hellenistic thought with which Crescas found himself in considerable sympathy: that of Neoplatonism, and its great exponent Plotinus (205–70); for the Neoplatonists, too, had resisted the abstract, passionless rationalism of Aristotelianism, and had insisted on the ontological reality of time.[2]

Maimonides had accepted the view of Aristotle that time does not exist in itself, but is merely an accident, like colour, inhering in something else.[3] In this view, the real substantial feature in which time inheres is motion. The movement of objects does occur and objects at rest can be regarded as having zero motion, but the measurement of motion involves primarily the measurement of the space traversed; this can be done only by introducing time since our minds can take in the points traversed only by seeing them successively. This is a limitation of the human mind. Time cannot be real (except as an accident), for as Aristotle wrote, time consists of past, present and future, none of which exists: for the past has gone, the future has yet to be, and the present is a point without dimensions.[4]

Crescas, however, criticizing Aristotle's view that time cannot exist independently of motion, writes: 'Time is indeed measured by both motion and rest, because it is our supposition of the measure of duration that is time. It seems therefore that the existence of time is only in the soul'.[5]

Aristotle's God, then, (since time is mere accident) is beyond time and does not initiate, intervene or create, but acts as an eternal background to a universe which contains motion, but not fundamental change, since motion consists of the inevitable working-out of the implications of the timeless impulse of the prime mover.[6]

Jewish tradition, however, asserts a God who is a creator: he sets in motion things that are truly new and not part of a cyclic ever-present process. Part of this emphasis on history rather than on recurrence can be seen in the biblical historicization of the festivals; instead of being merely seasonal, they have become commemorations of the exodus and the Sinai revelation, events unique in the history of the world.

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[2] See Plotinus, *Enneads*, III, vii, 6–9. For Crescas's debt to Plotinus, see Harry A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 654–59.

[3] Maimonides, *Moreh Nevukhim* (Guide to the Perplexed), I, 52: 'For time is an accident joined to motion, when the latter is viewed with reference to priority and posteriority and is numbered accordingly'.

[4] Aristotle, *Physics*, IV, 10, 217–18.

[5] Crescas, *Or Adonai*, Proposition XV, 2

[6] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, XI.

Crescas, therefore, has to conceive a God and a universe that are not above time, whose being has a temporal dimension, and is neither static nor cyclic. He does this by making a distinction between measured time, and duration. In the form of duration (which Crescas calls *hitdabqut* or 'continuity'), time becomes a term for actual living experience, not merely for measurement of phenomena. This distinction has been important in modern philosophy, especially in the thinking of Bergson, Alexander, and Whitehead, though it is questionable whether any of these thinkers was directly influenced by Crescas. A similar rethinking of Western concepts of time also forms part of the thought of the phenomenological school of Husserl, Heidegger and Levinas.

In his rethinking of time, Crescas was able to build not only on Jewish canonical writings and traditions, but also, as mentioned above, on the Hellenistic school of Neoplatonism. There is strong, though indirect, evidence in particular of Crescas's debt to Plotinus, in relation to the topic of time (though his views diverge widely from those of Plotinus on many other topics, particularly on the relation between the body and the soul, where Crescas takes a much more positive view of the body).

To be sure, Crescas never quotes Plotinus explicitly on time; but the coincidences of expression between the two writers are often so striking that the absence of influence is implausible.[7] Thus, Plotinus says that time is produced by the extension of the life of the soul, that it is 'the length of the life' and that this length implies a continuity or duration of action. Time, according to Plotinus, is essentially the duration of the life of the 'universal soul', which corresponds, in Plotinus's philosophy, to what Crescas would call 'God'. This gives time the ontological status of the ultimately real. In both Neoplatonism and Judaism, the human soul and the divine soul are substantially continuous (see Genesis 1. 26 and 2. 7).

If the Bible and rabbinic literature portray a God for whom time is real, this means that God experiences past, present and future, and this raises theological questions. How can God be infinite and all-powerful if he is limited by time? Is the future uncertain to God? It is partly because of such problems that Maimonides raises God above time.

For Crescas this amounts to the abandonment of the God of the Hebrew Bible, who is so involved in history that he cannot be regarded as atemporal. He sets events in motion, and even on occasion changes his mind (e.g. Genesis 6. 6). If this limits him, it would be an even greater limitation to deprive him of the faculty of innovation and creativeness, which entail an element of time.

A passage in the liturgy composed by the rabbis says of God, 'He renews in his goodness every day continually the work of the beginning' (*mechadesh betuvo*

[7] This does not rule out the possibility that the influence may have come through Jewish or even Muslim intermediaries. Before Aristotelianism became dominant in Jewish thought, Neoplatonism exercised considerable influence.

bekhol yom tamid ma'aseh bereishit).[8] This is quoted by Crescas as support for his view of the reality of time. To deny the reality of time would be to opt for a static universe in which change is only apparent. Instead, Crescas opts for a universe in which no moment is the inevitable outcome of the previous moment. This is a vision previously held by Moses Nachmanides (1194–1270), who wrote in his commentary on the Torah, 'One cannot be said to profess the faith of Moses unless one believes that all phenomena to which we are subject are miracles every one, not caused by any natural law'.[9] This might be regarded as an anti-scientific doctrine, but this is not necessarily so. In the history of science, even in the hardheaded empiricist school, thinkers such as Berkeley and Hume, and more recently Mach, have denied that there is logical causal connection between events, and have interpreted science as concerned with patterns of regular repetition only. Why there is uniformity or regularity in nature, these thinkers say, is a question beyond the competence of science; evolutionists might say that without regularity there could be no life and consequently no questioners. The rabbinic liturgy is saying that there is no inherent reason why the sun rises every morning, for the uniformity of phenomena occurs only through the will of God.

Yet with all his emphasis on the continual creativity of God, Crescas, strangely enough, is inclined to determinism in his account of human life.[10] While he stresses the creativity of God, he plays down the creativity of man, in the spirit of Rabbi Akiva's saying, 'All is foreseen, yet choice is given' (Mishnah, Avot, 3. 16). This determinism arises from God's very creativity; it arises not from a ruling mechanism of fate or nature but from God's continuous intervention, which decides everything in human life, except freedom to obey or disobey the commandments.

When Crescas says that change and time are features of the universe independent of motion, he can sometimes be taken to mean that time is not quite real, for it takes place not in the natural universe but in the mind. This however is a semantic matter, depending on the context in which the word 'real' is used. In the context of physical reality, time in the sense of duration is not real, being in the

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[8] *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, ed. by S. Singer (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1935), p. 39.

[9] Comment on Exodus 13. 6. For Nachmanides's philosophy of occasionalism, see Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1993), p. 217.

[10] Here Crescas is no doubt influenced by the Ash'arite school of Islamic philosophy. The occasionalism of the Ash'arites, by which causation was entirely denied to phenomena, was linked to a thoroughgoing determinism. On the other hand, the opposite view (that phenomena are subject to natural law) can lead to an equally uncompromising determinism. Theologically speaking, both views have to confront the problem of allowing for the existence of human free will, without which religious moral injunctions become meaningless. In general, Jewish occasionalists, such as Nachmanides, did not follow the Ash'arites into determinism, but saw the creativeness of God as a ground and model for human creativeness.

mind: though in the form of measured time (what Bergson would call 'spatialized' time) it does belong to the physically real. In a different context, however, time or duration for Crescas is more real than the physical universe, for being a feature of the mind it exists even in the absence of the physical universe (i.e. before the Creation) in the mind of God.

Indeed, the difference between Crescas and Maimonides on time is crystallized in their attitudes to the question, 'Did God create time when he created the present universe, or did time exist even before that?'. In other words, 'Is time a feature of our limited human existence, or is it a radical element of all existence, even that of God himself?'.

Several rabbinic passages seem to touch on this question. A passage in the Midrash leads to conflicting interpretations from Maimonides and Crescas. Maimonides writes:

> We find that some of our Sages are reported to have held the opinion that time existed before the Creation. But this report is very doubtful, because the theory that time cannot be imagined with a beginning has been taught by Aristotle, as I showed you, and is objectionable. Those who have made this assertion have been led to it by a saying of one of our Sages in reference to the terms 'one day' (Gen. 1. 5) and 'a second day' (Gen. 1. 8). Taking these terms literally, the author of that saying asked, What determined the first day, since there was no rotating sphere and no sun? and continues as follows: Rabbi Yehudah, son of R. Simon said: 'Hence we learn that the divisions of time (*seder zemanim*) existed previously'. R. Abbahu said, 'Hence we learn that God built worlds and again destroyed them' (Gen. R. III.7). This latter exposition is worse than the former. Consider the difficulty which these two rabbis found in the statement that time existed before the creation of the sun. We shall undoubtedly soon remove this difficulty, unless these two rabbis intended to infer from the scriptural text that the divisions of time must have existed before the Creation, and thus adopted the theory of the eternity of the universe. But every religious person rejects this. The above saying is, in my opinion, certainly of the same character as that of R. Eliezer, 'Whence were the heavens created' (ch. 16).[11] In short, in these questions, do not take notice of the utterances of any person. I told you that the foundation of our faith is the belief that God created the universe from nothing; that time did not exist previously but was created; for it depends on the motion of the sphere, and the sphere was created. (*MN*, II. 30)

In this passage, Maimonides boldly contradicts two sages of the Talmud, saying that the comment of one of them was even worse than that of the other. This irreverence was impossible to Crescas, for whom the words of the sages were sacrosanct. We have an indication here of why it was that Crescas set himself consciously to combat the influence of Maimonides, whom he admired but held

[11] In Chapter 16, Maimonides grapples with a rabbinic saying, attributed to Rabbi Eliezer, which seems to run counter to the doctrine of creation from nothing, since it states that God created the heavens out of the light of his garment.

partly responsible for the stance of those who elevated philosophy above the Jewish canonical writings. It is very probable that Crescas intended his philosophical work *Or Adonai* as a counterblast to Maimonides's *Moreh Nevukhim*, and Crescas even intended to write a halakhic (legal) work, entitled *Ner Mitzvah*, to take the place of Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah*, though he never managed to complete this work. In his introduction to *Or Adonai*, Crescas explains that this work was intended as the first part of a larger work to be entitled *Ner Elohim*. The second and concluding part was to be a halakhic work entitled *Ner Mitzvah*, which (Crescas explains explicitly) was to supply the deficiencies of Maimonides's halakhic work *Mishneh Torah*. This two-fold project thus echoes the pattern of Maimonides's great project, which consisted of a philosophical treatise (*Moreh Nevukhim*) accompanied by a halakhic compendium (*Mishneh Torah*). Thus, though Crescas himself is not quite open in stating this overall aim, many scholars have seen his total project as intended to supplant Maimonides's work in both its major aspects.[12]

Crescas thus contradicts Maimonides's dismissal of Rabbi Yehudah ben Simon's remark, 'This shows that the order of times existed previously'. Crescas writes, 'This remark may be taken in its literal sense'.[13]

Joseph Albo (*c*. 1360–1444), however, though he was Crescas's pupil, rather defuses the conflict of Crescas with Maimonides on this issue by taking the expression *seder zemanim* to mean not time in general, but 'measurement of time'. Thus the saying of R. Yehudah ben Simon means only that measurement of time existed from the creation of the firmament on the first day and did not have to wait until the creation of the sun and moon.

The other saying Maimonides dismisses, that of R. Abbahu, has more potential for conflict, since it portrays God as active in creating worlds even before the creation of this world. Maimonides says this is even worse than the first saying, for it not only casts doubt on the status of this world as created from nothing, but displays it as only the last in a long, possibly infinite, series of creations. Unfortunately, Crescas does not comment on this saying specifically, though it might have helped his case. Albo, too, omits mention of it. Yet, this remarkable saying contributes to the picture of God as essentially and continuously a creator (not merely a one-off creator), and thus as living in a dimension of time considered as the ground of innovation and potentiality. This is similar to the image that is found in modern times in the process theology of Whitehead. Crescas, however, may have felt somewhat uncomfortable with R. Abbahu's concept of a God who not only had a biography in time, but who even experimented with various types of creation, rejecting efforts he found unsatisfactory. This suggests a kind of dualism, for in this conception, God cannot do without his creations, the making of which is essential to

[12] See, for example, Colette Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 358–59.

[13] Crescas, *Or Adonai*, Proposition XV, part II.

his being. Another rabbinic saying even asserts the existence of other worlds existing simultaneously with our own ('God roams through 18,000 worlds'; b. Avodah Zarah, 3b). Yet this concept of God the artist and experimenter is to be found in other rabbinic sayings too, for example in the saying that God at first made worlds without the attribute of mercy. These proved unviable, so He finally made a world that contained this attribute and so was able to persist (Gen. R. 12. 15). Thus, Crescas, despite his desire to defend the rabbis against philosophy, was not entirely exempt from philosophical distaste at the bold uninhibited conceptions of the rabbis.

One rabbinic remark, however, which Crescas found very much to his taste as a philosopher was: 'Why is God called *ha-maqom*?' ('the ever present'—literally, 'the place'); because the world is located in Him, not He in the world' (Gen. R. 68). This remark, though about space, is not without repercussions in Crescas's theory of time. For the topic of time is bound up with the topic of space, since Aristotle and his followers actually defined time in terms of space, since they defined time in terms of motion from one point of space to another. Motion is a concept that combines both time and space.

Crescas, however, relying partly on the rabbinic dictum, opposed the absolutization of space by denying that God was in space. God was not spatial but he was temporal. Harry Wolfson thinks that Crescas came near saying, like Spinoza, that God's permeation of Space made space itself into an attribute or mode of God.[14] But Crescas never took this step, seeing God as permeating Space but not as wearing it as a divine garment. Crescas, even though he argued for an infinite vacuum constituting space, thought of space as a creation of God, not as an eternal aspect of Him. Time on the other hand, he saw as part of God's being, and not as one of his creations.

Yet again this conception does not quite tally with the rabbinic picture of God as creator. If God created worlds before this one, these worlds must have existed in space. This means that space existed before the creation of this world, and was already in existence when God decided to create our world in the space available. This does not preclude the possibility that space was created some aeons before the creation of our world, but the rabbis do not say so. Again we may detect a certain dualism in the rabbis' cosmology. If God is essentially an artist, or creator, he must have material with which to work, or at least space in which to work. The rabbinic dictum that God is the place of the world does not rule out the possibility that the world, or some world, is an essential element in the constitution of the divine.

Thus, Maimonides's championship of the concept of creation from nothing is not quite in accordance with rabbinic conceptions. The rabbis of the Talmud indeed never use the phrase 'creation from nothing', which is an expression first used in Muslim and Christian theology.[15] The Talmudic phrase is *ma'aseh bereshit*, 'the

[14] Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique*, p. 123.

[15] See Hyam Maccoby, *The Philosophy of the Talmud* (London: Curzon, 2002), pp. 24–25.

work in the beginning', and also *chiddush ha-'olam*, 'the renewal of the world', and these expressions leave God the attributes of a worker or artist who exists in an essential dualism with his material and his medium. Even post-Talmudic Jewish thinkers do not always subscribe to the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. Kabbalistic conceptions see God as creating not from nothing, but from himself, even, in the Lurianic kabbalah, from the willed absence of himself—so that the nothing from which he creates is itself the first creation.[16]

Crescas's opposition to Maimonides's Aristotelian view of time stems from a deep awareness of the threat to religious belief posed by the rationalism of Aristotle. If the universe can be explained as a physical system, in which phenomena obey the inexorable laws of science, there is little room for God, except as a first cause who sets the whole huge mechanism into motion and then retires from the scene. Crescas derives from both Jewish and Hellenistic sources a very different conception in which all things are intimately and directly connected with the life of God. He restores to God the dimension of time in the sense of continuous innovation and potentiality, and thereby he is able to restore also the sense of history that permeates the Jewish canonical writings, with their insistence on the centrality of the exodus, the Sinaitic revelation, the vicissitudes and backslidings of the Chosen People in the Promised Land, and the hope of a final historical redemption for all mankind. Yet the constraints of philosophy do not allow Crescas to follow wholly the rabbis, whom he championed with such fervour, into the realm of paradox and poetry, in which God is seen as an artist, who continually experiments, seeking to improve His own creations.

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[16] See Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1955), pp. 244–86.

Prophecy and Redemption: Messianic Expectation in Nahmanides' *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*

NINA CAPUTO

And I heard, but I did not understand; then I said, 'My Lord, what will be the end of these things?' He said, 'Go Daniel, for these words are secret and sealed to the time of the end. Many will be purified and purged and refined; the wicked will act wickedly and none of the wicked will understand; but the knowledgeable will understand. From the time the regular offering is abolished, and an abomination is set up—it will be a thousand two hundred years and ninety days. Happy is he who waits and reaches one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days. But you, go to the end; you shall rest and arise to your destiny at the end of the days.' Daniel 12. 8–12

In three separate works, Nahmanides (Rabbi Moshe ben Nahman, or Ramban, *c*. 1195–1270) referred to these final verses of the book of Daniel as the text which provides the key which unlocks the definite time of redemption.[1] Counting from the destruction of the Second Temple in 68 CE, Nahmanides concluded that the time of redemption would begin by 5118 (1358 according to the Christian calendar), roughly ninety years from the time he was writing. His interpretation of this portion

[1] Nahmanides was a rabbi and community leader in Gerona, an old and well-established community northeast of Barcelona. On Nahmanides's life see Charles B. Chavel, *Ramban: His Life and Teachings* (New York: Feldheim, 1960). Several friends and colleagues read this paper in its various stages. Hugh Elton, Rebecca Friedman, Lara Kriegel, Felice Lifshitz, Darden Pyron, Lori Weintrob, and Kirsten Wood read and commented on an early draft. Eva Frojmovic, who organized the panels on Jewish conceptions of time at the International Medieval Congress meeting, 2000, raised several difficult and important questions about the thematic importance of time in medieval Jewish thought. Mitch Hart, as always, generously provided his criticism and support.

of Daniel as prophecy of the messianic age was not entirely innovative. Rashi, writing in the late eleventh century, for example, interpreted the very same verses as a prophecy that the messianic redemption would begin in the mid-fourteenth century.[2] But Nahmanides's interpretation of Daniel 12. 11–12 is notable within the constellation of medieval Jewish commentators for the proximity of the date he projected, the certainty with which he made his claim, and (perhaps most importantly) the centrality of this precise and foreordained date of messianic redemption in his conception of prophecy, divine redemption, and the process of Jewish history as unified, self-contained.

Nahmanides's commentaries on redemption provide an invaluable tool for observing and examining the complexities of messianic discourse in thirteenth-century Catalonia. One of the most important Jewish teachers, scholars, and leaders of medieval Aragon, Nahmanides was a prolific writer on a wide array of topics. He employed innovative narrative and exegetical methods, and had a great faculty for finding the common ground between diverse opinions and interpretations. As a result, his works of biblical exegesis and *halakhah* (interpretation of Jewish law) gained almost immediate recognition and acclaim. His wide readership indicates that he mastered a manner of literary presentation that appealed to a diverse audience. Moreover, Nahmanides distinguished himself as a capable leader and representative of his community during the controversy over the validity of Maimonides's philosophy as a means of interpreting Jewish law in 1232 and the Barcelona disputation in 1263. Both controversies were publicized far beyond the confines of Nahmanides's local community and, in both cases, works penned by Nahmanides for a broad audience (documents which were also copied and widely circulated after his death) are today an essential part of the historical record of these events. Moreover, some of his works were circulated in Christian circles as well.

Nahmanides made his prediction of the time of redemption most forcefully and systematically in *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah* (*The Book of Redemption*), a work devoted to the analysis and evaluation of prophetic references to the messianic redemption of Israel. This work brought together methods and themes utilized in his other writings, including his biblical exegesis and his first-person account of the Barcelona disputation.[3] As in these earlier works, Nahmanides used biblical sources to argue in

[2] Rashi counted 1335 years from 62 CE, when the regular sacrificial offering at the Second Temple came to a halt, not from the date of the destruction, as Nahmanides did. For a discussion of the mechanism by which Rashi arrived at this date see Robert Chazan, 'Rashi's Commentary on the Book of Daniel: Messianic Speculation and Polemical Argumentation', in *Rashi et la culture juive en France du Nord au moyen âge*, ed. by Gilbert Dahan, Gérard Nahon and Elie Nicolas (Paris: Peeters, 1997), pp. 114–15.

[3] In 1263, King James I of Aragon called Nahmanides to participate in a public disputation with Friar Paul, a convert from Judaism to Christianity. Friar Paul, a Dominican friar, used passages from the Bible and the Talmud to demonstrate first that Jesus was the messiah, and second, that the classical rabbis recognized him as such. The central questions of discussion

Sefer ha-Ge'ulah that the time of redemption would begin in the Hebrew year 5118, but here Nahmanides also clarified an issue that remained vague in his earlier works. He argued that the meaning of biblical revelation unfolds slowly over time, becoming clearer and more obvious for each successive generation. In Nahmanides's view, revelation and prophecy remain dynamic in the sense that fresh layers of meaning reveal themselves in accordance with the needs of the particular age. Thus, he believed that he and his contemporaries now possessed precise information about the messianic era, information that had been hidden from previous generations. Nahmanides's view of redemption informed his understanding of contemporary events and his view of history, of which redemption was the final phase, the culmination of a process initiated at the moment of creation. His prediction of the time of redemption therefore reflects a deep engagement with scripture, on the one hand, and with contemporary concerns and historical change on the other.

The integrated method Nahmanides used to interpret scripture, prophecy, and history did not emerge in a cultural and intellectual vacuum, nor did his interest in the messianic redemption. As Jeremy Cohen, Moshe Idel, Robert Lerner and others have shown, both Jewish and Christian intellectual and spiritual leaders in late thirteenth-century Catalonia fully embraced and repeatedly expressed the notion that knowledge of when and how redemption would occur was available to the contemporary generation.[4] Christian exegetes, such as the Franciscan followers of

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were: a) Had the Jewish messiah already appeared in the person of Jesus, or was he still to be expected?; b) Was the messiah human or divine?; c) Did the suffering servant of Isaiah refer to Jesus? Two records of this event remain. The first is a brief summary in Latin representing the Christian perspective; the second is Nahmanides's first-hand account, which remains only in Hebrew. In spite of the difference in perspectives, the accounts agree about the issues of debate. There has been considerable scholarship on this event and the documents that record it. The following bibliography is necessarily abridged. Yitzhak Baer, 'The Disputations of Rabbi Yechiel of Paris and of Nahmanides', *Tarbitz*, 2 (1931), 172–87 (in Hebrew); Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Nahmanides's Hebrew account of the event is edited in *Kitveh Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, ed. by Haim Dov Chavel, 2 vols (Jerusalem: Mosad Ha-Rav Kook, 1964), I, 302–20 (in Hebrew); Martin A. Cohen, 'Reflections on the Text and Context of the Disputation of Barcelona', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 35 (1964), 157–92; *Disputa de Barcelona de 1263 Entre Mestre Mossé de Girona i Fra Pau Christià*, ed. by Eduard Feliu (Barcelona: Columna Edicions, 1985); Marvin Fox, 'Nahmanides on the Status of Aggadot: Perspectives on the Disputation at Barcelona, 1263', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 40 (1989), 95–109; Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (London: Associated University Presses, 1982); Jaume Riera i Sans, 'Les Fontes Històriques de la Disputa de Barcelona', in Feliu, *Disputa de Barcelona*, ix–xv; Cecil Roth, 'The Disputation at Barcelona (1263)', *Harvard Theological Review*, 43 (1950), 117–44.

[4] Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Moshe Idel,

Joachim of Fiore, and Jewish commentators like Avraham ben Levi Abulafia, presented fully developed schemas representing the shape of history and the time of redemption. Although Nahmanides never formulated his view of temporality in systematic philosophical terms, his historical sensibility was the fruit of the same protracted discourse among and between Jews and Christians in Catalonia. This discussion might be labelled the discourse of medieval Catalonian culture, performed in every mode of social encounter, from casual conversation in the marketplace, to highly ceremonial, carefully orchestrated religious disputations. A familiarity with the interpretive strategies, theology, history, and imagery of Christianity played a part in shaping the interpretations and self perceptions formed by Nahmanides and his peers; on the other side of the same coin, Christians who were familiar with Jewish interpretations absorbed and processed them, transforming them into Christian interpretations.

This paper examines Nahmanides's participation in and contribution to this Catalonian discourse on the time of messianic redemption. As a student and authority of *halakhah* (Jewish law) and the Bible, Nahmanides drew from and rooted his writings in the long tradition of Jewish literature on the question of redemption. In the first part of this paper, I juxtapose his speculations about the messianic era with the conservative or cautious strain in talmudic and medieval Jewish writing about counting to the time of redemption. Nahmanides's willingness to engage this issue, I argue, was a product of his finely-honed understanding of Jewish history as a process leading towards the goal of return to the holy land, repair of the nation, and redemption. According to this view, the shape and structure of this journey can be found by the discerning reader in the books of divine revelation. Part II of this essay examines the central arguments developed in *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*. Here I suggest that Nahmanides's interpretation of the final verses of Daniel boldly projects the date of redemption while employing the methods and rhetoric of conservative interpretation rooted in authority. The third and final section of this essay turns to the broader context of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Catalonia. Focusing on the writings of Arnau of Vilanova, I draw a parallel between Nahmanides's reading of the concluding verses of the book of Daniel and Christian interpretations of the same verses.

Messianic Mystics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Moshe Idel, 'Rabbi Moshe ben Nahman: Kabbalah, Halakhah and Spiritual Leadership', *Tarbiz*, 64 (1995), 535–80 (in Hebrew); Moshe Idel, 'Time and History in Kabbalah', in *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honour of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi*, ed. by Elisheva Carlebach, John M. Efron and David N. Myers (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1998), pp. 153–88; Robert E. Lerner, 'Ecstatic Dissent', *Speculum*, 67 (1992), 33–57; Robert Lerner, 'The Medieval Return to the Thousand Year Sabbath', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 51–71.

I

Though post-biblical Judaism incorporates messianic longing into the long term view of Jewish history, the consensus in rabbinic and medieval Judaism calls for a conservative, passive approach to the promise of redemption in which the precise time of redemption is relegated to a vague and distant future. Still, expectation of messianic redemption, supported by biblical hints about Israel's future, is a tradition deeply embedded in rabbinic literature. Born from what appears to be a radical chasm between chosenness and the historical reality of subjugation and humiliation, speculations about the timing, duration, and quality of redemption are sprinkled among legal discussions (*halakhah*) in the Talmud. While homilies (*'aggadot*) on redemption stand out in stark contrast to legalistic Talmudic discourse, a clear dogma of messianic expectation never emerges; nor are there clearly stated guidelines for interpreting biblical promises of redemption. *Masekhet Sanhedrin* in the Babylonian Talmud contains a rich and varied selection of reflections on the messianic era, including comments on the shape and duration of world history, classifications of the sorts of events that must transpire before the redemption will occur, denials that the messiah would ever come,[5] as well as many others. The over arching impression that emerges by the end of this discussion, however, is one of scepticism and conservatism. Descriptions of the glory of redemption are counterbalanced in this list by a catalogue of the possible dangers that could arise if active speculation were to become a popular pastime.

Because they feared that those who engaged in such speculations might abandon the covenant, the rabbis of the Talmud took the cautionary effort of discouraging active speculation about when the messiah would arrive. In this context the rabbis extended the grave warning: 'May the bones be blown away of those who calculate the end'.[6] This cautionary note does not represent a legal injunction against

[5] For an extended discussion of rabbinic denials of the messianic redemption in the Middle Ages and early modern periods, see Eric Lawee, '"Israel Has No Messiah" in Late Medieval Spain', *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, 5 (1996), 245–79. Also see Joseph Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature*, 2nd edn (New York: Hermon Press, 1968); Gershom Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1971); Dov Schwartz, *Ha-ra'ayon ha-meshihi be-hagot ha-yehudit be-yameh ha-benayim* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1997) (in Hebrew); Abba Hillel Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel From the First through the Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Macmillan, 1927).

[6] Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 97b. For a comparison between Jewish and early Christian approaches to apocalyptic discourse see Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), especially pp. 61–75. Rowland argues that the most significant difference between Jewish and Christian apocalyptic cycles is the tendency among Jewish writers to use pseudonyms or remain anonymous from fear that false predictions would crack the foundation of tradition.

voicing such calculations; however, the rabbis clearly laid the foundation for the conservative approach to messianic expectations that was commonly held by medieval authorities: one must have faith that redemption will come, but investing this promise with too much significance is also dangerous. Maimonides, for example, carefully outlined the dangers of calculating the messianic era in his letter to the Jews of Yemin, in which he encouraged Jews in the diaspora to immerse themselves in the practice of Judaism and eschew the leadership of messianic pretenders. Maimonides further warned that fervent messianic expectation would promote sectarianism and undermine the legal and community basis of Judaism in the present.[7] Maimonides's letter to the Jews of Yemin responded to a specific incident in which a messianic pretender had drawn a considerable following, yet the rhetoric of his letter reinscribes the sense of danger associated with active messianism while preserving the hope for redemption in the remote future.

A similar ambivalence between hope for messianic redemption and wariness that any given prediction of a specific time of redemption might fail is reflected in *Sefer Hasidim*. Leaders of the late twelfth-century pietistic movement looked with contempt upon those who speculated about or calculated the time of redemption.[8] In the context of a discussion classifying respectable, versus unseemly conduct, among scholars, *Sefer Hasidim* offered the following colourful admonition against calculating the time of redemption.

> If you see one making predictions about the Messiah, you should know that he deals deeds of witchcraft and deeds related to demons or with deeds related to the divine name. And because [. . . these deeds] bothered the angels, they tell him about

Also see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989 and 1998); *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism: Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism*, ed. by John J. Collins, vol. 54 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[7] *Igeret Teman le'rabbenu Moshe ben Maimon*, ed. by Avraham Halkin (New York: American Academy of Jewish Research, 1952) pp. 58–65 and 80–107. For an English translation see *Crisis and Leadership: Epistles of Maimonides*, ed. by Abraham Halkin and David Hartman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985), pp. 114–17 and 125–31. In his discussion of the dangers posed by calculating the time of redemption, Maimonides used examples from the book of Daniel to support his claim that any information about the precise time messianic redemption would begin had been and would continue to be sealed and hidden for eternity. In contrast, Nahmanides claimed that information concerning the time of redemption had been hidden from previous generations of authorities, but had been made available to his own age.

[8] In a paper entitled 'Some Thoughts on *Sefer Hasidim*' at the December, 2000 meeting of the Association of Jewish Studies in Boston, Hayim Solovechik suggested that the *Hasidei Ashkenaz* were not inclined to indulge in the active hope for messianic redemption because they did not think in terms of redemption for all of *Am Yisra'el*. Instead, they concerned themselves with the salvation of individuals or small groups.

> the messiah so that it will be revealed to the world that he bothered the angels and at the end he will be shamed and despised by the world because he bothered the angels or demons, who come to teach him the calculations and the secrets to his shame and to the shame of those who believe in him, for no one knows anything about the coming of the Messiah.[9]

While it is beyond doubt that messianic movements and longing for redemption periodically captured the imagination of communities and groups within medieval Jewry, prevailing opinion, especially among the intellectual elite, viewed clear expression of immediate messianic hopes with suspicion. Against this background of restraint, Nahmanides's unreserved prediction that the messianic age would begin in less than one hundred years seems at odds with the traditionally conservative attitude toward discussion and speculation of the time of redemption. Many modern scholars have therefore questioned the sincerity of the calculations that Nahmanides made public in his disputation account, *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*, and his biblical commentary.[10] Robert Chazan, for example, has argued that *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*, a work devoted to predicting the time of redemption, was intended to provide a desperately needed boost to the Jews' waning hope that redemption would ever come, not to articulate Nahmanides's personal convictions.[11] In effect, Chazan is suggesting that Nahmanides was too sophisticated, too deeply immersed in rabbinic culture, to believe his own messianic predictions. However, as a leader who was concerned that the continuity of Judaism was in doubt, he felt it was necessary to cater to the craving for reassurance. Chazan pays close attention to the broad context of medieval Jewish-Christian relations. He explains Nahmanides's interest in messianism and redemption as the necessary product of an encounter with the Dominican friars and their newly developed missionizing programmes, which employed talmudic sources to support their claim that Jesus was the Jewish messiah. According to Chazan, Nahmanides believed that the Dominicans succeeded in

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[9] *Sefer Hasidim*, ed. by Reuven Margoliot (Jerusalem: Mosad Ha-Rav Kook, 1957), p. 195, no. 206.

[10] 'Nahmanides, one of the most famous Jewish thinkers in the Middle Ages, composed an eschatological book named *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*. In it he calculated the precise time of the arrival of the Messiah in 1358, thereby subscribing to a linear type of time. At the same time, he exposed a theory of cyclical macrochronos, known in Kabbalah as cosmic *shemittah* and *yovelim*, regarding them as pulses of the divine organism, similar to the rhythm of inspiration and expiration. Moreover, he supported the microchronic cycle related to ritual. All these coexisted without creating tensions within his system': M. Idel, 'Time and History', p. 160

[11] Robert Chazan, 'The Messianic Calculations of Nahmanides', in *Rashi 1040–1990: Hommage à Ephraïm E. Urbach, Congrès européen des Études juives*, ed. by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, Patrimoines Judaisme (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1993), pp. 631–37; Robert Chazan, 'In the Wake of the Barcelona Disputation', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 61 (1990), 185–201; and R. Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond*, pp. 130–35.

weakening the Jews' faith in their covenant; desperate measures were therefore needed to strengthen the Jews' defences. *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah* and Nahmanides's account of the Barcelona disputation, he concludes, were intended to do precisely this.

In his effort to find external motivations for Nahmanides's assertion of a messianic time frame, Chazan devalues the role played by expectation of redemption as an interpretative strategy throughout Nahmanides's writings. I will argue here that Nahmanides's attribution of a precise date to the time of Jewish redemption was not merely a defensive, reactionary line of argument made necessary by the success of Christian polemics. Rather, the imminence of messianic redemption is a consistent theme that courses through Nahmanides's biblical exegesis, sermons, and letters, reflecting a programmatic conception of time, history, and change.

II

Had Nahmanides introduced his bold claim that the messianic redemption would occur at a definite point in the foreseeable future for the first and last time in a commentary on the book of Daniel itself, it might have been possible to disregard his interpretation as little more than an attempt to make sense of a troubling biblical verse or to reassure fellow Jews about the future redemption. However, Nahmanides's interpretation of Daniel 12. 8–12 provides the foundation for his conception of Jewish history as a whole. To frame his biblical commentary, Nahmanides presented a theory of history in its entirety that provided, in his view, the key for making sense of events and conditions in the present and future.

In his biblical commentary, Nahmanides represented the Torah (the five books of Moses) as God's blueprint for history.[12] According to this interpretation, the complete narrative of history is bracketed between divine creation and messianic redemption. The patterns and rhythms of historical change, the dynamics of relations between nations, the contours of Israel's relationship with God and the holy land throughout history were emploted either explicitly or through veiled hints in the revelation to Moses on Mt Sinai. Nahmanides read the six days of creation as a symbolic prefiguration of the sequence and duration of human history: the complete process would consist of six one thousand year epochs, followed by the seventh age, the age of redemption. This system of interpretation assumes a unity of scriptural purpose and meaning. Thus, the knowledge that time and history were organized in accordance with the structure of Genesis informs the interpretation of prophecy and post-biblical history.

[12] Haim Dov Chavel, *Perush Ha-Ramban al ha-Torah*, 2 vols (Jerusalem: Mosad Ha-Rav Kook, 1959), I, 1–39 (in Hebrew). See my analysis of his biblical commentary, '"*In The Beginning* . . .": Typology, History, and the Unfolding Meaning of Creation in Nahmanides' Exegesis', *Jewish Social Studies*, 6 (1999), 52–84.

The task Nahmanides undertook in *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah* was to distinguish biblical prophecies or declarations that had already occurred, from those that were still expected and to determine on this basis when messianic redemption would begin.[13] Guiding this argument throughout is the recognition that the temporality of revelation is multidimensional. Revelation—and prophecy in particular—is shaped by and directed to the unique time, place, and circumstance inhabited by the prophet. As such, divine revelation must be understood to be addressing the prophet's immediate political, religious, and cultural environment, as well as the contemporary audience. At the same time, at the moment it is committed to writing, then canonized, the message contained in revelation must necessarily transcend the immediate context in which it was given and speak to future generations. Thus, for future generations of Jews, prophecy contains historical records as well as possible information about the present and future.

Nahmanides engaged the temporal complexity of prophecy in *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*. He divided this work into four chapters or gates (*sha'arim*), each addressing a different layer or dimension of biblical prophecy. In the first chapter, Nahmanides argued that the Hebrew scriptures contain both time-bound, historically specific prophecy, and prophecy that transcends specific historical periods and events. The latter category includes assertions that apply at all times to the possibility of redemption occurring if or when the people of Israel successfully conquer sin and the evil inclination (*yetzer ha-ra'a*) as well as information regarding historical patterns which recur through time, such as the tension between Esau and Israel. Nahmanides used the criteria of consistency of historical context and narrative sequence to distinguish prophecy that was still to be expected from that which historical record had shown was already fulfilled.

The second and third chapters address constructions of national redemption in the books of Isaiah and Daniel and in the Talmud. Nahmanides's approach is synthetic, aimed at demonstrating a continuity and consensus of opinion among the authorities about what is meant by messianic redemption. He argued that redemption would result in the complete restoration of all of the tribes of Israel to the Holy Land as a single political and cultic entity. Building from this principle, Nahmanides concluded that the vast majority of prophecy had already been fulfilled; the only prophecy whose domain lay entirely in the future was contained in the final three verses of Daniel:

> From the time the regular offering is abolished, and an abomination is set up—it will be a thousand two hundred years and ninety days. Happy is he who waits and reaches one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days. But you, go to the end; you shall rest and arise to your destiny at the end of the days.

[13] H. D. Chavel, *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, 2 vols (Jerusalem: Mosad Ha-Rav Kook, 1964), I, 251–85.

Using this projection as a formula for counting the time of redemption, Nahmanides concluded that the messianic age would begin in 5118, roughly 90 years from the time he was writing. Since the messianic age would last for several generations, this prediction supports his claim that human history would last for 6000 years. Lastly, in the fourth and final chapter, Nahmanides confirmed his calculations with the interpretive method *gematriah*, interpretation based on the sums of the numerical value of the Hebrew letters contained in a word, phrase or verse.

Nahmanides's emphatic prediction that his great-grandchildren would see the dawn of the messianic age is rooted in three fundamental assumptions about the relationship between revelation and history. These are as follows: first, that a unity of meaning, intention, and purpose can be discerned with the application of methodical and systematic exegesis. Attention to the sequence of narrative and the context (in the textual and historical sense) from which verses or passages are drawn is essential to Nahmanides's method of interpretation. Second, that a different dimension of this meaning revealed itself to each generation or time in history. And finally, that his knowledge of when redemption would occur was an accident of time. His generation was poised on the cusp of the messianic age, so knowledge of when it would occur had been made available to them. As a result, he considered himself obliged to reveal this information to his contemporaries and future generations and to provide responsible, accurate interpretation of the prophecy.

Nahmanides recognized that his attempt to reconcile an assortment of biblical projections of Jewish redemption with the time frame presented at the conclusion of Daniel was likely to be viewed as radical and potentially dangerous. He addressed this problem directly, taking pains to justify both his engagement in the discourse itself and the range and detail of his speculations.

> Before we open our mouths to discuss the topic of the end, we need to defend ourselves against what was said by the rabbis of blessed memory: 'May the spirits of those who calculate the end be blown away' (Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 97b).[14] One might say, as we did, that the intent of this [curse] is to show that among them [the rabbis] of blessed memory there were some who knew the end would come only a long time after them, as they said to Rabbi Akiva: 'Grass will grow on your cheek and still the son of David will not have come' (Jerusalem Talmud, *Ta'anit*, 24a). They did not want the matter revealed to the common men for fear that it would weaken their already weakened hopes.[15]

[14] Nahmanides has slightly altered the language of the text, replacing the word *'etzman*, or 'their bones', with *ruhan*, 'their spirit'. Nahmanides most likely knew this text in the same version available to us today because he cites it in that version elsewhere. It is possible that he did not have the source at hand as he composed this portion of his text, and thus cited the passage from memory. Alternatively, it is possible that Nahmanides intentionally shifted the meaning to stress a more spiritual interpretation of the world to come (*'olam ha-b'a*).

[15] Chavel, *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, I, 290.

Nahmanides's self-perception as an interpreter of Talmud and Torah was shaped by the sense that his time was one of significance and change. Noting that the rabbis of the Talmud discouraged definitive statements regarding the specific time of redemption, Nahmanides suggested that this stand was driven by a combination of many historical factors, some of which no longer applied in his time. For instance, although the rabbis had the same textual sources as he did at their disposal, Nahmanides argued that the rabbis were both unwilling and unable to draw more concrete conclusions about when this redemption might begin. This hesitation resulted from their knowledge that complete redemption would occur at the end of the historical cycle, which, as the same passage in Sanhedrin reveals, loomed several hundred years in the future. Accurate predictions at that time would only cause the people of Israel to despair that redemption was too remote even to hope for. The fact that the rabbis failed to find clear references to a precise date of redemption in the distant future, Nahmanides argued, was an indication that the time in which he lived was significantly different from theirs. Whereas the rabbis of the Talmud recognized that their time in history fell at the beginning of an excruciatingly long period of exile, Nahmanides claimed that his own generation was blessed to be born just prior to the time of redemption.

> And now (*ve-'akhshav*) this reasoning no longer applies to us, for we are at the end of days. Already there are a good many other adherents to our Torah who composed books on this topic, thus there would be no harm done to the people if we too were to express our opinion on this matter, perhaps it will add a positive influence for them and a consolation if our words, with the help of God, agree with knowledge and unite with the intellect.[16]

While he suggested that the Talmudic prohibition on speculation about the end of days had expired, Nahmanides at the same time assembled an elaborate argument appealing to historical and specifically temporal qualifications to justify his actions. The rabbis possessed the painful knowledge that they stood before a great historical abyss, a future that would be characterized by extended periods of disappointment and humiliation. The danger posed by exuberant messianic hope at a time when redemption remained a distant promise took a toll even among the great men of the rabbinic era. Rabbi Akiva, who placed his faith in Bar Kokhba, the messianic figure and leader of the failed rebellion against the Romans, illustrates that the rabbis' warning was at that time highly necessary. According to Nahmanides, the rabbis' wisdom applied specifically to their own generation and their descendants, and, at least in this case, their authority to define what was permissible diminished with time. As the moment of redemption drew closer, it became less likely that such speculation might be fraught with the risk of unnecessarily raising and dashing the

[16] Chavel, *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, I, 290.

common man's expectations for the messiah's arrival.[17] Moreover, he argued, the biblical verses could not have revealed to the rabbis of the Talmud the same information that they revealed to him. God had hidden that information from them because they were too far from the target date.[18]

Nahmanides's projection of a impending messianic redemption was rooted in his sincere personal conviction that an outline of the process and duration of history could, with the proper interpretive tools, be extracted from divine revelation. According to this view, the messianic age is the closing bracket of human history, a closed cycle defined by the prescribed duration of 6000 years. The final verses of the book of Daniel play a crucial role in this formulation. Whereas the story of creation maps out the structure of human history, the prophecy in Daniel 12. 8–12 points to that history's resolution and conclusion.

III

Robert Chazan has argued that Nahmanides's calculation of time of the messianic era for a public audience was primarily a stopgap effort meant to reassure members of his community that the redemption was within reach. He suggests that Nahmanides's unguarded interpretation of Daniel 12. 8–12 was intended to reinvigorate the faith of those whose resolve to withstand the trials of dispersion had been shaken by the proselytizing efforts of the friars. While an interfaith dispute over the meaning of Jewish history and prophecy was surely instrumental in motivating Nahmanides to formulate this argument, it is not self-evident that this was a claim to which he did not personally subscribe. Chazan's assertion that a Jewish-Christian dialogue regarding the time of messianic redemption influenced Nahmanides's thinking on history, prophecy, and redemption is not incorrect. However, I believe a more fruitful avenue of analysis shifts attention from public polemics and proselytizing to more subtle intellectual and cultural currents in thirteenth-century Catalonia.

Thus far, I have argued that Nahmanides' interpretation of Daniel represents a sincere effort to engage the issue of the messianic age. In the final section of this paper, I will suggest that this issue provided the basis for a discourse in which Jewish and Christian exegetes engaged each other's interpretations and conclusions. The question of timely redemption had percolated to the fore in thirteenth-century Catalonian intellectual and interfaith discourse, not merely as a reaction to interfaith polemics *per se*, but as an element of Catalonian culture that transcended the

[17] Indeed, in the same paragraph, Nahmanides brings a source from the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 97b) that voices this problem directly. The rabbis were concerned that a false prediction would irreparably damage the community's faith that the promise of redemption would be fulfilled.

[18] Chavel, *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, I, 289–91.

boundaries of religious faith. Nahmanides was not alone in his view that the final verses of Daniel shed light on the conclusion of human history. In this respect, he contributed to a more widespread discourse that transformed the final verses of the book of Daniel into prophecy aimed directly at the time in which the exegetes lived. This discourse did not always take place on a personal or interlocutory basis, although the Barcelona disputation was one occasion in which we know these issues were discussed candidly.[19] Jewish and Christian exegetes struggled to assert interpretive authority over scriptural revelation, and over the book of Daniel in particular, as a means of locating the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in a crucial position on the map of human history. But it is more important to note that both Jews and Christians seemed to engage, if not always acknowledge, timely readings of scripture and prophecy presented by exegetes from the other faith.

During the latter half of the thirteenth century, Jews and Christians in Catalonia saw numerous controversies around messianic expectation and speculation.[20] The writings of Joachim of Fiore played an important role in shaping this messianic or apocalyptic fervour especially among Christian authors.[21] Joachim's symbolic

[19] Even if Nahmanides was severely limited in what he was able to say during the disputation itself, as much of the scholarship suggests, these issues were addressed directly at the textual level in the controversy that arose over Nahmanides's disputation account. See Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond*, pp. 42–77.

[20] See Idel, *Messianic Mystics*, pp. 58–100.

[21] E. Randolph Daniel, 'A Re-Examination of the Origins of Franciscan Joachitism', *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 671–76; E. Randolph Daniel, 'The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore's Understanding of History', *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 469–83; E. Randolph Daniel, 'Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse', in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 72–88; Harold Lee, '*Scrutimini Scripturas*: Joachimist Themes and *Figurae* in the Early Religious Writing of Arnold of Vilanova', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 33–56; *Western Mediterranean Prophecy: The School of Joachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth-Century Breviloquium*, ed. by Harold Lee, Marjorie Reeves and Giulio Silano (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989); Lerner, 'Ecstatic Dissent', pp. 33–57; Elías Olmos, 'Inventario de los documentos escritos en pergamino del Archivo del la Catedral de Valencia', *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, 103 (1933), 141–293, 543–616; Marjorie Reeves, 'The Abbot Joachim's Disciples and the Cistercian Order', *Sophia*, 19 (1951), 355–71; Marjorie Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, 'The *Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*: Genuine and Spurious Collections', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1954), 170–99; Marjorie Reeves and Morton W. Bloomfield, 'The Penetration of Joachism into Northern Europe', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 772–93; Marjorie Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, 'The Seven Seals in the Writings of Joachim of Fiore', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 21 (1954), 211–47; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Marjorie Reeves, 'Pattern and Purpose in History in the Later Medieval and Renaissance Periods', in *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, ed. by Malcolm Bull (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 90–111.

interpretation of scripture is rooted in the notion of constantly unfolding meaning contained in scripture.[22] He argued that historical and scriptural symmetry made it possible for an understanding of the time of the second coming and the battle between Jesus Christ and the Antichrist to be granted to him, a monk living less than a century prior to the specified time of redemption.[23] The understanding of scripture as a unified, self-referential system of meaning was a very compelling notion in medieval Catalonia. In the decades immediately following Joachim's death, members of the newly founded Franciscan order—many of whom were stationed in the northern region of the Iberian peninsula—widely adopted and disseminated his understanding of history and prophecy as a prescriptive system mapping out a very clear order of life and authority to be followed by those living at the moment before redemption.

A good deal of scholarship has been dedicated to unravelling the historical and exegetical methods employed by these friars, many of whom adopted and, in many cases, expanded the apocalyptic leanings of Joachim's teachings.[24] The vast majority of this scholarship has focused on the Christian or Joachite origins of or impetus for apocalyptic activism, while leaving Jewish (and, for that matter, Muslim) messianic

[22] Daniel, 'Joachim of Fiore', pp. 72–88.

[23] Joachim made this point most strongly in his *Concordia veteris ac novi testamenti*, in which he utilized a method of drawing concordance or continuity between the old and new testaments. This approach established a unity of purpose and meaning between the two canonical works whereby one book of scripture informed and elucidated the other.

[24] Joaquín Carreras y Artau, 'Arnau de Vilanova y las culturas orientales', in *Homenaje a Millàs Vallicrusa* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954), 309–21; Joaquín Carreras i Artau, 'La "Allocutio super Tetragrammatron" de Arnaldo de Vilanova', *Sefarad*, 9 (1949), 80–105; Clifford R. Backman, 'The Reception of Arnau of Vilanova's Religious Ideas', in *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion*, ed. by Scott Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 112–31; Miguel Batllori, 'Les versions italianes medievales d'obres religiouses de mestre Arnau de Vilanova', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, 1 (1951), 397–462; Miguel Batllori, 'Orientaciones bibliográficas para el estudio de Arnau de Villanova', *Pensamiento*, 10 (1954), 311–24; John August Bollweg, 'Sense of a Mission: Arnau of Vilanova on the Conversion of Muslims and Jews', in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Robert I. Burns*, ed. by Larry J. Simon (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 50–74; Joaquín Carreras y Artau, 'La Llibraria d'Arnau de Vilanova', *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia: Revista de ciencias historico-eclesiásticas*, 11 (1935), 63–84; Joaquín Carreras y Artau, 'La polémica gerundense sobre el Anticristo entre Arnau de Vilanova y los domínicos', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, 5 (1950), 1–58; E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the Middle Ages* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975); H. Lee, '*Scrutimini Scripturas*', pp. 33–56; Robert E. Lerner, 'The Pope and the Doctor', *Yale Review*, 78 (1988–89), 62–79; Lerner, 'Ecstatic Dissent', pp. 33–57; Josep Perarnau i Espelt, 'El text primitiu del *De mysterio cymbalorum ecclesiae* d'Arnau de Vilanova', *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 7/8 (1988/89), especially 1–52.

expectation beyond the frame of consideration. In E. Rudolph Daniel's *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages*, for example, Jews appear primarily as the virtually silent and passive audience for Franciscan preaching and repository of Old Testament wisdom from which they borrowed interpretations.[25] While this approach highlights discursive continuity and/or development within Christian exegesis, it bypasses consideration of the richly textured cultural and intellectual exchange between Judaism and Christianity as a factor informing the present-centred apocalyptic speculation that became so prominent in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Catalonia. In the remainder of this paper, I will consider the writings of Arnau of Vilanova (*c.* 1238–1311), a royal courtier, Joachite exegete, and medical doctor who actively promoted messianic fervor around the final verses of Daniel. In particular, I will examine Arnau's conception of history, temporality, and redemption against the backdrop of the interpretation of Daniel 12. 8–12 Nahmanides publicized in his disputation account, exegesis of Genesis, and *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*.

Trained at the University of Montpellier, Arnau of Vilanova earned his reputation within the late medieval intellectual world as a highly respected physician who treated, among other notables, King James II of the Crown of Aragon and three successive popes. He wrote, taught, and lectured extensively on questions of medicine throughout his lifetime, but in the late 1280s Arnau turned his attention to religious issues. Following his initial exposure to the teachings of Joachim of Fiore, Arnau wrote the first work in which he tackled theological questions and biblical exegesis, *De tempore adventus Antichristi*.[26] Inspired by Joachim's exegetical method, which reads a concordance or intertextual linkage between the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, Arnau turned to the book of Daniel to find crucial information regarding the time of the Antichrist, whose arrival would signal that the second coming was near at hand.

One of Arnau's original contributions to Christian exegesis was his application of identifiably Jewish exegetical methods in a comprehensive manner to interpret key historical events leading to the Christian Apocalypse and redemption. This interest in Jewish exegesis was a product, in part, of Arnau's affiliation with a Dominican *studium*, where he studied Hebrew under the tutelage of Ramon Martí.[27] Arnau's relationship with Ramon Martí is a bridge to Nahmanides. Martí's polemical guide *Pugio Fidei* reproduced several of the arguments used by

[25] Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept.*

[26] Perarnau i Espelt, 'El text primitiu', pp. 134–69. There is some disagreement among scholars about when this text was completed. Harold Lee has argued that it was composed in 1288–89, whereas Perarnau i Espelt suggests a composition date of 1297. Lee's argument is compelling because it accounts for Arnau's intellectual and spiritual development. See Lee, '*Scrutimini Scriptura*', p. 33; Backman, 'Arnau of Vilanova's Religious Ideas', pp. 115–16; Bollweg, 'Sense of a Mission', p. 53.

[27] Carreras i Artau, 'La "Allocutio super Tetragrammaton"', p. 80.

Nahmanides and his opponent at the Barcelona disputation. Quite a bit of scholarship has been produced around the Dominican response to Nahmanides's account, much of which speculates about why the friars responded with such hostility.[28] However, none of this scholarship has attempted to track the influence Nahmanides's views on the time of messianic redemption may have had on Christian exegetes in the wake of the controversy around Nahmanides's first person disputation account. I would like to suggest that the formal and rhetorical correspondence between Nahmanides's and Arnau's methods of interpretation is indicative of a reciprocal conceptual and methodological exchange between Jews and Christians. It seems quite likely that Nahmanides's disputation account, perhaps even his *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*, was known and taught in Dominican schools where Arnau and others learned it.

[28] Nahmanides wrote and distributed his first-person account of the Barcelona disputation two years following the event. This text was written first as a present for the bishop of Gerona, presumably in the Catalan vernacular. Nahmanides came under attack after the document fell into the hands of the friars. He was censured by the pope, and later expelled from the Crown of Aragon by the king. The summary of the complaint against Nahmanides (the document refers to him as Bonstrugo de Porta; see Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond*, pp. 199–203 for a demonstration that Bonastrugo was, in fact, identical to Nahmanides) can be found in a document from the royal archive dated 12 April 1265:

> Paulus eiusdem ordinis de ipso nobis fecerant, qui asserebant, quod in Domini nostri vituperium et tocius fidei catholice dixerat quedam verba et etiam de eisdem librum fecerat, de quo transcriptum dederat episcopo Gerunde: idem Bonastrugus in nostra presentia constitutus presentibus venerabili episcopo Barchinonensi, Berengario de Anglaria, magistro Berengario de Turri archidiachono Barchinon., magistro Bernardo de Olorda, sacrista Barchinonensi, Bernardo Vital, Ferrer de Minorisa et Berengario de Vico iureperitis, et pluribus aliis sic respondit, quod predicta verba dixerat in disputatione, que fuit inter ipsum [et] fratrem Paulum predictum et in nostro palacio Barchinone, in principio cuius disputacionis fuit a nobis sibi data licentia dicendi omnia, quecunque vellet in ipsa disputacione. Quare ratione licentie a nobis et fratre R. de Pennaforti predicto sibi date in dicta disputacione de predictis non tenebantur in aliquo, maxime, cum predictum librum, quem tradidit dicto episcopo Gerundensi, scripsisset ad preces ipsius. Super quibus nos Iacobus Dei gratia rex predictus nostrum habuimus consilium cum episcopo Barchinonensi et aliis supradictis, qualiter in facto dicti Iudei procedere deberemus. Habito tamen consilio cum eisdem, cum nobis certum sit, dictam licentiam a nobis et fratre R. de Penneforti sibi tunc temporis fore datam, volebamus ipsum Iudeum per sententiam exulare de terra nostra per duos annos et facere comburi libros, qui scripti erant de verbis supradictis.

Heinrich Denifle, 'Quellen zur Disputation Pablos Christiani mit Mose Nachmani su Barccelona 1263', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 8 (1887), 239–40. Also see Cohen, 'Reflections on the Text', pp. 182–88; Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, pp. 17–38; Roth, 'The Disputation at Barcelona', pp. 122–28.

Although Arnau discontinued his affiliation with the Dominicans, and later came into direct conflict with the mendicants,[29] his early education by and association with the Dominicans provided him with the tools for utilizing Hebrew biblical interpretation. Arnau's engagement with Jewish exegesis is most apparent in his discussion around the book of Daniel over the possibility of imminent redemption. Daniel had been used before as a key for interpreting the signs of the Apocalypse and the shape of redemption. Joachim and his followers, for example, used the four kingdoms to determine when the human historical struggle would end. They used the book of Daniel to reify the generally accepted belief that the drama of Jesus's life and death stood at the pivotal point in human history. In contrast to Joachim, whose interest in the book of Daniel remained in the orbit of the prophecy's structural or figural allusions to the qualities of historical epochs, Arnau used the final verses of Daniel—'From the time the regular offering is abolished, and an abomination is set up—it will be a thousand two hundred years and ninety days. Happy is he who waits and reaches one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days.' (Daniel 12. 11–12)—as the formula with which a well-informed exegete could predict the date of the Antichrist's arrival.

Like Joachim and Nahmanides before him, Arnau viewed time as a cleansing force, slowly laying bare information about history and redemption contained in the scriptures that had been carefully concealed from the time of revelation. According to this view, time is a closed process with a definite beginning and end which envelops all of human history—from creation to redemption. But as an hermeneutic device for estimating when redemption would begin, discrete units of time—days, years, generations—became important as keys for deciphering previously hidden information about the future. One inherent difficulty in this exegetical method is in locating a defensible and logical point in history from which temporal or numerical calculations should commence. The book of Daniel contains several allusions to symbolically significant temporal units from which a variety of different dates and meanings could be derived, depending upon point of beginning chosen.[30] Focusing on the historical context described in the final verses in Daniel, Arnau lighted upon the cessation of sacrifice in Jerusalem and the destruction of the Second Temple. His choice of the destruction of the Second Temple as the starting point is thus quite telling. The historical component in this passage had a dual meaning for Arnau. The first stratum is a symbolic correlation between the 'abomination' described in Daniel and the Antichrist; this link confirmed the Christian story of severe moral degradation followed by redemption.[31] The second layer of meaning makes a direct

[29] On the conflict between the Dominicans and Arnau, see Carreras y Artau, 'La polémica gerundense', pp. 1–58.

[30] Daniel 9 refers to the 'seventy weeks' of desolation which will be replaced with a period of redemption.

[31] Perarnau i Espelt, 'El text primitiu,' p. 147.

historical connection between the redemption promised to the Jews in the book of Daniel (which is directly associated through historical circumstance to the dissolution of the Jewish kingdoms and the destruction of the Second Temple) and the Christian redemptive history.

The fall of the temple traditionally signalled the transition from the Jewish to the Christian era. Arnau's understanding of the destruction of the temple was therefore innovative in Christian exegesis. By looking to pre-Christian history for milestones in the Christian historical epoch, Arnau advanced a view of history which was rooted in a sense of continuity within history as a whole, rather than the radical break between the old and the new that is suggested by the Christian narrative, and even by the Christian method of reckoning time.

Arnau counted 1290 years from the time that the daily sacrifice was finally halted, some years following the fall of the temple, arriving at the decade between 1366 and 1376. He supported his conclusion with a clear and fully argued exegetical justification for reading the 'days' mentioned Daniel as 'years'.[32] Anchoring his argument in scriptural authority, Arnau then suggested that this rule applied to all temporally specific prophecy, making such prophecy immediately significant to the time and place in which he lived.[33] Arnau's claim that 'days' meant 'years' in the prophecy of Daniel bears a strong resemblance to the argument Nahmanides laid out in his account of the Barcelona disputation. There Nahmanides explained that the word day (*yom*) had three meanings in the Bible: the literal meaning, referring to the period between sunset and sunset; a generic meaning, referring to a period or span of time; and a figurative meaning in prophecy and revelation meaning a year.[34] In this context, Nahmanides was responding to his opponent's claim that the time of Jesus's incarnation corresponded to the time projected for redemption in Daniel, but the same interpretive device also supports his interpretation of Daniel in *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah* and his biblical commentary. This similarity between Arnau's and Nahmanides's styles of argument is also telling because it sheds light on an deep current of suspicion running through Catalonian society about the authority supporting apocalyptic speculation. Both Nahmanides and Arnau invoked canonical authorities to support their refusal to abide by admonitions against apocalyptic speculation. In *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah*, Nahmanides framed his interpretation of Daniel with a defence against rabbinic strictures against calculating the time of redemption. In similar manner, Arnau addressed concerns that his opponents might raise about conflicts between his interpretation of prophecy and history and authorities such as

[32] Arnau was accused of judaizing by Henry of Harclay for this very interpretation. For discussion of this controversy, see Bollweg, 'Sense of a Mission', pp. 64–66 and Perarnau i Espelt, 'El text primitiu', pp. 37–38.

[33] Arnau also weighed the validity of the solar versus the lunar calendrical system when counting pre-Christian history; Perarnau i Espelt, 'El text primitiu', pp. 150–52.

[34] Chavel, *Kitvhei Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, I, 313–14.

Augustine, who condemned avid speculation about the advent of the Antichrist and the turmoil he would cause. Arnau defended the legitimacy of his interpretation, arguing that Augustine's prohibition had been misunderstood and that careful and well grounded speculations about when the Antichrist would arrive were viable as long as they did not resort to gruesome descriptions of the chaos that was expected to arise.[35]

As Robert Chazan has argued, it should come as no surprise that the book of Daniel played a key role in Jewish-Christian theological dialogue in the Middle Ages, since this text contains explicit temporally specific references to the time and shape of redemption.[36] The parallels between Nahmanides's and Arnau de Vilanova's interpretations of these verses, however, point to a very interesting moment in medieval Jewish-Christian relations. Polemics, whether officially sponsored or informal, provided the forum for an exchange of ideas and interpretations. At times, this exchange was purely hostile, threatening; but it also fostered a discourse in which Jewish and Christian exegetes seriously wrestled with the challenges posed by alternative sacred meta-narratives. Nahmanides's interpretation of Daniel 12 was arguably shaped in response to Dominican polemics, but this interpretation also acquired a life of its own in all of Nahmanides's later works. The immediate reinterpretation of these verses by those who read his interpretations—Jews and Christians—used the book of Daniel to place Catalonia at the forefront of the imaginary historical drama during the late Middle Ages.

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[35] Arnau's interpretation of Augustine's admonition appears in Perarnau i Espelt, 'El text primitiu', pp. 157–59.

[36] Robert Chazan, 'Daniel 9. 24–27: Exegesis and Polemics', in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, ed. by Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), pp. 141–59; and Chazan, 'Rashi's Commentary on the Book of Daniel', pp. 111–21.

Christian Philosophies of Time and Eternity

Interpreting Eternity in Thomas Aquinas

HARM GORIS

Eternity (*aeternitas*) is one of the key notions in the doctrine of God of Thomas Aquinas, whose interpretation of it counts as representative of the classical view. In Aquinas's texts on the divine being, eternity has two distinct but related roles: it is used both in the discussion on the divine essence as it exists in itself, and in dealing with the relation between God and the temporal world. In this paper I present a new interpretation of Aquinas's understanding of 'eternity'. I shall try to show that this interpretation meets some important criticisms that have recently been directed against the Thomist view, that it can solve the problem of the relation between the two roles that 'eternity' plays in Aquinas's doctrine of God, and, finally, that it is consistent with Aquinas's overall theological perspective.

This article consists of two parts. After a brief outline of the two functions of eternity in Aquinas's doctrine of God, I shall first elaborate on eternity as indicating atemporality, characteristic of the divine mode of being in itself. I shall give an overview of the major criticisms that have been raised against Aquinas's view and I shall give an alternative to the notion of 'atemporal duration' that Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann developed in the 80s and 90s in reaction to the these criticisms. The second part of the paper will deal with the other role eternity has in Aquinas: viz. to account for the relation between God and the world of becoming. I shall elaborate on an important objection to Aquinas's position that is based on recent discussions in the philosophy of time. I shall criticize Stump and Kretzmann's notion of 'ET-simultaneity' and propose my own reading on the basis of a critical revision of their interpretation.

Two Roles of Eternity in Aquinas's Doctrine of God

In discussing eternity as proper to the divine mode of being, Aquinas adopts—as virtually all medieval Scholastics—Boethius's definition: eternity is the complete possession all at once of illimitable life.[1] The distinctive feature of Aquinas's explanation of this formula is that he gives a negative reading of it: eternity indicates by way of negation the divine essence as it is in itself. God's being has no beginning, no end and, more importantly, no succession or change. Time does not apply to God: he is atemporal, having the complete perfection of being in the non-extended, simple 'now' of eternity. Interpreted in this way, 'eternity' functions in indicating what or how God is not (*quomodo Deus non sit*).[2]

The second role that the notion of eternity plays seems to be more positive. It is used by Aquinas to express the relation of temporal creatures to God. Again with reference to Boethius, Aquinas claims that all of history—not only the past and the present, but also the future—is present to God because of his eternity: 'the unchanged now of eternity is present to all parts of time', 'eternity includes all times' etc.[3] In order to express the same idea Aquinas adopts also from Boethius the spatial metaphor of the observer in an elevated position to whom the whole of a procession going on below is present, and from Neoplatonism a similar image of the centre of a circle to which all of the circumference is present. This second role of eternity is especially important in the discussion on God's foreknowledge of future contingents. I shall argue that Aquinas also gives an apophatic reinterpretation of this aspect of divine eternity.

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[1] 'Aeternitas est interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio'. The definition is taken from Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, V, pr. 6, in Boethius, *Tractates: De consolatione philosophiae*, trans. by H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand and S. J. Tester, Loeb Classical Library, 74 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 422. It is quoted by Aquinas every time he discusses the notion of eternity: e.g. *Scriptum super Sententiis*, I, ds. 8, qu. 2, art. 1; *Summa theologiae*, Ia, qu. 10, art. 1; *Compendium theologiae*, I, chap. 8; *Summa contra gentiles*, I, chap. 15, no 3. Unless indicated otherwise, all references to Aquinas are taken from: *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opera omnia*, ed. by Roberto Busa, 7 vols (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1980).

[2] The discussion of eternity in the *Summa theologiae* is found in question 10 of the Prima Pars. It follows upon the discussion on God's immutability in question 9 and is placed within the context of 'considering how God is not' (cf. prologue to *S. Th.*, Ia, qu. 3). The apophatic reinterpretation of Boethius's definition is also pointed out by Markus Wörner, 'Der Sinn von "Ewigkeit" und seine Deutung bei Thomas von Aquin', in *Ontologie und Theologie. Beiträge zum Problem der Metaphysik bei Aristoteles und Thomas von Aquin*, ed. by M. Lutz-Bachmann, Europäische Hochschulschriften, ser. 23, 331 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1988), pp. 79–101 (pp. 93–94); John Yates, *The Timelessness of God* (Lanham: University of America Press, 1990), pp. 39–40; and Brian Shanley, 'Eternity and Duration in Aquinas', *Thomist*, 61 (1997), 525–48 (pp. 530–31).

[3] Cf. *Quodlibetale*, 10, qu. 2, ad 1; *S. Th.*, Ia, qu. 10, art. 2, ad 4, and qu. 14, art. 13; *Comp. theol.*, I, chap. 133.

Eternity and Atemporality

The classical notion of eternity as 'atemporality' or as 'the unchanging, simple *nunc stans aeternitatis*' has been heavily criticized in—roughly—the last fifty years. Some have argued that it is not biblical for scripture pictures a God who is historical: he remembers and promises, repents and changes his mind. Atemporality, these biblical scholars claim, is an invention of Greek philosophy and Christian theology has to be cleansed from such an alien blemish. Next, process theologians have objected that an atemporal God cannot genuinely interact with human beings in history. Analytical philosophers of religion have adopted and elaborated this objection, arguing that atemporality is not compatible with personhood, nor with the classical Christian doctrines of creation, redemption and incarnation. For 'atemporality' means that God is something abstract in the same way as universals or mathematical entities are said to be atemporal. An atemporal God is as lifeless as the square root of the number four and cannot be related to whatever goes on in time.[4]

In order to meet these criticisms, two major alternative views have been suggested in recent discussions. The first alternative is to think of eternity in terms of omnitemporality or sempiternality. That is to say, the divine being has no beginning, or end, but it does have temporal succession. God has always been, is and always will be. He is not outside of time, but extended infinitely through all of time. Consequences of this view are that God is changeable and that he is subject to the order of time.

Another, more interesting suggestion is the notion of atemporal duration, put forward by Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann in a pivotal article published in 1981.[5] They reject the classical view of eternity as a 'standing now' (*nunc stans*), arguing that eternity is not a kind of frozen, isolated and static instant. Instead, they propose the notion of an extended but not successive duration. This provoked a lot of discussion,[6] the main point of criticism being that 'atemporal duration' is not a coherent notion: duration, i.e. extension, without any distinguishable parts is no extension at all.

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[4] For references to these criticisms see my *Free Creatures of an Eternal God: Thomas Aquinas on God's Infallible Foreknowledge and Irresistible Will* (Leuven: Peeters, 1996), pp. 35–42. Richard Dales, *Medieval Discussions of the Eternity of the World* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 117–18, states that: 'during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of the most difficult problems, usually unnoticed by the thinkers involved, had to do with the durational relationships among [. . .] especially eternity and time [. . .] it is especially difficult to see how the 'now' of eternity is related to the 'now' of time'.

[5] Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann, 'Eternity', *Journal of Philosophy*, 78 (1981), 429–58.

[6] Most recently: William Lane Craig, 'The Eternal Present and Stump-Kretzmann Eternity', *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly*, 73 (1999), 521–36.

I would like to suggest a third, alternative interpretation of eternity, which I label 'the negative/analogous reading'. Eternity, on this reading, is primarily a negative notion: it indicates what/how God is not and it cannot be translated into some kind of positive concept or picture. One might still use either the Stump and Kretzmann notion of 'atemporal duration' or the Boethian notion of 'standing now', but only by way of—so to say—a mutual emptying of meaning, of semantic content of the terms 'duration' and 'now'. The term 'duration' in the expression 'atemporal duration' and the term 'standing' in 'standing now' indicate that God's atemporality is neither to be thought of as being temporally instantaneous like the indivisible now of time nor as being intentionally abstracted like universals or mathematical entities. It is an atemporality with which we are altogether unfamiliar. On the other hand, the words 'atemporal' and 'now' in the formulas remind us not to think of God's being in terms of an extended and continuous omnitemporality.

Aquinas is somewhat ambiguous in his use of the term *duratio*. In some texts he states that it implies 'a sort of extension' (*quamdam distensionem*), because of which it cannot be attributed to God, but elsewhere he says that eternity expresses actuality so that it can be said to signify 'a sort of duration'.[7] And in commenting on the text of Pseudo-Dionysius that there are 'two kinds of durability (*durabilitas*), one eternal and the other temporal', Aquinas does accept that eternity is duration, but denies that, unlike omnitemporality, eternal duration or perpetuity has extension.[8] I think that this ambiguity in Aquinas can be explained on the negative reading of 'atemporal duration' that I have suggested. But one may label this reading also as 'analogous'. Insofar as 'duration' expresses perfection, viz. actual existence, it may be attributed to God not only to deny that God exists only for an instant or abstractly, but also in some positive sense. However, this divine duration and the duration of

[7] Cf. *In I Sent.*, ds. 8, qu. 2, art. 1, ad 6, in commenting on the Boethian definition of eternity: 'Duratio dicit quamdam distensionem ex ratione nominis: et quia in divino esse non debet intelligi aliqua talis distensio, ideo Boetius non posuit durationem, sed possessionem'; and *In I de coelo*, lc. 21, no 9. On the other hand, Aquinas states in *In I Sent*., ds. 19, qu. 2, art. 1 (cf. also *In II Sent*., ds. 2, qu. 1, art. 1): 'Tria praedicta nomina [sc. aeternitas, aevum, tempus, H.G.] significant durationem quamdam. Duratio autem omnis attenditur secundum quod aliquid est in actu'. Eternity is also called 'duratio Dei', in e.g. *Summa contra gentiles*, II, chap. 35, no 6; *In II Sent*., ds. 1, qu. 1, art. 5, ad 7.

[8] *In librum de causis*, lc. 30 (no 450 in the edition by Ceslai Pera, published by Marietti, Turin, 1972):

> Et differunt hae perpetuae durationes tripliciter: primo quidem quia perpetuitas aeternalis est fixa, stans immobilis; perpetuitas autem temporalis est fluens et mobilis [. . .] Secundo, quia perpetuitas aeternalis est tota simul quasi in uno collecta; perpetuitas autem temporalis habet successivam extensionem secundum prius et posterius [. . .] Tertio, quia perpetuitas aeternalis est simplex, tota secundum seipsam existens, sed universalitas sive totalitas perpetuitatis temporalis est secundum diversas partes sibi succedentes.

creatures do not belong to the same order. Duration is not one genus to which eternity and temporal extension belong as species. That is to say, 'duration' is not a univocal term, predicated in the same sense of both 'eternity' and 'temporal extension', but it is used analogously.[9] Aquinas gives a similar negative/analogous interpretation of tensed verbs predicated of God: 'And, therefore, we predicate of Him verbs of all tenses, because He Himself is not absent from any time, and whatever there is of perfection in all times, He has it'.[10] As Aquinas elaborates elsewhere, this has to do with eternity being concomitant with the whole of time:[11]

> To an eternal or aeveternal thing, something may be attributed in two ways. In one way, in virtue of itself; in this way neither 'having-been' nor 'going-to-be' is attributed to it, but only being. For in 'past' and in 'future' 'before' and 'after' are included, but not so in 'present'. In another way, in virtue of an adjacent or subjacent measure, that is, in virtue of time; and in this way 'having-been' is attributed to it because of the concomitance with the past time, and 'going-to-be' because of the concomitance with

[9] In contrast, Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236) considers time and eternity as belonging to the same genus, viz. 'duratio': cf. Richard Dales, *Medieval Discussions*, p. 61 (cf. the reference in Shanley, 'Eternity and Duration', p. 532). Aquinas's discussion of the Latin text from Ps.-Dionysius that 'durabilitatis sunt duae species: quarum una est aeterna et altera est temporalis', quoted in the previous note, stresses the differences between eternal and temporal duration in such a way that 'duration' can no longer be regarded as a univocal term. In a reaction to some criticisms Stump and Kretzmann already acknowledged the analogical character of 'duration' when predicated of God: Stump and Kretzmann, 'Eternity, Awareness and Action', *Faith and Philosophy*, 9 (1992), 463–82 (pp. 464–65 and 468–69). However, they do not stress its negative meaning as I have done, nor do they draw the conclusion that if one assumes the analogical character of 'duration' one has to do the same for the term 'now' in the expression 'standing now' so that their original criticism of the classical view on eternity as meaning 'a kind of frozen, isolated and static instant' becomes invalid.

[10] *In I Sent*., ds. 8, qu. 2, art. 3: 'Et ideo enuntiamus de ipso verba omnium temporum, propter id quod ipse nullo tempori deest, et quidquid est perfectionis in omnibus temporibus, ipse habet'. Cf. also *Catena aurea in Ioannem*, chap. 16, lc. 3: 'Fuit et est et erit; fuit quia nunquam defuit, erit quia nunquam deerit; est, quia semper est'.

[11] *Quodlibetale*, 10, qu. 2, ad 1:

> Quod rei aeternae vel aeviternae aliquid potest attribui dupliciter. Uno modo ratione sui ipsius; et sic non attribuitur ei neque fuisse neque futurum esse, sed solum esse, quia in praeterito et futuro implicatur prius et posterius, non autem in praesenti. Alio modo ratione mensurae adiacentis vel subiacentis, idest ratione temporis; et sic attribuitur ei fuisse per concomitantiam ad tempus praeteritum, et futurum esse per concomitantiam ad tempus futurum. Ipsum enim momentum aeternitatis adest omni tempori.

Cf. also *S. Th*., Ia, qu. 10, art. 2, ad 4: 'Verba diversorum temporum attribuuntur Deo, inquantum eius aeternitas omnia tempora includit; non quod ipse varietur per praesens, praeteritum et futurum'.

> the future time. For the moment itself of eternity is present to the whole of time.

This brings us to the second role of eternity in Aquinas's doctrine of God: the articulation of the relation between God and temporal beings in history.

Presence-to-Eternity

The role of eternity in explaining how the world in time is related to God stands out most clearly in the discussion on divine foreknowledge. The classical solution to the dilemma is put forward by Boethius in the fifth book of *De consolatione philosophiae*: the whole of history, including future contingent events, is present to God. In its presentness, it is determinate and, hence, knowable but in view of their inner nature some of these events remain contingent. For being present does not alter the innerwordly structure of things or events. For example, that I am presently typing on 20 December, 2000 means that the event is determinate, but it does not imply that my typing is necessary.

This view of Boethius, to which Aquinas also refers, met two serious criticisms. The first one hinges on the transitivity of the notion of 'simultaneity'. Boethius says that all events in time are present to God, that is, they are simultaneous with God's eternal now. However, if A is simultaneous with B, and B is simultaneous with C, then it follows that A is also simultaneous with C. Therefore, if all historical events are simultaneous with divine eternity, they are also simultaneous with one another. The whole of history, including the future, is not anymore extended through time and successive, but collapses into one moment of time. Anthony Kenny is most famous for pointing this out:

> On St Thomas' view, my typing of this paper is simultaneous with the whole of eternity. Again, on his view, the great fire of Rome is simultaneous with the whole of eternity. Therefore, while I type these very words, Nero fiddles heartlessly on.[12]

However, the objection is not new: it was already put forward by the Dominican William Peter of Godin, at the end of the thirteenth century.[13]

The second objection against Boethius's theory is one that is based on recent discussions of the nature of time.[14] The argument is that the notion of 'presence-to-

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[12] Anthony Kenny, 'Divine Foreknowledge and Human Freedom', in *Aquinas: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by A. Kenny (London: MacMillan, 1970), pp. 255–70 (p. 264).

[13] Cf. Maarten Hoenen, *Marsilius of Inghen: Divine Knowledge in Late Medieval Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 169–70.

[14] A clear introduction into contemporary philosophy of time is: Quentin Smith and Nathan L. Oaklander, *Time, Change and Freedom: An Introduction to Metaphysics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

eternity' implies a specific view on time and temporal reality, a view that in contemporary philosophy of time is known as the tenseless or static view on time (or B-series). According to this view the whole of temporal reality, which encompasses what relatively to us at a specific moment is either past, or present, or future, exists by itself in an unchanging, tenseless way. Time is nothing but the fourth dimension and the whole of reality exists as an extended four-dimensional block, in which there are no real differences between past, present and future, let alone modal differences. Past, present and future are ontologically on a par. The changing (monadic) properties that events have of being first future, then present and finally past, are illusions of the human mind and are to be reduced to the unchanging (relational) properties of being earlier-than-x, simultaneous-with-y, and later-than-z (where x, y, and z represent different moments of human consciousness). A straight line pictures graphically this static view on time.

The alternative view on time is called the tensed or dynamic or process theory of time (A-series). According to this view, the dynamic and successive notions of 'future', 'past' and 'present' are basic, irreducible and metaphysical characteristics of temporal events themselves. There are different forms of this theory but the most interesting one is a dynamic view with an open future in which the past and present are somehow necessary in the sense of determinate but the future is not. If we want to picture time according to this view, we cannot do so by one image of a straight line but we have to picture it as a film: the present is like the tip of a pen that constantly moves on and draws the line of the past behind it. But in front of the tip there is nothing: it is blank, the future is open and it is indeterminate what future events there will be (except for those events that are already causally determined by present tendencies). Such a tensed view on time with an open future matches, I think, best our basic intuitions about time, the future, and about human freedom, but it threatens seriously the possibility of divine foreknowledge. Foreknowledge seems only compatible with a static, tenseless view of time in which the future is as determinate and, hence, as knowable as the past.

In order to answer the first of these two objections against the Boethian view, Stump and Kretzmann developed the notion of E.T.-simultaneity (Eternity-Time simultaneity).[15] I shall not go into this now. I only want to mention that if E.T.-simultaneity makes sense, then it is indeed a non-reflexive notion so that Kenny's objection is refuted, but it has no bearing at all on the second objection: E.T.-simultaneity still implies a static theory of time.[16]

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[15] See Stump and Kretzmann, 'Eternity', pp. 434–44; they revised the definition of E.T.-simultaneity in Stump and Kretzmann, 'Eternity, Awareness', pp. 477–78.

[16] Cf. William Lane Craig, 'The Tensed vs. Tenseless Theory of Time: A Watershed for the Conception of Divine Eternity', in *Questions of Time and Tense*, ed. by R. LePoidevin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 221–50 (pp. 231–40).

For the second role of eternity, i.e. the notion of 'presence-to-eternity', I want to suggest a negative/analogous interpretation along the same lines as I did for the notion of 'atemporal duration'. That means that if we say that a historical event is present to or simultaneous with the eternal God, the meaning of the words 'present to' and 'simultaneous with' changes. It is not a univocal term retaining the same meaning as when that event is said to be simultaneous with or present to some other temporal event. Because one of the *relata* is the eternal God, the words 'present to' and 'simultaneous with' are used analogously.[17]

Aquinas doesn't explicitly apply his theory of analogy to the particular expressions 'present to' and 'simultaneous with' and his use of the spatial metaphors of the observer and the circle, adopted from Boethius and Neoplatonism, do create the impression that he assumes a static, tenseless theory of time. But the analogous meaning of words like 'present to' and 'simultaneous with' when said of God, squares with Aquinas's general view that all of human language about God is not univocal but analogous. The common example he uses is the term 'wise'. 'Wise', Aquinas says, does not have exactly the same meaning (*ratio*) in the sentences 'Socrates is wise' and 'God is wise'. It changes its meaning but this new meaning cannot be adequately grasped in a new concept. As a consequence, the analogical character of all so-called 'divine names' in Aquinas's theology does not give us a way out of his negative theology or a backdoor to adequate, conceptual knowledge of God: analogy is intrinsically linked with negative theology:[18]

> And thus, when this word 'wise' is said of a human being, it somehow circumscribes and comprehends the thing signified; but not so when it is said of God, but it leaves the thing signified as incomprehended and as exceeding the signification of the word. From this it is clear that the word 'wise' is not said according to the same meaning of God and of a human being.

Apart from the general formulation of the analogy of all human God-talk, there are some passages in Aquinas where he says that all of history is 'as it were' (*quasi*) or 'somehow' (*quodammodo*) present to God, thereby suggesting that it concerns a

[17] Neither in the original nor in the revised definition of E.T.-simultaneity, do Stump and Kretzmann talk about the analogical character of 'being-present-to-eternity' as they did in case of the term 'duration' (see note 9 above). They consider E.T.-simultaneity to be an instance of generic simultaneity. Also the alternative concept of so-called A-simultaneity that Brian Leftow suggests, assumes the univocity of A-simultaneity whether it obtains between two temporal beings or between an eternal and a temporal being: Brian Leftow, 'Eternity and Simultaneity', *Faith and Philosophy*, 8 (1991), 148–79 (p. 171).

[18] *S. Th.*, Ia, qu. 13, art. 5: 'Et sic, cum hoc nomen sapiens de homine dicitur, quodammodo circumscribit et comprehendit rem significatam: non autem cum dicitur de Deo, sed relinquit rem significatam ut incomprehensam, et excedentem nominis significationem. Unde patet quod non secundum eandem rationem hoc nomen sapiens de Deo et de homine dicitur'.

peculiar, non-univocal mode of presence or simultaneity.[19]

A crucial consequence of the analogical character of 'being present to the eternal God' is that this presence of temporal events or beings does not depend on some kind of tenseless, static and unchanging way of being of those events themselves—as the tenseless theory of time states—but on the inexpressible, incomprehensible divine way of being. It is because God is eternal that temporal events are 'somehow' or 'quasi' present to Him. I shall try to put this in other words. According to the dynamic theory with an open future, a future contingent event is not only future relative to us (as the tenseless theory says), but it is also future and indeterminate (and unknowable) in itself. But, so we may say, at one time it will become actual and determinate. When that time has come we shall be able to say that it is present-to-eternity. But as soon as we say that, we must also say that it never will be past-to-eternity (though it will be past in itself) and, moreover, that it never was future-to-eternity.[20] A consequence of the latter is that we have to say that that future event (whatever it may be) is also now present-to-eternity. For, as Aquinas says 'nothing can coexist by way of presence with the eternal unless with the whole of it; for the eternal does not have successive duration'.[21]

The upshot is that being present-to-eternity is a mode of presence we are completely unfamiliar with. We only know of temporal presence, which is preceded by the past and will be followed by the future. We cannot conceptualize the presence-to-eternity of temporal beings for it depends on God's inexpressible, incomprehensible transcendent way of being, i.e. eternity.

Conclusion

The fact that Aquinas discusses 'eternity' within the context of elaborating 'how God is not' offers the key to understand his interpretation of 'eternity': it is a constitutive element of his apophatic theology, aimed at safeguarding the ineffable and incomprehensible mystery of God. This is not taken seriously enough by those who criticize the notion of 'atemporality', by which God's mode of being in itself is indicated, and the one of 'presence-to-eternity', which characterizes the relation of the world of becoming to God.

The atemporality of God's eternity is neither a frozen, static instant, nor the

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[19] Cf. *Summa contra gentiles*, I, chap. 66, no 8*; De rationibus fidei*, chap. 10; *S. Th*., IIa IIae, qu. 95, art. 1.

[20] Leftow reports that in a private conversation with him Prof. Stump explained the phrase 'present-to-eternity' as simply meaning 'neither-past-nor-future-to'. Likewise, Leftow points out explicitly that in the view of Stump and Kretzmann there cannot be E.T.-pastness or E.T.-futurity: see Leftow, 'Eternity and Simultaneity', p. 155.

[21] *Summa contra gentiles*, I, chap. 66, no 8: 'Aeterno autem non potest aliquid praesentialiter coexistere nisi toti: quia successionis durationem non habet'.

lifelessness of mathematical entities. It only indicates God's mode of being by way of negation: God is not temporal. However, this does not allow us to identify eternity with forms of atemporality that we are familiar with, viz. instantaneous being and the abstraction of mathematics and of universals. To exclude such identifications Aquinas allows speaking about eternity in terms of 'duration'. But we have to keep in mind that, in accordance with Aquinas's basic principle that all human language about God is analogical, 'duration' when said of God does not mean exactly the same as when it is predicated of creatures. The only concept we have of 'duration' is one that means actual existence by way of succession. The element of succession has to be denied when we speak of 'divine duration' and that is precisely where we reach the limits of our conceptual capacities: we cannot think of a duration, of actual existence, that has no succession. The same goes for the expression 'standing now' as an indication of eternity. We only know of a temporal now that is surrounded by past and future. However, in the case of the 'now' of eternity we have to deny that is limited by past and future. Both 'duration' and 'now' are not used univocally but analogously in human language about God and this goes together with a specific form of negative theology in Aquinas.

The negative/analogous interpretation of 'eternity' as God's mode of being can also account for the way temporal events are said to be related to God. When Aquinas says that all of history, including the future, is related to God as present, this implies neither that all of history occurs simultaneously, nor that all of history exists in a temporally extended but tenseless manner. Historical events, even the indeterminate ones of the future, can be said to be present to or simultaneous with the eternal God but then these expressions are used analogously. They do not have the same meaning as when historical events are said to be present to a temporal thing that shares the same temporal mode of being. Being-present-to-temporal-being-x is the way of presence we know of; it is preceded by being-future-to-temporal being-x and it is followed by being-past-to-temporal-being-x. But this being-past-to and being-future-to have to be denied when we say that historical events are present-to-eternity. The presence of the whole of history to God is a presence we cannot conceptualize because it is based on the incomprehensible, eternal mode of divine being.

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History and Everlastingness in Hugh of St Victor's Figures of Noah's Ark

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Noah, taking one hundred years to build the ark, must have thought deeply, not only on how to accomplish the task, but on its ultimate purpose—to face the end of the world, and survive. Hugh of St Victor, visualizing its vast implications, wrote (probably between 1125 and 1131) three works using the sustained image of the Ark: *De arca Noe morali*, *De arca Noe mystica*, and then *De vanitate mundi*. While there was an explicit educational plan in the unfolding of history, and of knowledge of doctrine and mysteries, his end purpose was to preserve and restore the spiritual life of his monks, raising them up to the everlasting and divine. This application was an integral element: past and future and the world are estimated from the present point of orientation, decision and action. Histories and allegories are means to an end.

> The visible things from which the elect mount up are different from those by means of which they do so. They mount up *from* the works of creation, *by means of* those of restoration, *to* the Author of creation and of restoration. But those ascents must be conceived not outwardly but inwardly, as taking place by means of steps within the heart, which go from strength to strength.[1]

This moral ascension is the dimension Hugh called tropology, and it is the focus of this essay. The sense of time woven into human existence may seem to cut mortal life off from eternity. To endow history with meaning is even to begin the

[1] Hugh of St Victor, *De arca Noe morali*, IV, 12; *Patrologia Latina* (PL) 176, 672C–D, in *Hugh of Saint-Victor: Selected Spiritual Writings*, trans. by a Religious of C.S.M.V., intro. by Aelred Squire (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), p. 138. Hereafter *A. morali*, *SSW*, chapter numbers cited follow this translation.

process of reintegration. M.-D. Chenu shows the place of Hugh's thinking in the development of the study of history:

> At just the very time when the influence and attraction of a philosophy of the world was being exerted, especially of the various platonizing philosophies which tended to eliminate time and history, we have here a prime example of the ineradicable view of Christianity as an itinerary of man's journey toward the divine, a view which could not be reduced to a cyclical conception of the cosmos with neither commencement nor consummation. In the twelfth century, Hugh of Saint-Victor was the master of this traditional perception, from which the awareness of history was born.[2]

As for eternity, such an awareness of it over-arches Hugh's teaching that we must try to grasp how the present life and human history stands in relation to it. He does not make metaphysical distinctions between eternity and everlastingness, but they may be seen *de facto*. The study of tropology exercises the soul, morality is imperative, and the operative power is found to be in what he aptly terms 'mothering grace'. He does not, however, treat it by theological exposition.

A number of studies have been made of Hugh's use of the literary and graphic model of the ark as a mnemonic device in the study of history, scripture, and doctrine.[3] That field of specialist knowledge illuminates our understanding of twelfth-century learning. In one place Kimberly Rivers points to a level other than historical and allegorical, saying that the mnemonic methods, 'are designed to coordinate with Hugh's educational program, especially scriptural exegesis and the contemplation of God. For Hugh, contemplation is an active, dynamic process, but one that rests on a sure foundation of historical and doctrinal knowledge'. At the close of her study of Hugh, she adds: 'Though the marshalling of information is certainly important to Hugh, it is not the sole goal of the ark. Indeed, he would be dismayed at anyone who got trapped at that level, for the ark's final purpose is to provide a dwelling place for God and for oneself. The ark is not merely a visual construct but a lived experience'.[4] I will not especially treat the mnemonic character of Hugh's visual imagery, but rather seek to show how the picture promoted the ark's 'final purpose'—to consider how fittingly the visual aid to contemplation and action would have disclosed the meaning of eternal things. This is a different slant from that of those more psychological studies and their methodology.

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[2] M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, trans. by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 199.

[3] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Kimberly A. Rivers, 'Memory and the Mendicant Orders in the Later Middle Ages (Franciscans, Dominicans)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1995); Grover A. Zinn, Jr., 'Hugh of Saint Victor and the Art of Memory', *Viator*, 5 (1974), 211–34.

[4] Rivers, 'Memory and the Mendicant Orders', pp. 58, 67.

The use of visual imagery is discussed in many places by Hugh who is keenly aware of the power of visible things to affect the soul: 'By visible things the reprobate fall from those that are invisible; but by the visible the elect climb up to the invisible'.[5] In a dialogue between Reason and Soul, he has Reason say, 'When we want to lift our mind's eye up to things unseen, we ought to have recourse to comparisons with visible things, simply as indications of real knowledge'.[6] If this was a commonplace idea, Hugh put it into practice. The question is: can we, beyond curiosity in his method, still gain access to the real subject of his thought by means of his imagery? Denys Turner comments on Hugh's insistence on visible representations:

> Nor is this way of seeing the world as representation a necessity merely for theology, as if there were other points of view from which one might see the world differently. The constraint is quite general epistemologically: nothing invisible is capable of being described or known otherwise than in and through the representations of the visible, not even the soul. And the constraint is quite general ontologically: it is because of the way the world is that theological method is constrained to work by means of the symbolic; it is not because of some imperative of theological method that we need to see the world in that way.[7]

Depiction of 'the way the world is' needs to convey somehow the realities of space and time. Unless the contemplation of things can include their very matrix and environment, either the contemplation, or the things themselves, might, after all, be found to be futile, even illusory. How this may be taken into account is something to see in Hugh's figures of the ark. Aware of the connections between human existence, space, time, and eternity, he constructs the moral and mystical ark intentionally to integrate them. This subject, which is so important to him, and so problematical to his readers, is that to which I wish to draw attention.

In *De arca Noe morali* Hugh presents many images, with a wealth of conflated meanings. For instance, the ark of the flood is signified by the ark of the covenant in the tabernacle; in the vision of the Lord in the temple He becomes the redeemer on the cross; the centre pillar in the ark is Christ who is the tree of life in original paradise and future paradise, and also the book of life represented by the thirty books of history and prophecy. Christology, ecclesiology, eschatology, the practice of virtue, the affective path of contemplation, are all parts of one integrated scheme of mystical theology. The compound symbolism in this complex figure may be viewed,

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[5] *A. morali*, IV, 11; PL 176, 672C, *SSW*, p. 138.

[6] Hugh of St Victor, *De vanitate mundi*, II, 3; PL 176, 715B–C, in *Hugh of Saint-Victor: Selected Spiritual Writings* (hereafter *De vanitate*, *SSW*), p. 176.

[7] Denys Turner, *The Darkness of God* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 104.

as Aelred Squire says, as 'a kind of mandala'.[8] Grover Zinn, estimating in Hugh's symbolism the linearness of history, affirms the efficacy of this meditation in leading to the love of God. He says that the stability and order of the contemplative centre is Christ; and that, 'full appreciation of the Victorine drawing comes when the significance of the Christocentricity of the drawing mandala is grasped'.[9]

The interwoven figures Hugh develops have complexities of form and meaning characteristic of medieval art; and we can sense that Hugh was intensely visualizing his philosophical and theological concepts. Thus when he produced a drawing of the ark, as he said he did, it was for insight into the truth of things—pictorial image and prose instruction explaining each other. While he discusses several conceptual arks suggestive of discrete formal diagrams, his drawing was evidently a single visual exposition, a skilful compound work in which was inexhaustible moral and mystical truth to sustain meditation:

> Now the figure of this spiritual building which I am going to present to you is Noah's ark. This your eye shall see outwardly, so that your soul may be fashioned to its likeness inwardly. You will see there certain colours, shapes, and figures which will be pleasant to behold. But you must understand that these are put there, that from them you may learn wisdom, instruction, and virtue, to adorn your soul.[10]

Had this rich and intricate work survived, we would have had, with all the text to explain it, an extraordinary insight into the mind and imagination of a medieval thinker. The purpose here in attempting to derive or construct from the text some visual diagrams, is to abstract a framework for things that actually go beyond, or are outside, habitual awareness of space and time, yet are somehow known within it. For want of medieval skill the diagrams here are several and skeletal. The question in the end is, did Hugh's drawing enable the reader to engage more determinedly with eternity and deity? At the close of *De arca Noe morali*, evidently referring to the pictorial composition to follow in *De arca Noe mystica*, he wrote:

> And now, as we promised, we must put before you the pattern of our ark. Thus you may learn from an external form, which we have visibly depicted, what you ought to do interiorly, and when you have impressed the form of this pattern on your heart, you may rejoice that the house of God has been built in you.[11]

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[8] Aelred Squire, 'Introduction', *Hugh of Saint-Victor: Selected Spiritual Writings*, p. 32.

[9] Grover A. Zinn, Jr, 'Mandala Symbolism and Use in the Mysticism of Hugh of St Victor', *History of Religions*, 12 (1973), pp. 317–41 (p. 340).

[10] *A. morali*, I, 7; PL 176, 622B–C, *SSW*, p. 52.

[11] *A. morali*, IV, 21; PL 176, 680, *SSW*, p. 153.

Three Aspects of the Ark

It is no digression when, in *De arca Noe morali*, I, chapters 7 to 10, Hugh associates aspects of the figure of the ark of Noah with the vision of the temple which Isaiah saw. He emphasizes three points of the text in Isaiah 6. 1–3: the Lord's high position; His glory filling the temple; and the attendant cherubim. I suggest that he uses this interlude in the treatise to establish key features which will underlie the mystical exposition of the model of the ark of Noah.

Firstly, Hugh strives to deal with the difficulty that humans have in knowing divine things; he invents ways to delineate the transcending dimension—'the Lord high and lifted up'. It seems poignantly to confirm the same truth, that he admitted having difficulty in depicting the height of the ark. To explore the ark's form might make us aware that length and width are the dimensions most easily measured and managed (its 'plan'), defining the horizontal plane on which we habitually live and move. The vertical measure, in which we might have our being, is less easily managed, is inclined to be indefinite; height is attained only with difficulty. Then again, when we try to form an objective picture of a building, we tend to see it externally 'in elevation'; that is, in the 'picture plane' we see its width and height. The 'depth' of the interior, and what complexities of order and function it holds, we guess at according to our experience of having been inside such a place. Thus we must see that Hugh's ark was crucially conceived as three dimensional, even though it may have been graphically unconvincing in this respect.

Furthermore, it can be properly understood only by being inside it. And when he turns the spatial image inside out, saying the ark must be built inside the soul, it only emphasizes the interiority: 'We must build it within ourselves, so that we can live in it within ourselves. For it is not enough for us to be in it externally, if we have not also learnt how we should live in it within ourselves'.[12] The imagery is spatial and temporal, and that was important: the mesh of the images is fine enough to serve the individual microcosmic soul at all times and in all situations; equally the scope and ramifications of his picture are macrocosmic. Thus it weaves both applications into one reality, and a person fully living in the three dimensions of the ark interiorly is integrated in history and everlastingness into the fullness of things of space, time, eternity and deity. The ark is bigger on the inside than it is on the outside. This, incidentally, is an aesthetic phenomenon frequently observable in the experiencing of architectural space.

Secondly, also crucially, the *measure of Christ* is to the ark as the glory of the Lord is to the temple. It is the measure, and fullness of everything:

> The temple may here be understood as meaning the cycle of the ages and revolutions of the centuries. For as the ages in their course return upon themselves,

[12] *A. morali*, I, 11; PL 176, 626B, *SSW*, p. 59.

> they seem by their cycles to mark out as it were the enclosure of a temple.[13]

This should not be construed as some notion of perpetual return, but rather as the *pleroma* of Christ—a fundamental theme in Hugh's mind, which we will see with emerging clarity. It is the commencement of the account of restoration, to which end the ages 'mark out' and enclose finite time and space. It is what they define that is not to be missed—it is the habitation of God. In his drawing the head of Christ appeared above the east end of the ark. Six discs portrayed the days of creation. On His body was superimposed the ark, its keel on the long axis, marked off into the six eras of history, and pictorially showing the genealogy of Christ and succession of ecclesiastics. At Christ's feet, at the end of the ark was depicted the Last Judgement scene. At each side His hands appeared, arms widely extended, for the ark was encircled by the earthly world drawn map-like, the *aer* depicted with the seasons, and the *ether* with the zodiac, the months and the winds. Across the width of the ark were shown the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, perhaps in roundels or arcades. The angelic hierarchies were ranked on each side of the figure of Christ and the cosmos. Everything is Christocentric:

> If then [. . .] the head of God is that which was before the foundation of the world, and His feet that which is to be after the consummation of the age, we must take the intervening portion of his body to be the period of time between beginning and end. [. . .] This body is the Church, which began when the world began, and will last till the end of the age.[14]

Thirdly, the hermeneutic key is made explicit. In the temple are the six-winged seraphim surrounding the Christ in majesty. They represent, he says, the three senses of scripture: *historical*, *allegorical* and *tropological*. The two wings with which each seraphim covered his own body are the historical sense, which veils mystical meaning beneath the outward word. With two other wings the head (but not the face) and feet of the Lord are covered: His head covered because He has no beginning; His feet concealed because He has no end. These are the wings of allegorical sense because what was before the world, and what will be after the consummation, is veiled. The two wings with which each seraphim flies are the tropological sense: by which a person is lifted up, seeking and proclaiming the glory of God. These co-ordinates of scripture, he explains, are also the spatial co-ordinates length, width, and height in which are generated the figure. Here are the axes of the fundamental form of the ark. The association of the three senses of hermeneutics, with the axes of the ark, shows that history's directionality is not to be reckoned as detached from the scope of allegory, which, crossing history at any and every point of time, connects it to the locus of the world. Above all both are always and everywhere intersected

[13] *A. morali*, I, 8; PL 176, 623C, *SSW*, p. 54.

[14] *A. morali*, I, 10; PL 176, 625C–D, *SSW*, p. 58.

vertically by tropology, the timeless everlasting. Hugh's major theme is time and eternity, and it cannot be explained if it is unrelated to God.

Hugh's method now is to identify in the archetypal figure four aspects, or 'arks', thus:

> The first is realized in visible reality, the second in faith, the third in knowledge, and the fourth in power. Let us call the first Noah's ark, the second the ark of the Church, the third the ark of wisdom, and the fourth the ark of mother grace. Nevertheless there is in a certain sense only one ark everywhere [. . .]. The form is one, though the matter is different.[15]

While the literal ark and great deluge does not receive historical attention, its historicity is not in doubt. Indeed historicity, which is ingrained in Judaism and Christianity, informs all his figures, unarticulated until it becomes apparent as part of the fourth ark, where it is the formal witness to its truth. He describes the three figurative ones in such detail as enables us to see their elements and construct diagrams of them. I have attempted this, but not a fusion of them into a picture of the 'one ark', and without supposing pictorial resemblance to Hugh's drawing.

The Ark of Christ and of the Church

The ark under this figure, he notes, was in a sense also built visibly and outwardly—like Noah's ark. His point in this is the particularity in time and place of Christ's saving work on the cross, followed by the building of the body of His church as a visible presence in society. The ark has a definite existence, the only stable thing on a surging flood, a thing most real in a world lapsing into futility. This is because of the inherence of the church in Christ in an indestructible oneness. Hugh says, 'The Church is herself the ark, which her Noah, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Helmsman and the Haven, is guiding through the tempests of this present life, and leading through Himself unto Himself'.[16]

The ark's proportions, he finds, signify the human body, that is, the body of Christ the ark. That was not an unusual idea, and Hugh's particular treatment reflects St Augustine's in *De civitate Dei*.[17] But with the medieval propensity for endless allegorizing Hugh draws from the bare biblical dimensions, allusions to periods and ages in the divine economy, the sum of believers, the sum of all that holy writ

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[15] *A. morali*, I, 11: PL 176, 626C, *SSW*, pp. 59, 60.

[16] *A. morali*, I, 14; PL 176, 629D, *SSW*, p. 64. See also Origen, *Homiliae in Genesim*, II, 5.

[17] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (CCSL), 47–48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), XV, 26; PL 41, 472. Also *Contra Faustum manichaeum*, XII, 14; PL 42, 262. For the development of the cross as a symbol, see Gerhart B. Ladner, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages* (Rome: Edizione de Storia e Letteratura, 1983), I, chapter 7, pp. 197–208.

contains, the cross, the remission of sins, and the uniqueness and headship of Christ. These and other allusive signs, visible and invisible, are all cogent in the ark. The identifications have to be made, and if they are not made in artefacts, or art, or linguistically, they even so will be made in the imagination. Or if they are unattended to, Hugh works to remedy such negligence. When Hugh describes Christ's cross overlaid by the tree of life and by history, the associations show that it is central in the world's history, and that in Christ the identifications are made for all time and for all people. The way in which it is meant to be known is not merely in the factual record of time and place, but in a manifestation—and that not (merely) aesthetically, but practically and prophetically. Hugh sums up this ark 'in terms of tropology': the trope is Christ the Ark:

> [Each] must with the assistance of God's grace erect within himself a building of virtues three hundred cubits long in faith of Holy Trinity, fifty cubits wide in charity, and thirty cubits high in the hope that is in Christ [. . .] so that his heart may be where Christ is seated at the right hand of God. Wherefore He also had His head placed high upon the cross when He was crucified, but His hands were stretched across its width [. . .]. The body of the Crucified was placed lengthways upon the cross, that our actions may not be half-hearted but fervent and persistent to the end.[18]

After Christ, the attention turns to the character of the church. In the context of this figure there is a longitudinal measure of the church mentioned: the time dimension, signified by the one hundred years needed for the building of the ark. The church is from the beginning of the world, its hidden history up to the time of the incarnation and passion of Christ pointing forward to the era of outpoured grace. Bede had treated this slightly differently, but it still concerned the duration of the church: 'Noah completed the building of the ark in a hundredth year, because in the [life] to come the Lord perfects the Holy Church which he builds during the time of this life'.[19] But the figure which now most aptly details the character of the church is the vertical section of the ark outlining its width and height, and its shape. Hugh decided that the ark had five storeys to represent the various states of believers. The ark in the Biblical account was three-storeyed, so this is matched to the walls rising vertically for three storeys. He called these the present life—carnal, sensual, and spiritual. The height must be subdivided by measure: thus four, five, and six cubits, with appropriate number symbolism to enrich his teaching. Hugh probably tried to indicate a sloping roof above, for here were two further storeys. They represented the life to come—the lower was the level of the disembodied soul; the upper was that of the soul and body raised. As the roof leans inwards, so there are fewer people

[18] *A. morali*, I, 18; PL 176, 634C–D, *SSW*, p. 72.

[19] Bede, *De tabernaculo*, II, 27, 9; PL 91: 457A; Bede, *On the Tabernacle*, trans. by Arthur G. Holder (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), p. 96. Bede, *De tabernaculo*, ed. by D. Hurst, CCSL, 119A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969).

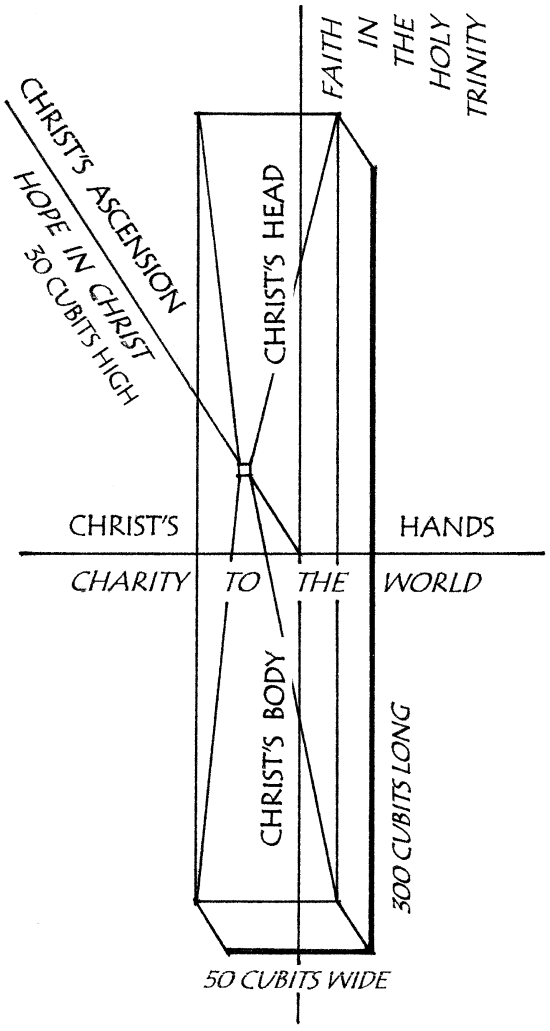


Figure 1. The Ark of Christ

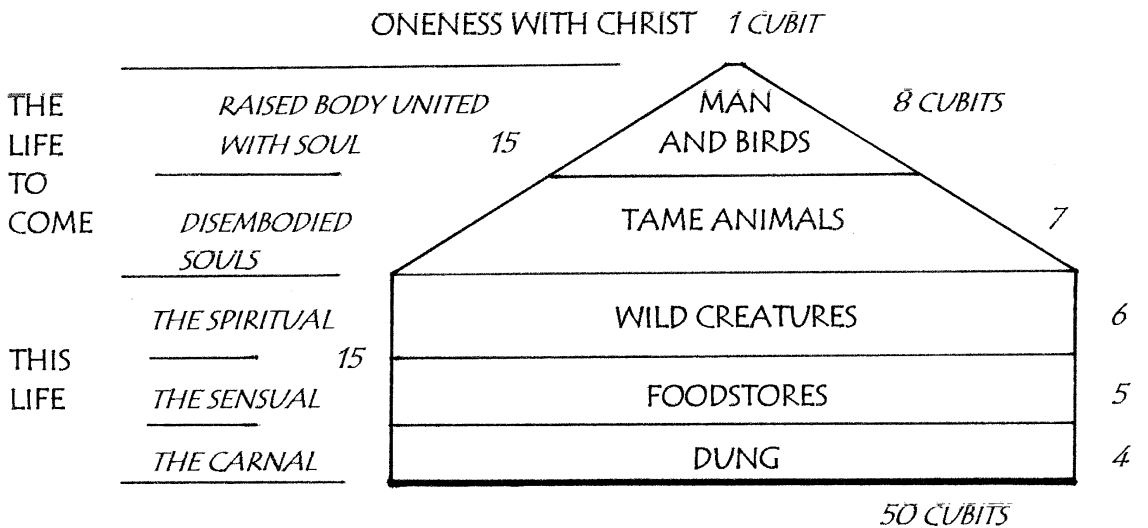


Figure 2. The Ark of the Church

who rise to the higher life. The heights of seven and eight cubits, speak of spiritual rest and of immortality. Christ, in who is unity, is represented in the completion of the form by one cubit at the apex. Numerology was, of course, a major medieval expository device. Bede, for instance, on the Tabernacle of Moses stated: 'Surely it is well known that fifteen, which is the sum of seven plus eight, rightly designates the joys of eternal life, which begin with the sabbath-keeping of souls and are perfected in the resurrection of bodies'.[20]

The *gradus* in this figure teaches the vertical, tropological movement of the church, but not according to the gauge of time, nor in the natural order of space. The highest storey was occupied by man, together with the birds; below are believers in various states. Hugh's concept is that co-inherence is the form of the corporate church, but the exhortations here are to souls:

> The vigour of reason and intelligence is denoted by man, and the mobility of incorruptible nature by the birds. [. . .] Our minds will fly by contemplation, our bodies will fly on account of incorruption. We shall perceive with our mind, and in a manner of speaking we shall perceive with our bodies too; for, when our bodily senses are themselves converted into reason, and reason into understanding, then understanding will pass over into God, to whom we shall be united through the one Mediator between God and men, the Lord Jesus Christ.[21]

This understanding of ourselves Hugh develops as the main matter of *De vanitate mundi* where it is beautifully applied as a conversation between Reason and the Soul. Thus, near the commencement, Reason says to Soul,

> You have another eye within, much clearer than [the body's], an eye that looks at the past, the present, and the future all at once, which sheds the light and keenness of its vision over all things, which penetrates things hidden and searches into complexities [. . .]. Take your stand in spirit, then, as it were on a watch-tower, and turn your attention on the dwelling-place of the world in all directions, so that everything lies spread before your gaze.[22]

The spatial sense is very strong: intellect and soul, rising up to a great height of detachment, comprehend clearly the length of the temporal world and the breadth of its affairs. This is also the perspective which the spiritual church is given as it ascends. It is the window in the ark. When the Soul is ready, Reason redirects it: 'Behold, then, God as it were in the heights, and this world in the depths. See Him abiding always in the changeless condition of His eternity'.[23]

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[20] Bede, *De tabernaculo*, II, 27, 14; PL 91, 459C, in Holder, *On the Tabernacle*, p. 100.

[21] *A. morali*, I, 15; PL 176, 632D, 633A, *SSW*, p. 69.

[22] *De vanitate*, I, 1; PL 176, 704, *SSW*, p. 158. Compare Dante, *Paradiso*, XXII, 124–54.

[23] *De vanitate*, II, 2; PL 176, 713C, *SSW*, p. 174.

This allegorizing of Christ and the church might not seem to have a lot to contribute to the philosophy, or even theology, of time and eternity. But without these identifications of the spiritual matter and pattern of the ark, his next figures would lack their full ramifications and lustre. Besides, herein are two insights germane to our subject: namely, that the length of the ark, which is mastered by Christ, is the perseverence of the church in time; and, that the height of the ark, which is the status and stature of the church, is its everlastingness in Christ.

The Ark of Wisdom and of Reintegration

Next in order, starting in Book II of *De arca Noe morali*, is the ark which Wisdom builds daily in our hearts, as, 'through the practice of meditation, we have already in a manner ceased to belong to time'.[24] This ark still holds all the connotations of the preceding one, while extending it to show how the building of it is to be achieved. The subject is again principally personal. The movements of the soul are both on the horizontal plane of the length and width of the ark, and vertically to the height of the ark. The two modes of learning are meshed, but most easily shown by two diagrams—a vertical section, and a plan, again projected axonometrically.

In the vertical section two matters are overlaid. First, the three storeys are an ascending progression of three kinds of insight: acquisition of knowledge through meditation, application in virtuous actions, and possession inwardly of the virtues themselves. Then, when he details fifteen steps, of seven plus eight, by which wisdom grows in the heart, he adds them to the height of fifteen cubits of virtue. The two upper storeys are the present life in which there is cessation from evil, and the everlasting life in which is rest and perfection to all eternity.[25] Second, the full measure of the height is the pillar in the centre, speaking again of Christ. He is the book of life, and on the north side of the pillar the thirty volumes of scripture are named. And He is the tree of life to feed and sustain; this is recorded on the south side of the pillar. Here is His humanity and deity, and upon Him the entire structure leans. The figure expresses verticality, and ascending and descending movement, albeit He is indeed in two places at once:

> He it is who rose from the earth and pierced the heavens, who came down to the depths, yet did not leave the heights, who is Himself both above and below, above in His majesty, below in His compassion, above that He may draw our longings thither, below that He may offer us His help.[26]

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[24] *A. morali*, II, 1; PL 176, 635A–B, *SSW*, p. 73.

[25] *A. morali*, II, 11 to III, 16; PL 176, 642–64, *SSW*, pp. 86–121. The steps are given in II, 15.

[26] *A. morali*, II, 8; PL 176, 640C–D, *SSW*, p. 82.

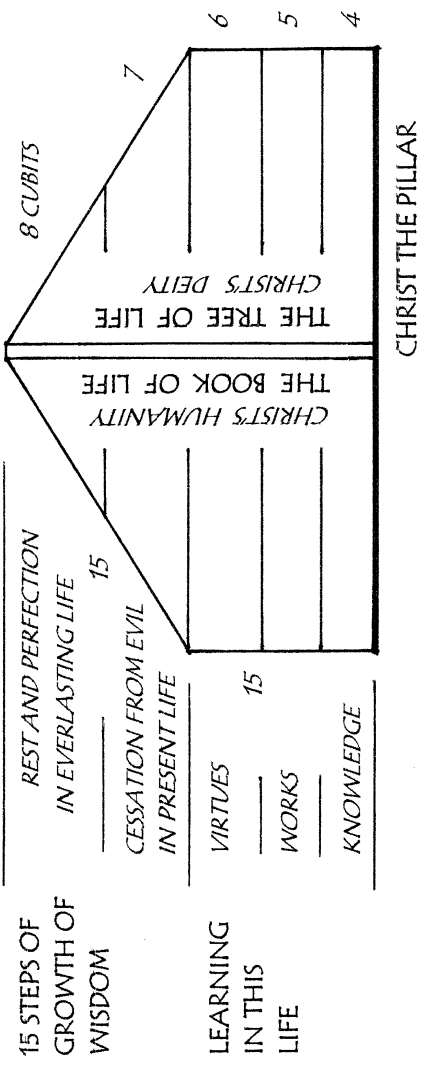


Figure 3. The Ark of Wisdom

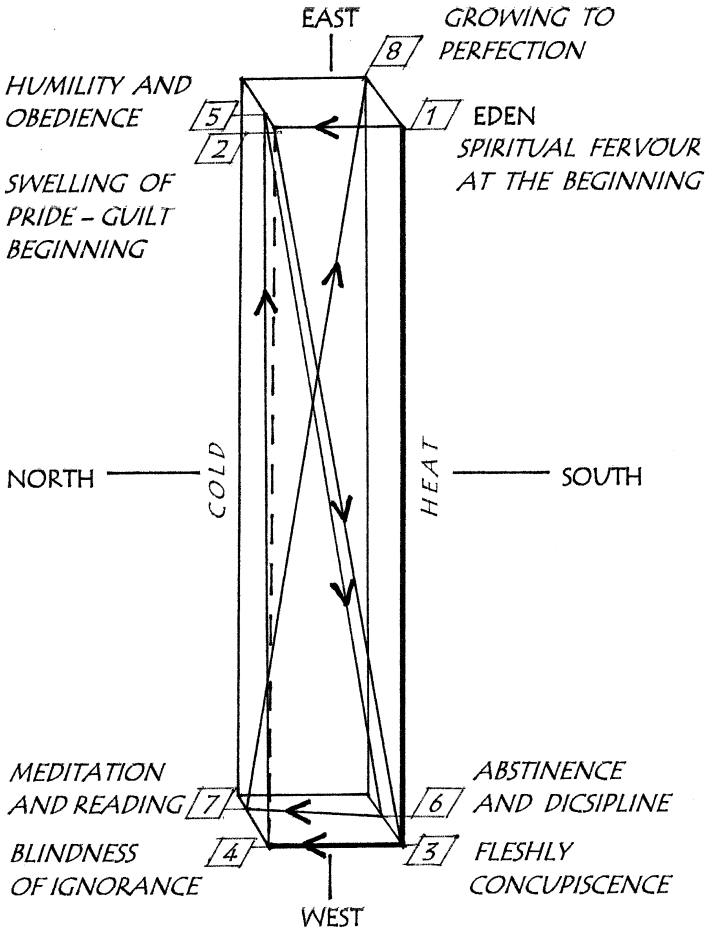


Figure 4. The Ark of Reintegration

The word is the outward expression issuing from the mouth of God, visible, as it were. 'Yet', Hugh says, 'the wisdom of God, in that it is invisible, is called His inward word, as being the conception of the mind.' When he goes on to connect that wisdom with His works we begin to imagine in some tiny way the limitless mind of God in all things: 'This wisdom has made all things so fertile that the whole of it dwells in each of the things that He has made, and the whole in everything, neither more in everything, nor less in each'. And after juxtaposing many divine and eternal properties with human and transitory phenomena, he is convinced of the stability of the eternal order and its non-dependence upon time, continuing: 'If, therefore, you compare wisdom's works to wisdom itself, everything is transient, when compared with that which knows no change, is less than one second of a single moment in relation to the longest time that you can think of, that falls within the limits of time at all'.[27]

The application of the Ark of Wisdom is visualized in an important figure in which the soul's awareness of time, its place in the world, and its moral progress are all co-ordinated. This figure of reintegration exhibits how practically Hugh engages the real temporal, spatial, and spiritual dimensions of Christian life. Time is here the sequence of experience, locus is the special concern of the body, eternity holds the necessary power of reintegration. In the biblical story the ark evokes strong spatial and geographical images: the site of its construction, the milieu of a corrupt society, the universal flood, the mountain where the ark came to rest, from which there was a new beginning. The geographical scene is vividly set for the spiritual movement, described thus: 'Through God's mercy man is brought from afar, and reintegrated after being scattered abroad'. Hugh intimated that the corners of the ark represent the earth's quarters; and, earth's extremities being characterized by their climate, the four corners represent man's moral state related to his moral climate. The height of the corners and the rising of the ark suggest that from the four corners we 'go up to the mountain of the Lord'.[28]

1. History starts in Eden, in the east of the rising sun and the south of favourable warmth. So man begins here, created in spiritual fervour.[29]
2. Growing cold he moves to the north. So at the north-east corner is the swelling of pride, and the beginning of guilt.
3. Then (traversing the diagonal) man falls to the heat of the south and declension of the west: at the south-west corner is fleshly concupiscence.
4. The final short step is to the cold of the north. So at the north-west corner man ends in the blindness of ignorance. Thus in the end, the heat and cold

[27] *A. morali*, II, 13; PL 176, 645D, *SSW*, pp. 91, 92.

[28] *A. morali*, IV, 5; PL 176, 666D–67A, *SSW*, p. 127; and *A. morali*, II, 9; PL 176, 640D, *SSW*, p. 83.

[29] Compare Honorius of Autun, *De gemma animae*, XXIX (written before 1130); PL 172, 586, cited in John Harvey, *The Mediaeval Architect* (London: Wayland, 1972), p. 226.

of the west, Hugh says, are the punishments of body and soul.[30]

That has all been on the flat plane of time and place only; it is the diagram of disintegration.

5. But restoration is experienced through a long return to and rising at the north-east corner. It is repentance along the austere north side in humility and obedience.
6. Then by a second journey man revisits the south-west corner, learning to know the heat of the world and the brevity of time now by abstinence and discipline.
7. The third ascent is to the sternness of the north-west corner by meditation and reading, learning divine judgement across the west end.
8. The last long, but increasingly hopeful, traverse is to the north-east corner, where, having grown towards perfection, man reaches the highest state while yet within this life.[31]

The geometry of the diagram, even only visualized mentally, could furnish a very effective mnemonic. Notice the apt pairings at each corner of the ark. The second time each is visited it is an effective counter and remedy to the first, and thus there is genuine, if gradual, progress in height. Notice, too, the correlation to a church's orientation: the aspects of its east and west ends, as also of the north and south sides, these being deep intuitions in medieval allegory and in life. Then, in another consistent insight, reintegration brings the purified soul and the fervent church to perfection in the east, but now raised. By pilgrimage of faith from west to east, and love crossing from north to south, to the height of the third storey, ascent has been made of the mountain of the Lord, in this life, from carnal to spiritual, and above is the life to come still future. But it is not futurity placed on the co-ordinate of time and history but on the co-ordinate of the present and everlasting. So Hugh applies the lessons of this ark to the individual soul, concluding that God produces in our hearts the form of an invisible ark. It is the way and the means by which the soul is reintegrated with the eternal God.

The Ark of Grace and of History

Noah's ark and the ark of the church are (or were) visible, Hugh said. The ark of wisdom, and the ark of grace were and are invisible. The work of wisdom and the process of reintegration are essentially personal. But the work of grace, while firstly and necessarily personal, has finally a corporate completion, and is, as it were, a

[30] *A. morali*, II, 9; PL 176, 641, *SSW*, p. 83. Compare St Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem* (PL 76, 1021): 'The gate is open to the north where those who, after beginning in heat and light, have been dissolved in the cold and darkness of their own sins, who through the sting of punishment return to favour' (my trans.).

[31] *A. morali*, II, 10; PL 176, 642, *SSW*, pp. 85, 86.

motif inscribed over the vessel of history. At the beginning he had said, 'The fourth [ark] is that which mother grace effects in us by joining together many virtues in a single charity'.[32] The idea of 'mother grace' was shown also at the end of *De vanitate mundi* where Reason, about to take Soul on a guided tour of the interior of the ark of history, reflects on the pilgrimage of the soul so far:

> These are the delights that we have in the house [or ark] of God from without, leaving aside those incomparable banquets with which mothering grace daily feeds and refreshes us within doors. Let us therefore go in [. . .]. We will wander round through all the rooms and throughout its length and breadth and height, and we will climb from floor to floor, and will not cease until we come to the King's throne. We will take a walk through all the works of our restoration from the beginning of the world, taking the things that happened and the deeds of men according to the successive periods of time.[33]

Grace is the efficient aspect of love; so this ark is 'realized in power', restorative power.[34] It is as wide as the world, as long as the world's history, and it draws everything that can be drawn upwards to the full height of everlastingness. So this invisible ark was portrayed that the readers might see the *means* by which all the work of God is brought to its end.

Yet Hugh does not define tangibles that might generate a discrete diagram of grace. The grace permeating the ark seems to become visible only in a focal point, the topmost cubit, bearing the symbol of the cross and the *agnus Dei*. This lies above the historical Jerusalem, displaying a direct correspondence with the heavenly city. Such vertical mirroring is, or was, a common intuitive handling of eternal realities. As he pictured 'mother grace' Hugh might well have recalled the text of Galatians 4. 26, 'Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all', and of II Corinthians 5. 1, 'We have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens'. Augustine had conflated them to picture eternal blessings:

> By 'Jerusalem' we must understand not the Jerusalem who is enslaved along with her children, but our free mother, the Jerusalem which, according to the Apostle, is eternal in the heavens. There, after the hardships of our anxieties and worries in this mortal state we shall be comforted like little children carried on the mother's shoulders and nursed in her lap. For that unaccustomed bliss will lift us up, untrained and immature as we are, and support us with tenderest caresses. [. . .] And we shall see all those things which we do not see now; but even now, because we believe, we imagine them, up to the poor capacity of our human minds; though our idea of them falls incomparably short of the reality.[35]

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[32] *A. morali*, I, 11; PL 176, 626C, *SSW*, p. 59.

[33] *De vanitate*, II, 5; PL 176, 719D, *SSW*, p. 181.

[34] *A. morali*, I, 11; PL 176, 626C, *SSW*, p. 59.

[35] *De civitate Dei*, XX, 21; PL 41, 691, Bettenson, p. 939.

In the figure of reintegration we saw the individual person, encompassing in himself the course of the world's history from the beginning in Eden to the reckoning at the world's end, rising up from his hopeless condition. In Book IV of *De arca Noe morali* Hugh made a distinction between people in two states, producing an application reminiscent of Augustine's figure of beneficent Jerusalem, and showing the efficacy of God's activity in history:

> For the world could keep a man in health, but it could not make a sick man better. Therefore, after that first creation of the things that were to minister to those who stood, it was necessary to make others which should raise the fallen. These are nobler than the first, as being the more necessary; and, as they are nobler, they take longer. For the former were made in six days, the latter in six ages, six days for the creation of things, six ages for the restoration of man.[36]

In this way he begins to work out the ideas of the ark spanning all history, the moral travail of all creation, the need for restoration, and the raising of the mortal to immortality. It is a good description, too, of the ministrations of grace—which take time, indeed from the beginning of the world to the end. This diagram displays a scheme more explicitly universal than the other arks. The three axes of knowledge—historical, allegorical and tropological—have crucial theocentric applications which Hugh makes at some length in the *Didascalicon*, his guide to the arts: 'You have in history the means through which to admire God's deeds, in allegory the means through which to believe his mysteries, in morality the means through which to imitate his perfection'. He says that, 'history follows the order of time; to allegory belongs more the order of knowledge'.[37] To tropology he gives the work of morality. History, allegory, and tropology also being the co-ordinates length, width, and height, the concept of the figure of the ark being three-dimensional becomes very explicit. Thus he says,

> For history measures the length of the ark, because the order of time consists in the succession of events. Allegory measures the breadth of the ark, because the fellowship of faithful people consists in their sharing in the mysteries. Tropology measures the height of the ark, because the worth of merits increases with advance in virtue.[38]

The orders become even more sharply co-ordinated and philosophically and practically inescapable (in terms of a medieval world-view, if not ours) if restoration is to be managed, when we note in the same chapter that he had just produced the

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[36] *A. morali*, IV, 11; PL 176, 672A, *SSW*, p. 137.

[37] Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, trans. by Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 6, 3 (p. 138), PL 176, 801C–D; and 6, 6 (p. 145), PL 805C.

[38] *A. morali*, IV, 18; PL 176, 678D, *SSW*, p. 149.

strategic association: 'Order in the works of restoration is to be considered in three ways: place, time, and dignity'.[39]

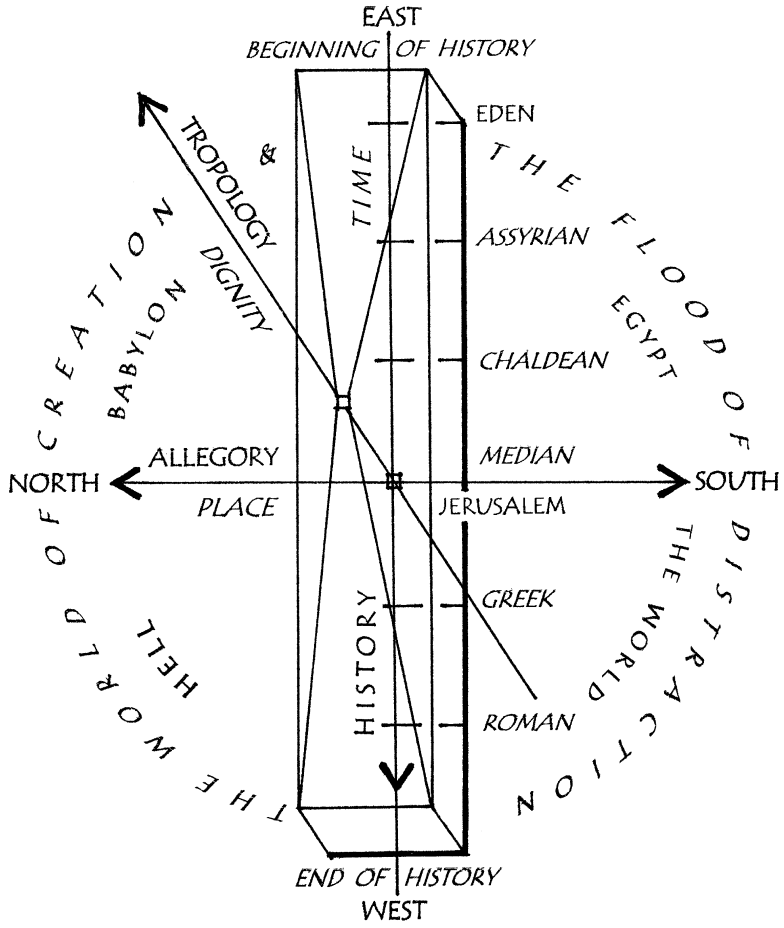


Figure 5. The Ark of Grace and History

[39] *A. morali*, IV, 18; PL 176, 677B, *SSW*, p. 147, 'In operibus restaurationis tribus modis ordo consideratur: secundum locum, secundum tempus, secundum dignitatem'.

The order of time is the co-ordinate of length: that keel of the ark which is the length of Christ's body and the church from the beginning of the world to the end. The time line of history is also the trace of geographical identifications, stemming from the mind and word of God in the east in Eden. It will end at the feet of God in the west, the portal at the end of the world. Jerusalem is midway, which posits a compelling symmetry, and through this point medieval thinkers and theurgists perceived the flux of time, matter, and eternity to run; the cross as the centre and crux of creation. The scheme of world history as represented by the human body, divided into ages of time, derived especially from the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon (Daniel 2. 31–45). Consciousness of the end of the Roman Empire crystallized the eschatalogical sense that the church has (revived at times as at the end of the first millenium) that it is the last phase of the world within time. In *De arca Noe mystica* he says,

> The length of the Ark is a figure of the length of the Church. [. . .] Her length consists in that prolongation in time whereby she reaches out of the past, through the present into the future. This length of hers in time is from the beginning of the world to its end. For Holy Church started in her faithful ones from the beginning, and will last until the end of time.[40]

The parturient statement, 'six ages for the restoration of man', is the measure of time in which what is to be done is accomplished. What the restoration is of and to, narrative may contribute perception in one dimension, and for Hugh allegory and tropology must be brought in.

The order of place is the co-ordinate of width: it takes on the connotation of physical space; it extends to the breadth of the whole world, of creation and culture, with a web of implications. Spread out is the map of allegory. Hugh shows, for instance, the moral hotness and coldness of south and north, the flood of distraction, and the world of travailing creation. It is spanned by the transverse of the cross and the hands of Incarnate Love. As for the church, 'Her breadth is in the multitude of the peoples she includes'.[41] Everywhere the sacraments of the church are concerned. The narrowness of the ark, in proportion to its length, seems to reflect the church's being straitened in the wide sea of corruption. Hugh's awareness underlies this: it must not end in mere vanity, as he showed in *De vanitate mundi*. It would be easy to miss the point of an observation which is so obvious in mundane experience: 'The order of place, however, and the order of time seem to run parallel in almost everything, following the sequence of events'.[42] The concern is that these two co-

[40] Hugh of St Victor, *De arca Noe mystica*, III; PL 176, 685B; trans. by Aelred Squire, 'Introduction' to *Hugh of Saint-Victor: Selected Spiritual Writings*, p. 31.

[41] *A. mystica*, III; PL 176, 685B; trans. by Squire, 'Introduction', p. 31.

[42] *A. morali*, IV, 18; PL 176, 677D, *SSW*, p. 147, 'Ordo autem loci et ordo temporis fere per omnia secundum rerum gestarum seriem concurrere videntur'.

ordinates collude, so to speak, to the habitual disregard of the third dimension—the one, he regretted, was tellingly difficult to draw. It is a problem that could have beset any cloistered monk or distracted bishop.

The order of dignity is the co-ordinate of height: the reaching up to the perfection of Christ, the translation from 'this' life, to life called the everlasting, is the work of tropology. The label 'tropology' may seem constricting, until we see the unique strength and thrust of scripture, the book disclosing the eternal and incarnate word. This co-ordinate, while it intersects the horizontal plane of history and allegory at every moment in every place, is in focus, as it were, in the centre of the ark. Hugh detected the trope of *dignitatem* in the text, 'In a cubit shalt thou finish the ark above'. Perceptively he sets out his drawing beginning from the very place in which the ark comes to its completion. 'First I find the centre of the flat surface where I mean to draw the ark. There, having fixed the point, I draw round it a small square to the measure of that cubit, in which the ark was completed.'[43] He who generates also brings to the true end—as does Christ. The idea of tropology is also predicated on the manifold ways of interpreting the height (restorative, moral, anagogical, operative, and according to state), each being threefold, for which he identifies the principle: 'If they are assessed according to their dignity, they divide its height'.[44] From an earthly view we need to grasp the form of this *scala*:

> [Dignity]is subdivided into many parts, the holy and the holier, the profitable and that which is still more so, the noble and the nobler [. . .] and so forth. And this order which is according to dignity seems to correspond to the height of the ark, as if we were to say that the holy things are reckoned as being in the first storey, the holier in the second, and the very holiest in the third.[45]

This indicates the value of things that are the subject of restoration. The three storeys are ascribed a number of threefold meanings. They are the shadow, the body, and the spirit; they are also, the figure, the actuality, and the truth.[46] These highest things aim at the everlasting: in the figure it is the height, always and everywhere intersecting time and place. Eternity is not what follows time after the end of history. As Hugh says: 'Whatever belongs to time is found below eternity. For the vastness of eternity includes below itself the narrow paths of time, in that it is both before time, since it has no beginning, and after time, in that it knows no end. It is above time too, for it admits no change'.[47]

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[43] The biblical text is Genesis 6. 16. *De arca Noe mystica*, I; PL 176, 681A; trans. by Beryl Smalley, in *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 96.

[44] *A. morali*, IV, 20; PL 176, 679C, *SSW*, p. 151.

[45] *A. morali*, IV, 18; PL 176, 677C, *SSW*, p. 147.

[46] See *A. morali*, IV, 19; PL 176, 679A, *SSW*, p. 150.

[47] *A. morali*, I, 8; PL 176, 623C, *SSW*, p. 54.

What then 'happens' at the end of history? In Hugh's diagram there is an end, when history, allegory and tropology intersect in the world's last age, and in every individual, in the Last Judgement. It is the end of the world of time and place. What then is the ark of restoration? He speaks of its coming to rest on the mountain of the Lord, where history is interpreted by eternity, and allegory answers everywhere to the pattern of perfection of Eden. But it is tropology that reveals the prospect of life in Christ, and that out of the experience of time and place will be raised a spiritual body. Summarizing 'what the ark is like' he says,

> There all the works of restoration are contained in all their fullness, from the world's beginning to its end; and therein is represented the condition of the universal Church. [. . .] There the form of man's living and the sum total of perfection are contained.[48]

Conclusion

Arriving, then, at the last chapter of *De arca Noe morali*, Hugh brings the prominent matter of time and history, eternity and everlastingness, to a precise conclusion apprehended in the ark:

> There the sum of things is displayed, and the harmony of its elements explained. There another world is found, over against this passing, transitory one; because the things that go through different times in this world exist in that one simultaneously, as in a condition of eternity. There the present does not follow on the past, nor does the future supervene upon the present, but whatsoever is there, is there as in the present.[49]

When there follows a homily directing the vision and affections to 'another world', it is not as an expedient of escape from this world; rather, 'that world is in this world, and this world is less than that world, for that world contains Him whom this world cannot contain'. While that could be said of the ark, it is not really talking about space or even time (though it could be), but about history and everlastingness, and above all, Christ. Behind the spiritualizing and use of symbols, there was a philosophy in Hugh's construction of the ark, and careful application concerning things perpetual and everlasting, things which are not pawns to time, but are participators in eternity. In the ark treatises the vocabulary does not distinguish the everlasting and the eternal, yet the two notions can be seen contextually. And he explains it thus: 'Among things there are some which have neither beginning nor end, and these are named eternal; there are others which have a beginning but are terminated by no end, and these are called perpetual; and there are yet others which

[48] *A. morali*, IV, 21; PL 176, 680A, *SSW*, p. 152.

[49] *A. morali*, IV, 21; PL 176, 680B–C, *SSW*, p. 152.

have both beginning and end, and these are temporal'.[50] The first belongs to God alone. Things perpetual are 'everlasting'. Hugh's metaphysic is expanded by Robert Kilwardby (d. 1279), who, distinguishing between an instant and everlastingness, does so in a way reminiscent of Hugh's ideas in the passages immediately above. Kilwardby says,

> The unchanged existence of a perpetual thing, of which everlastingness is the measure, can be considered (i) absolutely and without qualification, that is, without duration, in so far as this existence is only present to a thing which exists in this way, and in that case its measure is an instant; or it can be considered (ii) with duration, and as such it falls under the heading of 'everlastingness'. For everlastingness is the measure of that existence in so far as it has duration, but the instant is the measure of the same existence in so far as it is present.[51]

The present of eternity simply does not exist in, or according to, time. The duration of the everlasting that exists between time and eternity, is unchanged by time. But we experience mutability in the world, like the unstable sea. Kilwardby says that there are two kinds of mutability: 'Some things, for example, angels, are mutable by nature, but by grace they are not changed; and some things, for example, bodily things, are both mutable and are also changed'.[52] Everlastingness is a measure of the first; time a measure of the second. The word that stands out is grace. So, just as Hugh said, it is grace that transposes a human being from time and change to everlastingness. That is what the ark pictures.

Following Hugh, this anagogical exposition of a world, which was profoundly Christocentric, was continued and extended by Richard of St Victor, and by Bonaventure.[53] But it is particularly in the light of the scholasticism represented by Aquinas, that M.-D. Chenu comments on the direction the study of history took after Hugh:

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[50] *Didascalicon*, I, 7, PL 176, 745D, Taylor, p. 52.

[51] Robert Kilwardby, O.P., *In secundo libro sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi quaestiones*, Q13. A64, in *On Time and Imagination: De Tempore, De Spiritu Fantastico*, ed. by P. Osmund Lewry, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, 9, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987–93), II, trans. by Alexander Broadie, p. 166. On his distinction between eternity, *eternitas*, and everlastingness, *euum* (*aevum*), see Kilwardby, *In secundo libro sent.*, Q10, which begins, A15: 'First, it seems that everlastingness is a sort of measure intermediate between eternity and time' (Broadie, *On Time and Imagination*, II, 156). His full treatment of the subject of time and eternity is in *De tempore*.

[52] Kilwardby, *In secundo libro sent.*, Q10. A16: Broadie, *On Time and Imagination*, II, 156.

[53] See Grover A. Zinn, Jr., 'Book and Word: The Victorine Background of Bonaventure's Use of Symbols', in Commissio Internationalis Bonaventuriana, 2 vols (Rome: Collegio S. Bonaventura, Grottaferrata, 1973–74), II: *S. Bonaventura, 1274–1974* (1974), pp. 143–69.

> Scholasticism detached itself from sacred history. The Victorine's attempt to build an allegorical system on a historical base was doomed to failure; and it was St Thomas who rejected—as part of the scientific function of theology, one must understand—the dualism of history and allegory, disparate elements despite the tie of biblical typology.[54]

However that omits the tropology and its activity, the unequivocal view of eternity. If the alleged dualism of history and allegory resulted in failure, a greater disaster must have been their divorce from whatever Hugh meant by tropology. An allegorical system on a historical base must fail if it is not completed by a tropological vision. Hugh insisted on the validity of such vision. His figures show that it was constantly connected to history, and it gave sense and point to all allegory. Jerome Taylor writes,

> Hugh presents philosophy as the instrument of a literal return to the divine Wisdom from the literal exile of the fall; as the means of restoring to man an ontological perfection which he knows, through experience, that he lacks; which by faith he believes he lost in Adam; which by philosophy he struggles toward in time; and which by grace he receives abundantly in eternity.[55]

Hugh's model showed how these three structural orders of the world exist, intersect and act. The hardest part was to represent the state of everlastingness, and the means of change, grace. We have seen the essential outline: the everlasting ark, with the eternal Christ its centre.

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[54] Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, p. 168.

[55] Jerome Taylor, 'Introduction', in Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, p. 18.

The Understanding of Time and Eternity in the Philosophy of Magister John Hus

JOZEF MATULA

Magister John Hus (1371–1415), *magister regens in artibus*, belongs among the most important figures of the Czech Middle Ages.[1] He was a man who was deeply engaged in forming fundamental questions about the meaning of Czech history.[2] This article will focus on Hus's understanding of time and eternity, which can serve as the background for the application on social philosophy. It is the co-existence of these two concepts that is particularly significant during the whole of the Middle Ages.

In the Middle Ages the term 'eternity' was an integral part of many religious debates; to the moderns, however, it conveys a problem—a problem of defining and circumscribing the meaning of the term. Through this concept of eternity it is, however, possible to understand Christian mentality in the Middle Ages. There were two categories juxtaposed in the Middle Ages: on one hand, there was the

[1] See general biography Matthew Spinka, *John Hus: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968); Jan Sedlák, *M. Jan Hus* [Master John Hus] (Prague: Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1915). Research for this article was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic.

[2] The personality of John Hus was an important subject for the discussion of the meaning of Czech history during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See for more details the collection of papers in *Spor o smysl českých dějin 1895–1938* [Dispute on the Meaning of Czech History 1895–1938], ed. by Miloš Havelka (Prague: Torst, 1995). See different receptions of John Hus in the first half of the twentieth century in Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, *Jan Hus: naše obrození a naše reformace* [John Hus: our Revival and our Reformation] (Prague: Kanzelsberger, 1990), and Josef Pekař, 'K boji o Husa' [To the Fight for Hus], in *O smyslu českých dějin* [On the Meaning of Czech History] (Prague: Rozmluvy, 1990), pp. 115–21.

temporality and finiteness of the human sojourn; on the other, there was the world of eternity and divine infinitude. This tension can also be seen in the works of John Hus.

One of the main works in which we can trace John Hus's conception of time is his academic commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, along with his important treatise *Tractatus De ecclesia*.[3] It is in these two works that we can see the philosophical-theological foundations of Hus's understanding of time and eternity. The place of man in the cosmos is, for Hus, based on the Platonic model of understanding reality in which platonic eternal ideas are archetypes of the sensory world.[4] A human being and all the created world is a *spectaculum*, 'a theatre', in which the trinity and unity of the Creator is reflected. In the world, a man can find, through his internal eye, unity and trinity that are similar to the uncreated Unity and Trinity.[5] While the Trinitarian structure of the world was a common place in the Christian Middle Ages, Hus uses the concept of an archetypal world, *mundus archetypus*, that has its basis in the teachings of the School of Chartres.[6] The concept of archetypal world, *mundus archetypus*, played an important role in the history of Czech thought. It later on inspired the work of John Amos Comenius who assigned it an important place in his concept of world layers where it served as an archetype for the active transformation of the human world. *Mundus archetypus* was probably so important because people believed that archetypal world was infinite, eternal and truer than our earthly world.[7]

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[3] Mistr Jan Hus, *Super IV Sententiarum*, ed. by Václav Flajšhans (Prague: Jaroslav Bursík, 1904); Mistr Jan Hus, *O církvi* [On the Church], trans. by Amedeo Molnár and František M. Dobiáš, (Prague: ČSAV, 1965); Mistr Jan Hus, *Tractatus De ecclesia*, ed. by S. Harrison Thomson (Prague: Komenského evangelická fakulta bohoslovecká, 1958).

[4] Vilém Herold, 'Filosofie na pražské univerzitě předhusitské doby: Schola Aristotelis nebo Platonis divinissimi?' [Philosophy at Prague University in the Pre-Hussite Period: Schola Aristotelis or Platonis divinissimi?], *Filosofický časopis*, 1 (1999), 5–14.

[5] Hus, *Super IV Sententiarum*, II, inceptio I, 2–5: 'a principio procedens verissimo ipsa ostendit veraciter, quod quelibet creatura est spectaculum a quo resultat Trinitatis et unitatis similitudo respectu creatoris. Nam respice interiori oculo mundum et considera; in quo unitatem et trinitatem ad similitudinem increate Unitatis et Trinitatis reperies'.

[6] Several times Hus quotes Guillaume de Conches as *Glossator in Timeo*; for example, in *Super IV Sententiarum*, II, d. VIII, 3–4. See Vilém Herold, 'K otázce tzv. pravzorového světa v husitství a u Komenského' [On the Question of the so-called an Archetypal World in the Hussite Movement and in the Work of Comenius], *Studia Comeniana et Historica*, 15 (1985), 7–20; Edouard Jeaneau, 'Plato apud Bohemos', *Mediaeval Studies*, 41 (1979), 161–214.

[7] Herold, 'K otázce tzv. pravzorového světa', p. 14; Vilém Herold and Petr Horák, 'Zu einigen theoretisch–philosophischen Aspekten und Quellen des Denkens von J. A. Komenský', in *Symposium Comenianum 1986: J.A Comenius' Contribution to World Science and Culture*, ed. by Marie Kyralová and Jana Přívratská (Prague: Academia, 1989), pp. 35–47; according to Robert Kalivoda, the first culmination of heterodox Platonism is represented

Another important document that influenced John Hus deeply was *De Ideis* by John Wyclif. This writing reached Prague at the end of the fourteenth century and its influence was wide[8]—we can find several original treatises on ideas that were written by Prague University scholars at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth.[9] The Czech philosophers in Prague adopted the concept of *mundus archetypus* in its exemplary status as perfect in its beauty and harmony, and as the eternal and true goal as well as the source for the intelligible being, *esse intelligibile*, of every thing. There was, however, a major difference between Wyclif and such authors as Stanislav of Znojmo, M. Štěpán Paleč or John Hus. It lay in the very conception of the archetypal world. Wyclif uses an Augustinian term for the totality of ideas, the term 'intelligible world', *mundus intelligibilis*; the Hussite thinkers, on the contrary, prefer the term 'archetypal world', *mundus archetypus*.[10] They probably adopted the use of this term from the works of the scholars that we know under the name of School of Chartres. Hussite terminology is inspired most by a member of this school, Guillaume de Conches, particularly by his *Glossae super Platonem*.[11] For Hus *mundus archetypus* is an eternal archetype of the created, material world. For this reason *mundus archetypus* is a place that is perfect, eternal, harmonious. It is the basis for the intelligible being of every created thing. It is a guarantee of eternity and perfection, which is manifested in our world of time and

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by Wyclif and Hus at the beginning of Czech Reformation, the second culmination of Platonism is represented in Comenius's monumental work *De Rerum Humanarum Emendatione Consultatio catholica* at the end of Czech Reformation. Robert Kalivoda, 'Komenského *Konzultace* a Komenského Filosofie' [Comenius's *Consultation* and Comenius's Philosophy], *Acta Comeniana*, 1 (1969), 113–17.

[8] See Miloslav Kaňák, *John Viklef. Život a dílo anglického Husova předchůdce* [John Wyclif. Life and Work of Hus's English Predecessor] (Prague: Blahoslav, 1973), pp. 64-84; Robert Kalivoda, *Husitské myšlení* [Hussite Thought] (Prague: Filosofia, 1997), pp. 15–73; the existence of Bohemian manuscript copies dating to this period present evidence of the influence of Wyclif's teachings and also of their connection with the riots in Prague in 1410, see Václav Flajšhans, 'Spálení knih Viklefových 1410' [Burning of Wyclif´s treatises in 1410], *Český Časopis Historický*, 33 (1985), 77–88; Jiří Kejř, *Husův proces* [Process with Hus] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2000), pp. 19–51.

[9] Vilém Herold, 'Zum Prager philosophischen Wyclifismus', in *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*, ed. by František Šmahel (München: Oldenbourg, 1998), pp. 25–37.

[10] Herold, 'K otázce tzv. pravzorového světa', pp. 13–15.

[11] Two Hussite masters, Paul of Prague and Prokop of Plzen, defined the archetypal world identically with Guillaume de Conches. Paul of Prague: 'mundus architipus dicitur ab "archos" quod est "princeps" et "typos"—"figura", quasi principalis figura vel nobilissima forma mundi sensibilis; Prokop of Plzen: 'tota multitudo ydearum est mundus architipus. Architipus enim dicitur ab "archos"—"princeps" et "tipus"—"figura" vel "forma" quasi principalis rei forma. Quoted from Herold, 'K otázce tzv. pravzorového světa', p. 18.

finitude. Another worlds present in Hus's thinking were *mundus macrocosmos* (the greater sensible world) and *mundus microcosmos* (a smaller world); the last one was the world of *homo rationalis.*[12]

In the commentary to Lombard's *Sentences*, John Hus rehearses the contexts in which the word 'eternity' is used. First, in the strictest sense of the word, 'eternity' is used to talk about God—God is eternal. He is invariable in His beginning and His end, and eternal in His invariability. Second, in phrases like 'eternal life' of a saint, eternity means that this life has no end. The eternity here expresses successive variability—saintly deeds and virtues are eternal, although the saint lived his life in the world of finiteness (finitude). Third, death is said to be eternal; it means that it is without end and so everything that is perpetual is eternal. Fourth, the Philosopher, meaning Aristotle, says that the world and time are eternal, even though they do vary, because eternity in this case expresses the invariability of the beginning and end but not the impossibility of this variability.[13] But, according to John Hus, it is only God who is eternal in the strict sense because eternity is *extra terminos entitas,* a being beyond limits. It means a being that has nothing to begin from and nothing to end at. That is why the terms 'perpetual', 'constant', 'continual' are often placed on the same level as 'eternal'.

Magister John Hus in his commentary to Lombard's *Sentences*, like many other medieval philosophers and theologians, adopted the doctrine about the divine eternity in the way that it is presented by Boethius in *De Consolatione* and *De Trinitate.* For Boethius 'eternity is the complete possession all at once of illimitable life'.[14] For Boethius this is clear as he compares eternity with temporal things. The

[12] Hus, *Super IV Sententiarum*, II, inceptio I, 2–5: 'Tripharie enim mundus dividitur, ut primus sit mundus architipus, qui est exemplar eternum mundi istius corporei; alius mundus sit macrocosmus, i.e. maior mundus sensibilis; et tercius mundus microcosmus, i.e. minor mundus, ut est homo rationalis'.

[13] Hus, *Super IV Sententiarum,* I, d. 19, 4:

> Utrum eternitas soli Deo conveniat? Pro isto dicendum, quod eternitas 1. sumitur propsiissime et sic inportat carenciam principii et finis et omnis [in]variabilitatis: et sic convenit soli Deo; 2. minus proprie inportat principii et finis, sed non variabilitatis: sic posuit Philosophus mundum eternum et tempus, que tamen variantur; 3. eternitas et variabilitatis successive: sic dicitur vita eterna hominis beati; 4. inportat solum carenciam finis: et illo modo dicitur mors eterna et one perpetuum dicitur eternum. Et patet, quod eternitas proprie dicat soli Deo convenit et diffinicio declarata est eternitatis proprie dicte, que dicitur 'eternitas' quasi 'extra terminos entitas', quia ens nec habens principium effectivum, neque finem includentem. Et quamvis sic proprie dicatur eternitas, tamen sepe ista capiuntur pro eodem 'evum', 'eternum', 'sempiternum', 'perpetuum', et 'seculum seculorum'.

[14] Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann, 'Eternity', *Journal of Philosophy*, 8 (1981), 429–58 (p. 433); *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, lib.V, prosa VI: 'Aeternitas igitur est interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio'. See Boethius, *The Theological Tractates: The Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. and trans. by Hugh Fraser Stewart and Edward

degree or the duration of the divine being is always *all at once*, without succession. Although divine being and its duration are one and the same, they are different according to inner relation (stability and successivity). Therefore, he describes eternity as different from generation because generation has its beginning and its end. Although beings are limited by corruption and generation, the world is interminated (non-determinate). But Boethius also says that it is *all at once*, eternity is therefore different from motion and time, because both motion and time have succession and divisions. Then, these things are not whole but they are divided, and so they are far from the assessment of eternity. Although eternity is said to be *all at once*, that does not signify the amount of parts—the word 'all' expresses non-division and it also means that eternity is different from succession. This is the reason why every created being is imperfect: because of its dependence. Hus agrees with Boethius who sometimes uses in this definition of eternity the word 'life' instead of the word 'being' because in God being and living is one and the same thing. He also uses 'possession' instead of the word 'duration' as duration expresses a kind of distension. It is impossible, therefore, to understand any kind of time distension in God. John Hus, like many other medieval philosophers and theologians, was committed to the doctrine of God's eternity in the form in which Boethius presents it in his *The Consolation of Philosophy*.[15]

Eternity has a solidity and perfection that, according to John Hus, has to be realized in the world of finiteness (finitude). The comparison of the ideal archetypal world, which is most clearly influenced by Platonism and its existing sensory world, leads the Czech university masters to endeavour to reform society and the church. In the beginning, Hus appears to be a harsh moralizing critic of the church. In this connection it is very important to stress the role of John Wyclif, an English philosopher and reformer, and his influence on John Hus. Hus did not apply Wyclif's teachings in their entirety from the very beginning; he was, however, educated in Wyclif's philosophical metaphysics, and he used this Wyclifian philosophy mainly in his concept of man and social criticism.[16] Following Wyclif, philosophical realism (meaning Platonic philosophical realism, not realism in today's sense[17]) became a natural basis for Hus's thinking and it enabled him to

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Kennard Rand (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); Henry Chadwyck, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981; repr. 1991), pp. 217–18.

[15] Stump and Kretzmann, 'Eternity', p. 433; Edward J. Khamara, 'Eternity and Omniscience', *Philosophical Quarterly*, 96 (1974), 204–19; Richard C. Dales, 'Time and Eternity in the Thirteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1 (1988), 27–45.

[16] Kalivoda, *Husitské myšlení*, pp. 15–73; Kaňák, *John Viklef*, pp. 64–84; Herold, 'Zum Prager philosophischen Wyclifismus', pp. 25–37.

[17] See *Handbook of Metaphysics and Ontology*, ed. by Hans Burkhardt and Barry Smith (München: Philosophia, 1991).

strengthen his own ideas about reform in the best possible ways with universal implications and axiomatic legitimacy. Similarly, realism suited John Hus also because it allowed him to apply concepts of the archetypal world directly into the real, everyday world. As far as the reform of the church and society was concerned, both Wyclif and John Hus needed to find an ideal that would serve as a pattern. Naturally, this ideal had to be of a certain universal order, of perfect unity and harmony with power to establish absolute and necessary order of society. This need for an ideal, generally valid and all-embracing conception of world and society led both Wyclif as well as Hus to their universalism. If the divine world is eternal and perfect and the human world is one of imperfection and finitude, then it is necessary to bridge the gap between the divine and the human. Neither Wyclif nor Hus saw the solution to the question of God's place in the world in Aristotle's theory about hierarchical division of the universe, for this theory did not offer them the possibility of making God, who is eternal, a basic principle immediately influencing the world and in this way regenerating society and the church. For both the philosophers, the absolute divine being is the highest objective reality. Because Wyclif's philosophical realism played such an important role in Hus's thought, we shall try to explain here the basis of this Englishman's ideas. In Wyclif divine being coincides with the intelligible existence of the cosmos and of the world because, for Wyclif, the ideas of things and the world are realities similar to God. They are, in fact, the highest forms of existence—it means that they are more or less identical with God. The problem of Wyclif's conception lies in the fact that Wyclif, due to his concept of intelligible being, understands the material world as being more or less eternal. He emphasizes the temporality and impermanence of the created material world; however, he arrives finally at the term *tempus magnum* in which things, through their ideal and at the same time real substances, exist constantly. Divine causality thus comes to correspond with natural causality and divine law unites with natural law. *Esse intelligibile* in God is a real basic form of things, not only an archetypal thought of things that would lack existence. In the intelligible being we find a reflection of the material world. *Esse intelligibile* is a general foundation of the actual being; *esse actuale* is the world around us. The genesis of the world, the creation of it, is a necessary self-realization of the real world (meaning the eternal world).[18]

This philosophical realism of Wyclif finds its place in John Hus—mainly in his anthropology and his theory of society. The thought of the Hussite movement is dominated by the principle of divine law, *lex divina*, as a civil and human norm. Hus's treatise *De ecclesia*, mentioned at the beginning of this article as one of Hus's most important works where his thoughts about time and eternity can be found, is a

[18] John Wyclif, *Trialogus cum Supplemento trialogi*, ed. by Gotthardus Lechler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), p. 97: 'Deus nihil potest intelligere, nisi quod de facto intelligit [. . .] et ut probabiliter potest dici, Deus nihil intelligit, nisi quod existit, dum potest existere, et si omne quod potest existere, existit'.

classical demonstration of using basic ontological principles for the elaboration of a specific, reforming social philosophy. Hus pronounces his epistemological opinions together with the development of his views of society. In the treatise *De ecclesia* the social good becomes the highest philosophical value and it is necessary to point out that Hus never theoretically denies the epistemological primacy of Holy Scripture and he never in practise uses reason to argue against the New Testament. On the contrary, Hus refutes by reason the possibility of using reason against the Testament. He attributes to reason a crucial role in the interpretation of the Holy Bible. The Bible unfolds eternal truths that reason has the ability to disclose. As he says, 'In Christ's religion we have to follow the whole truth and only that is truth that we learn about by the corporeal senses or that we uncover by unerring reason or that we learn about from epiphany or from what is written in Holy Scripture'.[19] In this Hus expresses one of the basic features of medieval thought: the attempt to harmonize the relationship between belief and knowledge (reason). Hus in this way refutes the possibility of using reason against the Bible. He never departed from the religious sphere, no matter whether he was arguing for freedom of preaching or freedom of conscience. He was never interested in the literal existence of these kinds of freedom, what he was concerned with was their unfolding, their goal. For Hus, these two kinds of freedom are always the means for fulfilling the divine law. Life in finiteness (finitude), in time, is thus a place to fulfil the law that is eternal. In this lies the dynamic merging of time and eternity.

But what is divine truth, divine law, in Hus's interpretation? It is a programme of humanity and social justice.[20] Within this lies the core of Hus's teachings that were unfolded, in different modifications, in the historical period of the Hussite movement. The notion of divine law is the basic concept in the treatise *De ecclesia* and also in the whole of society; it penetrates throughout reality, it is its cause and, in the sphere of the society, it is an absolutely obligatory principle, a central norm of all human performance. In Hus, the divine law does not lose its supernatural (*supra naturalis*) resource. The eternal and truthful law blends with the ideal justice more than with given social laws. Particular human relations have to be brought up to the level of this ideal—an apparent consequence of this concept is an ethical radicalism of the gospel. Therefore Hus's Platonic concept of the ideal, archetypal world has a strong ethical, even socio-political aspect. In the treatise *De ecclesia* Hus also develops his theory of predestination—to strengthen the validity of his divine law, to prevent this law's misuse and to state an absolute eternal veto to every act that would contradict the divine law. For Hus, the theory of predestination does not mean that man is, since eternity, predestined to damnation or salvation; it means that

[19] Mistr Jan Hus, *Tractatus De ecclesia*, p. 105: 'omnis veritatis in religione Christi sequenda, et solum ipsa est veritas a sensu corporeo cognita, vel ab intelligencia infallibili inventa vel per revelacionem cognita vel in divina posita scriptura'.

[20] Kalivoda, *Husitské myšlení*, pp. 28–73.

predestination becomes a process in which man 'earns' his own final portion by his own life.[21] Predestination to eternal salvation is realized in constantly living a life that God appreciates; predestination to eternal damnation is realized in perpetual sin. This means that man cannot claim to receive a final reward for credit earned now. He can only get this final reward by perpetual observance of divine law. By this the highest philosophical metaphysical value is awarded to divine law. Eternity is not static, it is not beyond history, but it becomes the archetype of the dynamic relation between God and man, between God and society, and finally between man and society. The question of how these ideas, the ideas of John Hus, were realized and how they unfolded in historical consequences, is, however, something that exceeds the scope of this article.[22]

To conclude, I would like to stress the importance of John Hus as a typical medieval man, and his views on time and eternity. Because these ideas were grounded in Christianity, the categories of 'time' and 'eternity' were basic modes for the understanding of man, his rights, his possibilities and also his restraints and limitations. Without the understanding of these categories it is also impossible to comprehend the core of Hus's conception of the reform in the society. Although he did not develop an original concept, as he followed Boethius and Wyclif in these questions, he emphasizes the similarity between *lex naturalis* and *lex divina* because the eternal is not 'outside' but it should be spiritually reflected 'inside' of man as an image of Trinity and consequently 'inside' the society. One of the important features of John Hus as a Christian is that he characterized man as *imago Dei*. From this it follows that eternity, nobility and dignity—through the creational act of God—are fully manifested in man. Therefore, the eschatological purpose of man lies in his searching for perfectness and the highest nobility because *vere magne nobilitatis est homo, quem Deus creavit inexterminabilem at sic perpetuum.*[23]

Univerzita Palackého, Olomouc

[21] The main content of the idea of predestination in John Hus is the origin of the church in God's eternal idea and in God's will. See Zdeněk Kučera, 'Husova nauka o predestinaci' [Hus's Teaching on Predestination], *Theologická Revue*, 1, in 2 vols (2000), 8–15.

[22] See František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce* [Hussite Revolution] (Prague: Karolinum, 1995–96).

[23] Hus, *Super IV Sententiarum*, II, inceptio I, 5.

Monastic and Clerical Conceptions

Timeless Time: Dramatical Eternity in the Monastery under Bernard of Clairvaux

WIM VERBAAL

Jerusalem or Clairvaux

In a famous passage in one of his letters, Bernard of Clairvaux makes an apology for the young Canon Philip to his immediate superior, the Bishop of Lincoln. Philip had promised to go on a pilgrimage for Jerusalem, but

> He has taken a short cut and arrived quickly at the place of his destination. [. . .] He has entered the holy city, he has chosen his heritage with those of whom it is rightly said: 'You are no longer exiles or aliens; the saints are your fellow citizens, you belong to God's household' (Ephesians 2. 19). [. . .] Therefore, rather than a curious spectator, he is a devout inhabitant and an enrolled citizen of Jerusalem, not of this earthly Jerusalem to which Mount Sinai in Arabia is related, which is in bondage with her children, but of that free Jerusalem, which is above and the mother of us all. And if you insist on knowing: this is no other than Clairvaux. She herself is Jerusalem, affiliated to the Jerusalem which is in heaven, by the complete devotion of the mind, by the imitative way of life and by a spiritual affinity.[1]

[1] Letter 64. 1–2:

> Compendium viae invenit, et cito pervenit quo volebat. [. . .] Ingressus est sanctam civitatem, sortitus est cum illis hereditatem, quibus merito dicitur: 'iam non estis hospites et advenae, sed estis cives sanctorum et domestici dei'. [. . .] Factus est ergo non curiosus spectator, sed devotus habitator et civis conscriptus Ierusalem, non autem terrenae huius, cui Arabiae mons Sina coniunctus est, quae servit cum filiis

Clairvaux is a Jerusalem: better than the city in the Holy Land, almost as good as the city in heaven! The abbot's words betray a high degree of self-assurance regarding the short cut between heaven and earth that his own monastery provides.

Should we consider this passage simply as a kind of rhetorical firework, by which Bernard hopes to convince the addressee of the letter that 'his' Philip has made the right choice? Or, do we have to hear in these words the proud statement of a man who realizes that under his guidance a community life of exceptional spiritual value has come into being? If Bernard's words indeed must be taken seriously, on which arguments and on which reality can this proud statement be based? For what reason can he be so sure about the salutary effects of Clairvaux that he even allows himself to identify it with the celestial Jerusalem? Still on other occasions Bernard shows his unshakeable conviction that Clairvaux was not only the surest, but even the almost infallible way to salvation. Apparently, he once said while preaching in chapter that even 'Judas, who betrayed and sold God, would be granted pardon if he could be in the same place where you are'.[2]

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suis, sed liberae illius, quae est sursum mater nostra. Et si vultis scire, Claravallis est. Ipsa est Ierusalem, ei quae in caelis est, tota mentis devotione, et conversationis imitatione, et cognatione quadam spiritus sociata.

Sancti Bernardi Opera, ed. by Jean Leclercq, Constant H. Talbot and Henri-Marie Rochais [=SBO], VII (Roma: Éditiones cistercienses, 1974), pp. 157–58. For this fragment, see the translation by Marinus Burcht Pranger, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 32–33.

[2] The earliest source for this statement is to be found in the *Liber visionum et miraculorum* (LVM) that was composed between 1173 and 1178, probably by monks that wanted to pass on to the later generations the recollections of their first abbot. The manuscript is still unedited, but it has been described by Brian Patrick McGuire, 'A Lost Clairvaux *Exemplum* Collection Found: the *Liber Visionum et Miraculorum* compiled under Prior John of Clairvaux (1171–1179)', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 39 (1983), 26–62. The story about Judas is to be found on p. 43 (fol. 3^{v} of the manuscript):

Alio quodam die et tempore sedens in capitulo dixit mirabile et valde consolatorium verbum. Et quamvis verbum omnibus esset amabile, utpote verbum gaudio plenum et consolatione, tamen reor quempiam esse inter nos in illa die, quam forsan nimium perterrebat proprius pondus conscientiae. Dixit vero inter cetera: 'Unde desolationem habetis? Si Iudas', inquit, 'qui Deum tradidit vel vendidit hic esset, ubi vos estis, ipse misericordiam consequeretur'. Et qui ista audivit, testimonium perhibit et scripsit hoc.

Apparently, it is told by an eyewitness, not only because of the last sentence, but perhaps even more because of the remarkable transition to the first person: 'reor, inter nos'. Out of this source Bernard's statement was taken around 1180 almost without changes by John the Hermit in his *Vita Quarta* [= Vq], II. 7 (Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina* [= PL] (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), vol. 185, cols 531–50 esp. cols 544–45) and around 1190 by Conrad of Eberbach in his *Exordium magnum* [=EM], II. 5 (see *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense sive Narratio de initio cisterciensis ordinis. Auctore Conrado*, ed. by B. Griesser, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis [=CCCM], 138 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), pp. 76–77.

It seems a natural consequence then, that Clairvaux also became an inevitable way of salvation for all who happened to enter its influence. Philip of Lincoln was not the only visitor that stayed. Guerric, the future abbot of Igny, came just to greet Bernard, not to become a monk, as is stipulated by the biographer of his friend, Hugo, Abbot of Marchienne: 'But the abbot entangled him by his words and had him acquiesce in his councils, so Guerric changed without hesitation and regret from a cleric into a monk and from a schoolmaster into a pupil'.[3] As a group of young knights passed Clairvaux on their way from one tournament to another, Bernard asked them to put down their arms for the few days that remained till Lent. The young men refused, but Bernard assured them he did not doubt that God would grant him this favour. He then ordered one of his monks to bring in beer for the guests. He blessed it and offered it to his young hosts. Hesitating and a little dejected, they drank. Back on the road, they started to encourage each other for the next fight, but within an hour they returned to the monastery and entered the noviciate.[4]

These kinds of anecdotes illustrate the impact Clairvaux and the abbot must have had on the occasional visitors. Somehow, they felt obliged to leave the world behind and to enter this other world that, according to Bernard's words, was situated somewhere halfway between the earthly and the celestial Jerusalem, between the temporal and the eternal realities. And indeed, monastic life offers a certain image of eternity by the silence reigning in a Cistercian community, by the regular, almost daily return of words and gestures that ritualize everyday life. Monastic reality tends to become atemporal, not timeless, nor eternal, but something of a no-time, in which every day is the memory of all days past and at the same time the image of all days to come.

This regularity, however, also implies the greatest danger for the monks. Life threatens to become a monotonous dull routine that engenders spiritual laziness. Bernard has good reasons for repeatedly trying in his sermons to exhort his auditors (or readers[5]) to spiritual alertness, and for trying to bring them into an attitude of intense devotion. He knows that not many will be able to enjoy this blessed state in a permanent way: 'many strive for it their whole life long and they never reach it'.[6]

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[3] *Vita Hugonis, abbatis Marchianensis*, 16 (*Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, III. 1717, col. 1723): 'Illaqueatur sermonibus eius, acquiescit consiliis, et qui dumtaxat salutare venerat hominem, non monachare, absque cunctatione et respectu retrorsum monachus de clerico, discipulus efficitur de magistro'; cited in *Guerric d'Igny: Sermons*, ed. by J. Morson and H. Costello, Sources chrétiennes, 166 and 202, 2 vols, (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1970), I, 14n.4.

[4] *Vita prima* [= Vpr], I. 55 (PL, 185, col. 257).

[5] Of Bernard's sermons those he published himself have been rewritten in view of a monastic reading public. I refer to the short exposition in the following and to my discussion on the theme in Wim Verbaal, 'Réalités quotidiennes et fiction littéraire dans les *Sermons sur le Cantique* de Bernard de Clairvaux', *Cîteaux*, 51 (2001), 201–18.

[6] *Sermones de Circumcisione Domini* [=Circ], III. 10: 'Sed multi tota vita sua ad hoc

Custom is the hardest enemy that undermines devotion and affection in spiritual life: 'they observe these festive days out of some arid custom without any devotion or affection'.[7]

One of the tasks of the abbot was to fight this drowsing of his monks. Bernard's sermons seemed to be his best weapons, but the moments where he could use them were limited. Only the morning chapter and the liturgical mass on Sundays or feast days offered him the opportunity to preach. A nocturne could be added,[8] but even then, the sermons can hardly be enough to balance the weight of daily routine; unless the preacher proved himself capable of giving his words additional strength to keep his monks under a spell for the rest of the day. Bernard certainly knew how to do this, how to enchant his monks and how to create the highest spiritual tension in monastic life. In his sermons, he introduced heaven into the monastery; he appears to have evoked timeless reality within the time constraints of the daily life of each individual monk by fusing the monk's concrete earthly existence with the future eternal truth of his glorified being.

Dramatic Preaching

In order to describe the 'spell' of Bernard's words more accurately, the delivery of his sermons and the way they came into being must be taken in consideration. Few preachers in the Middle Ages offered a comparable insight into the different phases

tendunt, et numquam pertendunt', where he is talking about the day of devotion. See SBO, IV, p. 290.

[7] *Sermones in Adventu Domini* [=Adv], III. 2: 'Sine devotione et affectione dies istos arida quadam consuetudine observantes'. See SBO, IV, p. 176. Bernard speaks about those of worldly mentality and life: 'quorum saecularis est mens et vita'.

[8] There have been many discussions about the actual hours and days where Bernard could have had the opportunity to preach. The collection of his liturgical sermons does not at all agree with the prescriptions as found in the statutes and customs as known from Cistercian legislature. See the *Ecclesiastica officia cisterciensis ordinis* [= Liber Usuum], in B. Griesser, 'Die "Ecclesiastica officia cisterciensis ordinis" des Cod.1711 von Trient', *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 12 (1956), 153–288 (p. 230). For this reason one has thought sometimes to add a nocturne, see G. Winkler in his introduction to the German edition of the liturgical sermons: *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Sämtliche Werke: Lateinisch-Deutsch*, ed. by G. Winkler, 10 vols (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1990–99), VII (1996), 27, and VIII (1997), 29. The difficulty and the length of some sermons on the other hand do not allow for an oral deliverance during mass; they must have been composed as literature. For a more extended discussion on this topic, I refer to my forthcoming article 'Réalités quotidiennes', where I examine the position taken by Prof. Christopher Holdsworth in his 'Were the Sermons of St Bernard on the *Song of Songs* ever Preached?', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. by C. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 295–318. An even larger independent study of Bernard's writing process is in preparation.

in which the creation and deliverance of a sermon had to pass. Simple, rather sketchy texts have survived, that seem to present nothing more than a first or second draft. Other texts offer a more elaborated scheme, and the more they are worked out, the more attention is given to language and style.[9]

Besides, a difference has to be made between texts that were somehow connected with a sermon to be delivered and those meant primarily for publication hence constitute a more literary composition. The first group of texts, in which the signs of oral delivery are indicated, probably is composed of *reportationes*: reconstructions of the actual sermon by a secretary, based on the notes that were taken by some monks during the preaching.[10] These texts give some idea of the way Bernard actually preached to his monks.

They show Bernard speaking in a plain, rather straightforward style, not too difficult and heavily reliant on stylistic features that touch the ear: short periods, showing a strong parallelism, often antithetical, with rhyme structuring the phrasing and bringing to the fore the central words and themes. Their imagery is realistic, concrete, not too far-fetched, and with a clear monastic touch. The tenor is immediate, direct, but not really intimate or personal. On the whole, they appear rather straight, dry and too short to have any lasting effect on audiences. Something seems to be missing.[11]

This impression of a poverty of content is not surprising given the way those *reportationes* came into being. As the twelfth century did not know any kind of stenography, those monks who recorded the preaching had to work with keywords and very short notes.[12] Afterwards, these notes were fused together under the supervision of a principal secretary, in order to reconstruct the original sermon.[13] In

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[9] These simpler and often rather schematic texts can be found in the editions of the three series of *Sententiae* (SBO, VI. 2), especially in the first two series. The third series already contains some more elaborated sermons although many of them clearly have never been pronounced in the way they are conserved.

[10] Some of these *reportationes* are to be found in the third series of *Sententiae* (SBO, VI. 2) (see the precedent note); most were edited under the *Sermones de Diversis* (SBO, VI. 1).

[11] I resume the results of the comparative study made within the scope of my thesis: 'A Divine Tragedy: Triumph and Defeat of the Word with Bernard of Clairvaux' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universiteit Gent, 2000), publication forthcoming. For a limited exposition I refer again to my article 'Réalités quotidiennes', pp. 203–05.

[12] P. Saenger, 'Lire aux derniers siècles du moyen âge', in *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental*, ed. by G. Cavallo and R. Chartier (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1997), 147–74, (pp. 160–61); J. Hamesse, '"Collatio" et "reportatio": deux vocables specifiques de la vie intellectuelle au moyen âge', in *Actes du colloque (Leiden / Den Haag 20–21 sept 1985). Terminologie de la vie intellectuelle au moyen âge*, ed. by O. Weijers, CIVICIMA, I (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), pp. 78–87 (p. 83–85).

[13] Several of these secretaries in charge are known for Bernard. The most famous are

this reconstruction, doctrine and morality were more important than the examples or illustrations used by the preacher. The first thing left out would have been the realistic and concrete descriptions, used to enliven the sermon and to prick the attention.[14]

These elements of the sermon, although considered of lesser importance by the secretaries, were nonetheless remembered vividly by the monks who had assisted at Bernard's preaching. In the latter part of the twelfth century this generation, however, saw itself dying out and realized that the memories of the great abbot would disappear with them. So, a series of writings came into being in which the older monks collected their souvenirs on behalf of future generations.[15] These personal recollections have been neglected until now, because of their anecdotal character. Nevertheless, they offer us just the aspect of Bernard's preaching that made him the formidable and irresistible orator of his days.[16]

In the memory of his monks, Bernard was a lively and passionate preacher, who was not afraid to use crass remarks, as the one about Judas. He made great use of images and did not hesitate to describe his visions, by which the timeless reality of heaven broke into monastic daily life. To his novices he once told of a vision he had had: how one of his monks, who had died a short time before, appeared to him in the choir and promised him that everyone who persevered in the monastery would be saved.[17] In a sermon to the monks, he described the angels assisting at their

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Geoffrey of Auxerre, his future biographer and the motivating force behind the canonization of the ancient Abbot of Clairvaux, and Nicolas de Montiéramey, who enjoyed the full confidence of Bernard and of Peter the Venerable, but who was afterwards expelled from Bernard's monastery accused of fraud. Both of them left *reportationes* of the actual preaching of Bernard that allow a more inside view on Bernard's preaching style and on the way those secretaries worked. For a characterization of both secretaries, see J. Leclercq, 'Saint Bernard et ses secrétaires', in *Recueil des études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits I* (Rome: Storia e letteratura, 1962), pp. 3–25. The whole procedure will be worked out in the publication of my forthcoming book.

[14] This can be deducted from the anonymous prologue to a collection of Bernard's sermons. The author of the prologue emphasizes that the sense (*sensus*) and the teaching (*doctrina*) of the preacher have been conserved, not his style (*stylus*). See again Leclercq, 'Saint Bernard et ses secrétaires'.

[15] Besides the three texts mentioned above under note 2 (LVM, Vq and EM), this group also comprises the *Liber de miraculis* (LM) from about 1178, compiled by Herbert, who, in 1180, became Archbishop of Torres on Sardinia (PL, 185, cols 1273–1384).

[16] See the words of Jakob Burckhardt, 'Die antiken Anekdoten sind [. . .] eine altera historia, eine zweite Geschichtsschreibung, die uns anzeigt, was man den Menschen zutraute und was für sie charakteristisch ist'; quoted by R. von Scheliha, *Freiheit und Freundschaft in Hellas: Sechs Basler Vorträge* (Amsterdam: Castrum Peregrini, 1968), p. 16.

[17] LM, II. 11 (PL, 185, col. 1323).

psalmody and making notes according to their devotion in singing.[18]

These 'visionary' images were never told for their own sake. They always served Bernard's pedagogical purpose by highlighting the message he wanted to deliver. In the sermon to the novices he encourages them to persevere, in the preaching to his monks he emphasizes the importance of devotion and spiritual intensity. His 'visions' appear to be of the highest pedagogical significance.

Not only their educational value has to be stressed, though. Equally important is the way Bernard puts his message into words. When reading these testimonies, one is struck by their lively and realistic character. That Bernard must have been an extremely good narrator, is shown by the impression those examples left on his monks. They did not take his descriptions as stories but as real life experiences that were not questioned at all, thanks to the spiritual authority of the abbot.

This is illustrated by yet another example. During the funerary mass for Malachy, Bishop of Armagh, who died at Clairvaux in 1148, Bernard, to the great surprise of his assisting monks, suddenly changed the ritual formulary of the Collects so as to transform the funerary mass into a celebratory mass for a holy bishop. Geoffrey of Auxerre, Bernard's future biographer who at the moment of Malachy's death was still a young monk and secretary, suspected some secret revelation behind this sudden change, although the abbot never wanted to answer the repeated questions of his monks. Neither did he treat it in his hagiographic biography of the Irish bishop.[19]

There is no reason to suggest that Bernard prepared this 'coup du ciel' in advance. It may as well have been a sudden inspiration. All the same, the sudden and completely unexpected adaptation of the ritual—the effect of which was even deepened by the kiss on the foot of the dead bishop after the Collects—had a profound effect on his spectators. To the monks it must have been as if they had witnessed, in person, the doors of heaven opening to let in the soul of Malachy. Bernard, by a conscious handling of ritual, creates an extremely spiritual tension, a kind of eschatological dramatics in which he makes the dead bishop play the principal role. Although the real dramatic action remains invisible to the public—

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[18] LVM, fol. 134^{v} (McGuire, 'A Lost Clairvaux *Exemplum*, pp. 44–45n.32); EM, II. 3 (Griesser, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, pp. 75–76).

[19] Vpr, IV. 21 (PL, 185, col. 333):

> Offerens pro eius transitu venerabilis abbas hostiam salutarem, gloriam eius Domino revelante cognovit, formam mutavit orationis et collectam intulit, quae ad sanctorum pontificum celebritates, non ad commendationes defunctorum pertinet, ita dicens: 'Deus, qui beatum Malachiam pontificem sanctorum tuorum meritis coaequasti, tribue, quaesumus, ut qui pretiosae mortis eius festa agimus, vitae quoque imitemur exempla.' Deinde reverenter accedens, sacra eius vestigia devotissime osculabatur. Modum tamen et seriem visionis nec cuiquam aperire, nec in eiusdem episcopi Vita scribere acquievit, hoc tantum respondens, cum plurimum rogaretur, nimis ad propriam sui pertinuisse personam.

they do not see anything really happen—it is the acting, or even more the staging by Bernard that evokes a whole dramatic scenery. Because of his spiritual authority, the monks believed in Bernard and in what he was doing and saying; thanks to their believing in him, they followed him in his acting, they realized what was going on and, finally, they saw what they did not see. They became the audience of a spiritual spectacle: they witnessed how one of them was entering eternal truth. They saw how heaven opens to their earthly reality and how the distance between time and eternity, for a short moment, is spanned.

The part the monks played was not limited to that of spectator. As Bernard told them of his visions of dead monks and angels in the choir, the monks would have realized that they, too, are seen. In the spiritual dramatics of monastic life theirs was an active part and although their own audience remained invisible to them, its existence and presence were guaranteed by Bernard's unquestioned authority. Inside the walls of Clairvaux, a drama was evoked in which all the monks, living and dead, the angels and even the devils had their parts to play, and in which every border of time and of place was torn down. The monk's daily life appears to have been as open to eternity as, in the ascension of Malachy, eternity proved open to him. His earthly existence remained in close connection with the timeless reality of the heavenly citizens.

Bernard, however, did not think it sufficient to evoke two independent realities, coexisting inside the monastery. He strived for the creation of an intense interaction between them. One day, a novice died without having had the viaticum. The delay was due to Bernard himself who did not think the case urgent. Next morning in chapter, the abbot declared:

> Because this novice died without viaticum, the devils laid hold on him and they laugh at us. Yet, they will not prevail, while it concerns me, as I deprived him of the Holy Communion. Stay awake and pray with me, and we will pursue these brigands.

The following day, he told his monks that their attack had been successful and that the devils had been obliged to release their victim.[20] By way of their prayers the monks had been able to cross the border of time and to enter the reality of after life. Their praying inside time proved to be a weapon that had the force to change realities within timelessness.[21]

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[20] LVM, fol. 133^{v} (McGuire, 'A Lost Clairvaux *Exemplum*, p. 53; text in n. 40): 'Quo tandem cognito, venit abbas Bernardus in capitulum et dixit: "Quia novicius ille sine viatico transivit e mundo, tulerunt eum demones et illudunt nobis. Sed non praevalebunt, quia ego sum in causa, quoniam eum sacra communione privavi. Vigilate ergo et mecum orate et persequamur latrunculos istos"'.

[21] The anecdote seems to conform to the ecclesiastical theories about the acceleration of the purification of the death by the praying of the living. Only, in Bernard's times, purgatory did not already exist. The twelfth century was crucial to the 'birth of purgatory' and to the belief that the situation of the deceased can be ameliorated by the praying of the living; see J.

Staging Eternity

In the monastic dramaturgy, the abbot himself seems omnipresent as the playwright, the director, and as a principal character. As is shown by his staging the funeral mass for Malachy, Bernard was fully aware of the presence of his monks as an audience whose attention must never waiver. In order to keep the attention of the whole community, it was not sufficient for Bernard to introduce timeless truth into the monastic life by way of his sermons alone. The monks should not suppose that Clairvaux simply contained two realities that were mutually independent, yet existing beside each other. Bernard wanted them to realize that Clairvaux actually knew only one reality: in which heaven and earth were fused into a state of being that was situated between time and eternity. And, he wanted the monks to participate actively in this other reality. Somehow, they had to leave their mortal existence behind, to raise themselves towards the level of their future celestial truth. In order to achieve this eternal condition inside the boundaries of the monastery, Bernard evoked a new kind of spiritual drama based on his own dramaturgical authority as a preacher and abbot. First of all, as remembered by his monks, he himself acted in a way that was characterized by an intense dramatical aspect: Bernard in the sight of all kissing the feet of a dead monk,[22] Bernard calling an unknown youth out of the group of novices and giving him the kiss of peace:[23] just two examples of Bernard's conscious performance before an audience of his monks.

Relying on his authority, he did not fear to go even much further. He did not hesitate to impose a destiny on someone. Bernard told some visitors of Clairvaux that one day they would enter the monastery. Even when they did not listen immediately, often Bernard's words kept haunting them and made them, sometimes several years later, enter monastic life. They fulfilled the abbot's 'prophecy', if indeed it was a prophecy, rather than the authority of the abbot on the mind of some of his contemporaries.[24]

LeGoff, *La naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981) esp. the second part 'Le XIIe siècle: naissance du Purgatoire' (pp. 175–316). At the beginning of the century, hesitation still reigned about the specific characteristics of purgatory: 'Le XIIe siècle, comme en beaucoup de domaines, va accélérer les choses; le Purgatoire comme lieu ne naîtra qu'à la fin' (p. 183). Actually, however, the situation differs in this story because, through their prayers, the monks enter hell and liberate a victim of the demons, who was not even allowed the opportunity to purify himself.

[22] EM, III. 7 (Griesser, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, pp. 157–58).

[23] EM, II. 12 (Griesser, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, pp. 82–83); for Fragment 50 of Geoffrey of Auxerre, see R. Lechat, 'Les *Fragmenta* de Vita et Miraculis S. Bernardi', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 50 (1932), 83–122 (p. 116); *Sermo Gaudefridi in obitu S.Bernardi* (PL, 185, col. 575). The young man concerned was Geoffrey of Auxerre himself who returned twice to this topic and who probably told about it himself to Conrad of Eberbach.

[24] This was the case for Gunnarius, *iudex* at Sardinia, who finally entered Clairvaux after

A last example shows the extent to which Bernard made use of his authority. Once, he was told that a monk refused to take Communion because he did not believe in the reality of the trans-substantiation. Bernard sent for him and tried to convince him, but he did not succeed. The monk confessed he could not believe that a real trans-substantiation took place during consecration, though he knew and acknowledged that his unbelief would damn him forever. Indignantly Bernard replied: 'What, a monk of mine going into hell? Impossible! If you do not possess faith, then I command you by the virtue of obedience: go and receive Communion upon my faith'.[25]

The abbot's power could hardly be more imposing. Without denying the individuality of his monk—Bernard recognizes his refusal to believe in the sacrament—he obliges him to act by virtue of his—Bernard's—faith. Here, the monk evokes the image of an actor playing a character: both his own personality and the role assigned to him are necessary to bring the character to life successfully. The living person is needed to carry the role and restore its physicality, its realistic appearance.[26] The role, the written character, is needed for the content, for the substance of the play. The monk is the bearer of the role Bernard assigned to him: by his acting according to Bernard's will, he does not deny his own personality but neither is he able to withdraw from the spiritual dramaturgy the abbot imposed on him. Even though he himself is different from the part he plays, he cannot evade the outcome of the monastic drama inside the monastery: he must realize that he is saved as were all the others, thanks to the part he plays and with which he must identify. By his directorial authority, Bernard obliges the monk to distance himself from his own material being (his historical personality)—without denying it—and to participate in another being that surpasses himself (the spiritual script of timeless truth). The monk's own existence with its doubts, its questions and its incapacities is absorbed by a fixed state of being in which there is no place left for uncertainty. The monk will be saved, not because of his own belief but because of his role in the drama, staged by Bernard upon his faith.

The souvenirs of Bernard's monks make it possible to look inside the

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Bernard died: LM, II. 13 (PL, 185, col. 162).

[25] EM, II. 6 (Griesser, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, pp. 77–78): 'Cumque vocatus venisset et abbas sanctus secundum datam sibi sapientiam infidelitatem illius confutaret, ille respondit: "Ego nullis assertionibus ad hoc potero induci, ut panem et vinum, quae in altari proponuntur, credam verum esse corpus et sanguinem Christi, et propterea scio me in infernum descensurum". Quod audiens vir Dei, sicuti semper rebus in arto sitis mirabilem solebat auctoritatem ostendere, dixit: "Quid? Monachus meus in infernum descendet? Absit. Si tu fidem non habes, per virtutem obedientiae praecipio tibi, vade, communica fide mea".'

[26] See the remarkable position taken by David Cole on 'Acting as the Recovery of the "Lost" Physical of Reading' (as the title of Chapter 4) in D. Cole, *Acting as Reading: The Place of the Reading Process in the Actor's Work* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

atmosphere of Clairvaux under Bernard's guidance, where there seems to have been no place for monastic routine and spiritual laziness. In the monastery of Clairvaux, Bernard attempted to keep alive the highest spiritual concentration. Bernard's words were of over-riding importance in creating and maintaining this focus by evoking a continuous interaction of heavenly truth and earthly existence. Thanks to this evocation, monastic life received a highly dramatic intensity, in which everyone was at the same time actor and spectator in a performance that knew no boundaries of time and place. No one was allowed to remain outside this spiritual theatre; everyone had to play the part assigned him by the chief director, by Bernard himself. Inside the monastery, this casting did indeed force the monks to keep their own selves at a distance: what they had been outside in the world. At the same time, they were obliged to fill a part in their new world, as created by Bernard's dramaturgy, in which the eschatological reality of the next world, the spiritual truth of each monk, was evoked. By entering the monastery, the monks themselves took part in a world in between, halfway between the world of earthly reality they had left behind and the heavenly world of eternal truth awaiting them.

Bernard's Dramaturgy

Apparently, then, Bernard had a deep and comprehensive insight into the most fundamental principles of dramaturgy. It offered him the possibility of bridging the distance between heaven and earth. Inside the monastery time and eternity touched in the life of every individual monk, being an earthly actor playing a role in Bernard's performance of faith. Clairvaux offered the stage on which the monk's person had to fill the part of his celestial fulfilment, time being absorbed by eternity.

Bernard's dramaturgical insight may be a surprise in a world that seems not to know any theatre yet, apart from some forms of liturgical drama. Nevertheless, his dramatical sensitivity was not completely isolated. Before or around 1150 the first profane Latin dramatic texts appear, like the *Geta* and the *Aulularia* of Vital of Blois, which, nonetheless, still contain many narrative verses.[27] In other texts, however, these are completely lacking and the text contains only monologues and dialogues, by which the dramatic tension, of course, is largely enhanced.[28] This kind of profane theatre was situated within the schools, but it cannot be disconnected from the part drama (in the sense of scenic representation) had come to play in liturgy during the eleventh century. Of the utmost importance in this development seems to have been the *Song of Songs*[29] and the staging of the *Visitatio*.[30]

[27] Edited by G. Cohen, *La 'comédie' latine en France au XIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1931), I, 3–106 (pp. xvi–xviii, 4–6, and 61 for the dating).

[28] One may think of the anonymous *Babio*, edited by Cohen, *La 'comédie' latine*, II, 3–59.

[29] For the importance of the *Song of Songs* in dramatical representations, see B. Bischoff, 'Regensburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Dramatik und Ikonographie', in *Mittelalterliche*

Bernard himself was clearly aware of the impact dramatic representation can give to the liturgical event. His acting during the funeral mass for Malachy shows his ability to give the intense sacrality of the moment a highly personal interpretation by dramatic intervention. Likewise, he introduced the procession in the feast of Purification ('Candlemas', 2 February) as a concrete visualization of the transition from the liturgical period of Christmas to Lent, the preparatory period of Easter[31].

These kinds of liturgical dramatics, however, still remain largely within the boundaries of representative celebration. One has to turn to his writings to find Bernard more concretely occupied with the possibilities of drama. His writings show him making a deliberate use of the same dramatic techniques that can be discovered in his abbatial government, only this time, the intermediate state of being, halfway between time and eternity, has not to be looked for in monastic life. It is evoked in the reading process in which every concrete reader meets the timeless reality within the text which he has to embody. Bernard's writing is governed by the same

Studien II, ed. by B. Bischoff (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1967), pp. 156–68 (pp. 163–64), where illustrations of dramatic representations of the *Song of Songs* are described. Another very important example is given by the *Planctus de transitu domni Odilonis abbatis Cluniacensis*, written by Iotsaldus, a monk of Odilo of Cluny, in 1048–49. This text is undeniably meant to be performed in church. It is completely based on the *Song of Songs* and contains several scenic instructions; edited by F. Ermini, 'Il Pianto di Iotsaldo per la morte di Odilone', *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 1 (1928), 392–405 (text on pp. 401–05).

[30] W. Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), esp. pp. 39–40 and pp. 54–64. G. Wickham, *The Medieval Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), esp. pp. 33–49, where some contextual factors are stipulated: the importance of the high feasts of Christmas and Easter, closing preparatory periods of fasting (see pp. 34–35); the suitability of churches for scenic representations (pp. 35–36); the strong relationship between representation and liturgy (pp. 36–37); and the calm of the winter months December and January (p. 42). The classic in the field of liturgical drama remains K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), in which a large collection of dramatic-liturgical texts is published, even though the author himself did not want to acknowledge any connection between the two: 'The Mass is excluded from the possibility of dramatization because of its fundamental meaning. It is not a representation of an action, but an actual recreation of it'; I, 110. A good and balanced analysis of Young's propositions, that can not be accepted anymore in all their strictness, is to be found in C. Flannigan, 'Medieval Latin-Music-Drama', in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, ed. by E. Simon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 21–41 (pp. 24–26).

[31] In his liturgical sermons on the Purification (*Sermones in Purificatione S.Mariae* [= Pur]) Bernard emphasizes the inward movement of the procession in order to be able to live in the heart (Pur I. 4: 'in corde sit conversatio nostra'; SBO, IV, p. 337) and to bring there the sacrifice of the proper life (Pur III. 3: 'et nos ergo faciamus quod possumus, optimum quod habemus offerentes illi, quod sumus utique nosmetipsi'; SBO, IV, p. 343).

dramatic principles that directed life in Clairvaux: the sense of participating in a kind of spectacle, of being public, but of being at the same time invited to fill a part in the staging by Bernard. Finally, his writings show how he wanted to achieve his ultimate aim: going beyond a mere fusion of timely and eternal existences within the monastery and fusing both realities within the individual. In his writings he shows how to become the timeless character of the text, leaving behind the own earthly existence.

As a first premise, one can think of the biblical personages staged by Bernard within his texts; Adam and Eve, Dinah, Joseph and Mary, and Christ himself appear often in very lively scenery, and it seems Bernard has a certain predilection to put Lucifer on the stage. He almost never restricts himself to just mentioning their names or to referring to them as examples. They are really evoked, brought to life. The author addresses them, points them out to the reader, provokes them to answer. Thus, biblical time becomes visible and approaches the reader; the present and the scriptural past meet in the timeless reality of reading the text.

Bernard does not confine himself to figures from scripture; he does not hesitate to stage a monk or himself in the same way.[32] They are shown to participate as well in this timelessness of the textual staging. Always the clear perception remains apparent of a spectacle that has to be put on the scene.[33]

Some passages in his writings, moreover, can be described as pure theatre. The beginning of his Parabola VII consists of a lively dialogue between Christ and a

[32] For the biblical characters a long list of references could be made. One of Bernard's most theatrical writings, however, is his *Treatise on the degrees of humility and pride* (SBO, III, p. 16–56). Here all the persons mentioned above do appear in strongly dramatic depictions. An important role is kept for the portrayals of monks on their way down the ladder of pride. Bernard himself is also produced in the three key-moments of the treatise as a living personification in the text of the foregoing argument. In Verbaal, 'A Divine Tragedy', I have examined the role of these dramatic insertions more closely.

[33] See K. F. Morrison, 'Hermeneutics and Enigma: Bernard of Clairvaux's *De Consideratione*', *Viator*, 19 (1988), 129–51 (p. 146): 'Still, the patristic analogues to play in theater, amphitheater, and circus continued to work in Bernard's mimetic metaphors, and in his allusions to role-playing and conflict, not least in his reference to the agonies of the reprobate, brought out to present a spectacle before God, the angels, men, and themselves'. J. Drumbl, 'Ludus iucundus, honestus, gravis, spectabilis. Die metaphor des Theatrum Mundi bei Bernhard von Clairvaux', *Aevum*, 72 (1998), 361–74, however, does not see just a surviving patristic tradition in Bernard's use of the theatrical metaphor. Concerning Bernard's comparison of monastic life with the stunts of acrobats and tumblers (Letter 87. 12: SBO,VII, p. 231), Drumbl argues that Bernard is not simply reviving the metaphor of the world as a theatre that had been forgotten since Antiquity, but that he manages to renew this image from within. Bernard's words show him conscious of the part the public has to fill in theatre: only thanks to the spectators (with God as the first of them) the acting can have sense: 'Das ist Theater von innen heraus verstanden und rekonstruiert, selbst wenn es kein solches Theater im Alltag jener Zeit gegeben hat' (p. 374).

monk who is going to the market to sell his merchandise.[34] As soon as Christ presents himself as a possible buyer, a real market scene is staged without any connecting phrasing: the whole action being constructed by the words of the two *dramatis personae*. This part of the text also has the form of a written play, completely in line with the tradition as it was known to Bernard from the scholarly lectures of Terence: every spoken line is preceded by the name of the person who is meant to pronounce those words. Here, again, Bernard went far beyond his contemporary Vital of Blois, who still integrated the attributions of the spoken parts into the verses of the whole.[35]

The artful construction of the parable makes plausible the idea that the parable was meant to be read as a literary work. The speed of the dialogues at the opening and the closing of the text exclude a recitation by one person during a sermon. The author seems to have had in mind a simple staging with two characters. It is significant, however, that Bernard apparently never thought to incorporate the text in his literary legacy. The parable is found in five heterogeneous manuscripts together with different anthologies of Bernard's unpublished sentences and sermons.[36] The quality of its style and composition is too good for thinking it a *reportatio*: it really seems to be an authentic work of Bernard. Perhaps it is not too hazardous to accept it as a sort of literary 'try out' in order to test the potential of dramatic textuality. However this may be, it remained outside the body of works of which he himself supervised the publication.

Nevertheless, it does have, in a certain sense, a counterpart within the works Bernard revised and published. The beginning of his ninth *Sermon on the Canticle* is

[34] Parabola VII: *De octo beatitudinibus*; SBO, VI. 2, pp. 295–303.

[35] Before Bernard's times only Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim is known to have written in a comparable dramatical way. Her 'Dramata' however have to be interpreted as a rewriting of Terence in order to counterbalance his pagan examples by examples of Christian virtue. Hrotsvitha wrote them to be read by the nuns of her own monastery; they probably were never meant to be staged. At the most, one has to think of an alternate lecture of the different parts but then there still remains a long way to go for a real representation. Anyway, however this may be, it is clear from the other works of Hrotsvitha that she did not have any particular insight into the principles of dramaturgy. For a recent evaluation of the problem with a critical *status quaestionis* see the edition of the *Dramata* by M. Goullet, *Hrotsvitha: Théâtre* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1999), esp. pp. LI–LXII.

[36] See the Apparatus in SBO, VI. 2, p. 295 as well as the introduction on pp. 3–5 and 259. See also the studies of H. Rochais on their authenticity: 'Remarques sur les sermons divers et les sentences de saint Bernard', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 21 (1965), 1–34; and 'Enquête sur les sermons divers et les sentences de saint Bernard', *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 17 (1962), pp. 57–66. Also, W. Timmermann, *Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit in den Parabolae Bernhards von Clairvaux* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1982), esp. pp. 198–205, in which the author is not examining the question of whether the parable could have been written to be recited during mass, however. See also F. Gastaldelli, '"Optimus praedicator": L'opera oratoria di San Bernardo', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 51 (1995), 321–418 (p. 416).

staged in approximately the same way as the opening scene of the seventh parable. The first verse of the *Song of Songs* is presented as the closing of a lively dialogue between the Bride and the friends of the Groom. They have come to visit her like they had done the days before. Now, they find her grumbling and vexed. As they ask what is worrying her, they only get blunt, single-word replies, till she bursts out into the passionate opening of the *Song of Songs*. This opening paragraph of the ninth sermon is of a similar dramatic intensity as the seventh parable, except that Bernard does not appoint the phrases explicitly to the different actors. As it concerns only a short episode and the phrases themselves are short and easy to follow, this absence of a more dramatic scripture is completely understandable.

More significant than the pure literary form is the fact that the whole sermon develops an important dramaturgical event: the casting of the actors in their parts. To make the link between the first and the second verse of the *Canticle*, Bernard behaves as a real stage director. After having produced the whole scene in which the first verse has to be pronounced, he appoints the second verse one by one to all the characters that take part in the drama: the Bride, the Groom, his friends and finally the girls that follow the Bride.[37] With respect to each character, Bernard evokes the whole dramatic scene that would correspond to this particular attribution of the words. In the end the reader is left with the impression of having assisted at a real theatrical rehearsal.[38] Scripture proves to be a drama in which every part can be assigned and created according to the stage director's—Bernard's—will.

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[37] Bernard is breaking here with tradition completely. It is possible to find similar attributions of the second verse to different characters of the event, but no commentator had taken the liberty to assign it to all of them. See for the contemporary exegetes: Anselmus of Laon, *Enarrationes in Canticum*, 1 (PL, 162, col. 1189); Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in Canticum canticorum*, I. 1–2, in *Ruperti Tuitiensis Commentaria in Canticum canticorum*, ed. by H. Haacke, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), p. 11; William of St Thierry, *Expositio super Cantica canticorum*, I. 37, in *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry: Exposé sur le Cantique des cantiques*, ed. by J.-M. Déchanet, Sources chrétiennes, 82 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1962); and more recently as *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia II.*, ed. by P. Verdeyen and St. Ceglar, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 87 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 1–133. For the attribution by William, see Déchanet, *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry*, pp. 120–21. All these commentators follow the attribution made by Origenes, *Commentarium in Cantica canticorum*, I, in *Origenes Werke*; Vol. 8: *Homilien zu Samuel I, zum Hohelied und zu den Propheten: Kommentar zum Hohelied*, ed. by W. A. Baehrens, Die griechischen christlichen Schrifsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, 33 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925), pp. 61–241 (p. 92). And Origenes' *Homilia in Canticum canticorum*, I. 2, in Baehrens, *Homilien zu Samuel I*, pp. 26–60 (p. 30).

[38] This impression will be strengthened by the way Bernard uses his different attributions to create not only several alternatives for the staging of the verse, but to create the impression of a continuous inner development of the part the Bride has to fill in the dramatics. In the beginning her desire for the Groom is central, in the end she is the one desired by the girls.

As a matter of fact, Bernard's predilections for scriptural exegesis shed some more light on the reasons why he was so much occupied by the possibilities of drama. Only three more extended exegeses were incorporated by himself in his literary inheritance; two of them concern biblical texts of a highly dramatic character: the *Song of Songs* and the story of the *Annunciation* (Luke 1. 28–38).[39] In both cases, it is not only the inner dramatics of the relevant texts that are emphasized, as exemplified by the opening of the ninth *Sermon on the Canticle*. Bernard also makes use of the internal scriptural dramaturgy to stage a completely new kind of drama in which the timeless reality, included by the text, imposes itself on the mortal existence of the author (or the reader whose reading is only meant to re-create the original intention of the writer speaking in the text) in a similar way to that realized for the monks by the spiritual dramatics in Clairvaux.

This can be clearly shown by the *Homilies on the Annunciation*. In the opening of the third homily, Bernard is presented preparing himself to speak the words of the angel at the Annunciation.

> With pleasure I take up the words of the saints, whenever I think it convenient, in order to make more welcome by the beauty of the plates whatever I have to offer on them to the reader. But let me now start with the words of the Prophet: 'woe is me not because I have held my peace', like the Prophet, but because I did speak, 'because I am a man of unclean lips' (Is 6. 5). Alas! how much vanity, how much falsehood, how much dirth I remember to have vomited up by this most filthy mouth of mine, by which I now assume to revolve heavenly words! I am awfully afraid that I will hear forthwith the words spoken to me: why dost thou declare my justices, and take my covenant in thy mouth? (Ps 49. 16) Would there be also brought to me from the heavenly altar, not one single coal, but rather a huge flaming globe, that alone can be sufficient to burn out completely all the inveterate foulness of my swollen mouth. Only this could make me worthy to repeat somehow in my own speech the chaste and grateful conversation of the Angel to the Virgin and of the Virgin to him![40]

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[39] The third exegesis is his commentary on the Psalm 90, *Qui habitat*, was incorporated in the sermons for Lent. Bernard did write other commentaries on scriptural passages, but most of them are short and less developed. They often form part of another discourse.

[40] *Homiliae in laudibus Virginis Matris* [=Miss], III. 1: 'Libenter, [. . .] sermone!' (SBO, IV, pp. 35–36):

> Libenter, ubi mihi congruere video, verba Sanctorum assumo, quo vel ex vasculorum pulchritudine gratiora fiant quaeque in eis lectori apposuerim. Ut autem nunc a propheticis verbis incipiam: 'vae mihi', non quidem, sicut Prophetae, 'quia tacui', sed quia locutus sum, 'quoniam vir pollutus labiis ego sum'. Heu quot vana, quot falsa, quot turpia per hoc ipsum spurcissimum os meum evomuisse me recolo, in quo nunc caelestia revolvere verba praesumo! Vehementer timeo, ne iamiam audiam ad me dictum: 'Quare tu enarras iustitias meas, et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum'? Utinam et mihi de superno altari, non quidem carbo unus, sed ingens globus igneus afferatur, qui videlicet multam et inveteratam prurientis oris mei rubiginem ad plenum

What is going to happen in the text is presented as something different from just another commentary of a scriptural fragment. Apparently, Bernard is not just willing to elucidate the biblical text: he intends to incorporate it into his own exegesis. And in order to achieve his aim, he himself will have to embody the participants in the conversation, and in the first instance he has to play the part of the angel. Bernard makes it clear that it will not serve just to repeat the angel's words. If he wants to speak them convincingly, he will have to be as pure as the angel—in a certain sense he will have to be identical with the angel. Only then, by being somehow an angel himself, his own speech can be worthy of the angel's words.

In the opening of this third homily, Bernard assumes the role of the angel. He forces the reader to hear in his, Bernard's, speech the voice of the angel, but he does not only want to speak like the angel, his aim is to be regarded as the angel. In front of his reader and with regard to the part of the angel in his text, Bernard shows himself willing to personify almost the same characteristics that made him equate his own monastery with the heavenly Jerusalem, in his letter to the Bishop of Lincoln. He strives (*tota mentis devotione*) for an imitation of the angel's attitude (*conversationis imitatione*) by the way of a recuperation of the same inner disposition (*cognatione quadam spiritus*). The reading process itself is transformed into some sort of spiritual drama on the same principles that made of monastic life in Clairvaux a dramatical evocation of the celestial and future truth of eternity.

Conclusion: Jerusalem and Clairvaux

Clairvaux really proves to be a Jerusalem, as Bernard described it in his letter for young Canon Philip, and his last words in the fragment quoted, in which he describes the affiliation of the Jerusalem of Clairvaux to the heavenly city,[41] take the meaning of a real summary in stage directing:

> A complete devotion of the mind (*tota mentis devotione*), by which the monk has to devote himself to the authority of the abbot and to the role assigned to him, like a real actor to his director and part to play, as Bernard shows in his own assumption of the role of the angel in the Annunciation-scene;
>
> an imitative way of life (*conversationis imitatione*), by which the monk fills in his part of the spiritual drama Bernard daily evokes in his sermons, like an actor his character, and as Bernard himself wants to be assimilated to the angel by regaining a similar purity of mind;

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excoquere sufficiat, quatenus Angeli ad Virginem et Virginis ad ipsum grata invicem ac casta colloquia dignus habear meo qualicumque replicare sermone!

[41] Letter 64. 2: 'Et si vultis scire, Claravallis est. Ipsa est Ierusalem, ei quae in caelis est, tota mentis devotione, et conversationis imitatione, et cognatione quadam spiritus sociata' (SBO, VII, pp. 157–58). See the opening section of this article.

> a spiritual affinity (*cognatione quadam spiritus*), by which the monk participates in the eternal and celestial truth as it is mimetically represented in the every day dramaturgy at Clairvaux, like the actor for the time of the staging belongs to the world of the play, and as Bernard wants to be identified with the angel in the text and during the reading process.

By his clear insight into the most fundamental principles of dramaturgy, Bernard tries to convert monastic life into a never-ending drama. In a time without theatre in the strict modern sense,[42] he shows all the capacities of a well-learned stage director, knowing how to cast the parts of the spiritual play he intends to produce with his disciples (his monks or his readers), knowing how to set up and co-ordinate a rehearsal, knowing finally what makes a good actor. Yet, he does not want to produce a theatrical representation in a strict sense. He aims at something higher. Drama allows him to impose on his disciples, in a very concrete way, a sort of double identity without the inner scission this might provoke. By filling their parts within the dramatic tension created by Bernard's words, they start to participate in the eternal, timeless truth that will be theirs in the afterlife. At the same time, they remain who they are mortals, submitted to earthly time. Only the continuous dramatics inside the monastic scenery and under the directory of Bernard's spiritual authority allows this breaking up of the existing discrepancy between time and eternity in the individual's life.

Within the earthly scenery of the monastery the celestial reality of the future is staged. Thanks to the spiritual authority of the abbot, the monks know what they are looking at around them, but come to realize in the meantime that they are inside the 'play', that they are the actors themselves who have to perform the dramatic action. Inside the monastery, they have to learn how to fulfil the role imposed on them, how to make their earthly, mortal, temporary existence perform the heavenly, immortal, eternal reality of the abbot's stage direction. Clairvaux proves to be a real acting school where one learns how to enact eternity on earth.

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[42] See Drumbl, 'Ludus iucundus'.

The Continuum of Time and Eternity in the *Liber specialis gratiae* of Mechtild of Hackeborn (1241–99)

ANN MARIE CARON

Many of the images used by medieval artists and authors to represent heaven and paradise are found in the Bible and the liturgy, or derive from a mixture of biblical and classical sources.[1] In his book, *Love of Learning and the Desire for God,* Jean Leclercq discusses some of these well-defined, almost uniform set of images: the heavenly Jerusalem, ascent to heaven, temple, fellowship of the angels, and the glory of paradise.[2] He corroborates that, in the select writings of the monks, such images became symbols and themes to evoke and express a monk's devotion to heaven, that is, his desire for God.[3] When Leclercq's work was published, the mystical writings and *vitae*, that is, the lives of medieval religious

[1] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland, circa 1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 45, 46.

[2] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), pp. 65–86.

[3] Leclercq explains in *Love of Learning*, p. 65, that:

> Monastic culture of the Middle Ages has two kinds of sources. Some are of a literary nature: written texts whose content must be assimilated through meditative reading or through study. Others belong to the domain of religious experience. [. . .] On the one hand, learning is necessary if one is to approach God and to express what is perceived of him. On the other hand, literature must be continually transcended and elevated in the striving to attain eternal life.

Also see Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 31–44 where he explores desire for God through the figure of Gregory the Great.

women, nuns as well as beguines, received scant attention from the academy.[4]

The *Liber specialis gratiae* (*The Book of Special Grace*)[5] of the thirteenth century Cistercian nun, Mechtild of Hackeborn (1241-1299),[6] presents many rich images evoking and expressing her devotion to heaven, that is, her desire for God and the reciprocity of God's love for her. The second part of this essay will focus on two images from her *Liber specialis gratiae*: the *heart as house* and the *fellowship of the angels*. Examination of these images that express her devotion to heaven, illustrates in some measure how this late medieval Cistercian nun communicates her relationship with God triune, central for the continuum of time and eternity in her lived spiritual theology. Part one serves as an introduction to the broader concepts of: eternity, time, and heaven, the *Liber specialis gratiae*, and pertinent gleanings from contemporary scholars of medieval women's writings on metaphor and imagination.

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[4] Leclercq draws upon male monastic writers. The more recent work of Jeffrey F. Hamburger draws on some of the same themes and images discussed by Leclercq while attending to the writings of medieval women. See for instance, Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

[5] *Sanctae Mechtildis virginis ordinis Sancti Benedicti Liber Specialis Gratiae*, Revelationes Gertrudianae ac Mechtildianae, 2 (Paris: Oudin, 1877), 1–432, hereafter cited as *Liber*. All English translations are my own unless indicated. My translations in this paper are also derived from the French translation: *Révélations de Sainte Mechtilde, le Livre de la Grace spéciale, traduites sur l'edition Latine des pérés bénédictins de Solesmes* (Paris: Tours, 1920), hereafter cited as *Révélations*.

[6] Mechtild of Hackeborn was a nun at the monastery of Saint Maria in Saxony, more popularly known as Helfta. While the monastery was never formally incorporated into the Cistercian Order, the founding women came from the Cistercian monastery of St Jakob and St Burchard, located in the city of Halberstadt, in the archdiocese of Magdeburg. The community observed Cistercian customs and the Benedictine Rule. For further discussion see: M. Bangert, "Die sozio-kulturelle Situation des Klosters St Maria in Helfta," *Vor dir stet die leere Schale meiner Sehnsucht Die Mystik der Frauen von Helfta*, ed. by Michael Bangert and Hildegund Kuel (Leipzig: St Benno, 1998), pp. 29–48, esp. pp. 29–35. Pertinent to the argument are the studies of Brigitte Degler-Spengler and Kasper Elm. See also Mary Jeremy Finnegan, *The Women of Helfta: Scholars and Mystics*, rev. edn (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1991) pp. 11–25; Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), esp. pp. 174–76. She acknowledges that Helfta is very much under the influence of Cistercian spirituality. See also Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism 1200-1350* (New York: Crossroads, 1998), pp. 267–282.

I

Eternity, Time and Heaven

Eternity is commonly understood as an unending length of time, or as timelessness, or as a state that includes and transcends time.[7] In cosmology, the term 'heaven' may denote the expanse of space that seems to be over the earth like a dome. In religion and theology, the term designates the dwelling place of God, the angels, and the blessed, or the condition of final and perfect bliss itself.[8] Without using metaphors of time and space, we lack the imagination and vocabulary to define or describe heaven. Time and space, as applied to heaven, are ontological metaphors referring to something beyond the limits of the human mind.[9]

In Christian discourse, the concept of heaven is often expressed in the language of belief or confession. Heaven is where the triune God dwells or heaven denotes being in the presence of Christ, encountering Christ, seeing Christ, merging with Christ, or being made one with Christ. In other words, one is in heaven insofar as one is in Christ. The term, beatific vision, signifies that in heaven there is a union with the triune God that is intense, permanent and complete. In this heavenly union, complete love and complete knowledge are one and the same. Further, heaven is that state of being in which all are united in love with God and with one another. During the earthly sojourn, a person may have a transitory or prolonged consciousness of oneness with God. The term mystical union denotes this oneness.[10]

Heaven is itself a metaphor of metaphors, for as a metaphor it opens to more and more meaning. Hence, Christian beliefs can be communicated in another kind of

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[7] Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 9.

[8] *The New Dictionary of Theology*, ed. by Joseph A. Komonchak and others (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1987), pp. 545–46: 'heaven'.

[9] See Russell, *History of Heaven*, pp. 12–13, 15. Russell maintains:

> If time in heaven is different from time defined as a measure of motion within the cosmos, then this cosmic nontime is a metaphor of time that is ontologically real, a 'heaventime' distinct from ordinary time. [. . .] Whether heaven is space or place is an equally difficult question. [. . .] If heaven is beyond space, it cannot be a place as place is normally defined. [. . .] Another tension is the idea of heaven is that heaven is somehow on earth (among us) and the idea that heaven is beyond earth (pp. 12–13);The role of space and time in the concept of heaven is related to the presence of bodies there, which requires that it be in some sense a place. (p. 15).

[10] See for instance Bernard McGinn, 'Love, Knowledge and *Unio mystica* in the Western Christian Tradition', *Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: An Ecumenical Dialogue*, ed. by Moshe Idel and Bernard McGinn (New York: Continuum, 1996), pp. 59–87.

language, namely, the language of metaphor. Metaphors of heaven, evoking the reality of heaven, are written in the language of earthly delight: sound (melody, silence, conversation); sight (light, proportion); taste and smell (banquet, sweetness); and, touch (embracing the beloved). This is the language of poets, mystics, the Bible, and the liturgy. It is often the language used by Mechtild of Hackeborn in her *Liber specialis gratiae*.

The Liber specialis gratiae

Sometime in the year 1290–91 Mechtild of Hackeborn, then fifty years old and in poor health, narrated an account of her mystical prayer experience and teachings to her long time friend and confidant, Gertrud of Helfta, and to another nun. Although Mechtild participated in the editing of her narrative account,[11] these women are believed to be the primary transcribers of her book.[12] She learned the title, *Liber specialis gratiae*, from the Lord and understood that it would be an occasion of grace for others.[13] In its original form, and in an abbreviated version, this work was the most widely known of the Helfta treatises in the Middle Ages.[14]

The *Liber specialis gratiae* consists of seven books, or parts, has several different genres, and is especially representative of the genre of medieval women's visionary literature. Today the writings of the women of Helfta are among the most important writings of thirteenth century Cistercian spirituality.[15] The *Liber specialis gratiae,* then, is the primary source for any study of Mechtild of Hackeborn, her revelations or visionary prayer, her prayer exercises, and teaching. It gives witness to a spiritual theology, that is, Mechtild's lived theology, in the monastic tradition of Cistercian women.[16]

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[11] *Liber*, 5. 32. The editors remark: 'We have added nothing to what we have actually heard and carefully preserved, for the praise of god and the usefulness of the neighbour'; *Liber*, 2. 31. 27.

[12] See *Liber*, Prologue, pp. 5–7; 5. 30. The second nun is sometimes referred to as a 'compilatrix'. See McGinn, *Flowering of Mysticism*, p. 268.

[13] *Liber*, 2. 43.

[14] Originally written in Latin, it was translated into Middle Dutch, Middle English and in the sixteenth century into German and Italian. See McGinn, *Flowering of Mysticism*, p. 269.

[15] Edmund Mikkers, 'The Spirituality of Cistercian Nuns: A Methodological Approach', in *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women*, ed. by John Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, Medieval Religious Women, 3, Bk 2, Cistercian Studies, 113B (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 525–42, esp. p. 532.

[16] Readers will not find here a theology that is systematic or abstract.

The Language of Metaphor and Imagination in Medieval Women's Writings

Recent scholarly study of the writings of medieval religious women reveals a greater understanding and appreciation of the language of metaphor and imagination. Scholars point out that the colourful, poetic, even extravagant imagery in the women's visions 'served as the vehicle for complex theological formulations that, in substance as well as in essence, differed from those of monks and male theologians'.[17]

Furthermore, some of these scholars maintain that images form the very constituents of a distinctive spirituality. This spirituality placed special emphasis on the body and made the body itself a vehicle of transcendence. As Caroline Walker Bynum and others affirm, the corporeality of female devotions evidenced in medieval women's writings correspond, at least in part, to the growing interest in the humanity of Christ, in his body, and in all things bodily.[18] Bynum explains: 'To them, humanity was, as Mechtild of Hackeborn said, the "Word made flesh". Humanity was not for these women a gender-related image. Behind medieval women's concern with physicality lay the doctrine of the Incarnation'. Humanity was 'the ultimate negativity—the otherness from God that the God-man redeemed by taking it into himself'. [19]

Medieval woman, like Mechtild of Hackeborn, understood that 'man signifies the divinity of the Son of God and woman his humanity'. Both equations, recalls Bynum, were metaphorical. The second was in some sense true. Medieval men's religious stories and symbols abound with images of full social reversal. What women's images and stories expressed most fundamentally, Bynum argues, was neither reversal nor elevation but continuity.[20]

Still others point out that the writings of medieval women mystics are 'of God'. In other words, the concern of these women was to document their relationship with

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[17] Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, p. 4.

[18] See for example Carolyn Walker Bynum, '". . . and Woman His Humanity": Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages', in *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, ed. by C. W. Bynum and P. S. Richman (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), pp. 257–88; Rosemary Drage Hale, '"Taste and See, for God is Sweet": Sensory Perception and Memory in Medieval Christian Mystical Experience', in *Vox Mystica: Essays for Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. by Anne Clark Bartlett, Thomas Bestul, Janet Goebel and William F. Pollard (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995), pp. 3–15; Wolfgang Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics* (London: Routledge, 1981).

[19] Bynum, '. . . and Woman His Humanity', pp. 279–80.

[20] Bynum, '. . . and Woman His Humanity', pp. 279–80. See also Bynum's, 'Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality', in *Anthropology and the Study of Religions*, ed. by Robert Moore and Frank Reynolds (Chicago: Centre for the Study of Religion, 1984), p. 119.

God. They were not writing about God in any abstract or theoretical sense.[21] Correlated with the understanding of their intent, is a better understanding today of the genre of visionary literature. As Elizabeth Petroff observes:

> The most obvious single narrative unit of women's writing is the retelling of a vision, and that vision has two mnemonic structural elements: visual iconography and dialogue. Visions are creative acts. [. . .] The goal of the visionary—and the purpose of devotional literature written by her—was a continually deepening relationship with the divine, and the corollary of that was ever deepening self-knowledge.[22]

These few significant insights from contemporary scholarship caution and challenge us to come to Mechtild of Hackeborn's *Liber specialis gratiae* more aware of the genre of visionary writing and attentive to her concrete images and metaphors. On the one hand, with other medieval writers, her images representing heaven and paradise, time and eternity, echo images in the bible and the liturgy. On the other hand, we need to attend to these concrete images and metaphors with new eyes and expectation. By images and metaphors Mechtild of Hackeborn communicates her spiritual insights in concrete word pictures. Such portraits are helps to her and others who seek to deepen their desire for, and relationship with, God triune.

II

The Image: 'Heart as House'

The image 'heart as house' is one of the many images and/or metaphors that Mechtild of Hackeborn uses to communicate her relationship with Christ in the triune God, and the special gifts or graces she receives in this relationship. This image needs to be set in context and in relationship with the divine heart and the Christian eucharist, also called the mass. In the *Liber specialis gratiae*, Mechtild

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[21] See *Beguine Spirituality: Mystical Writings of Mechtild of Magdeburg, Beatrice of Nazareth and Hadewijch of Brabant*, ed. and introduced by Fiona Bowie, translated by Oliver Davies, Spiritual Classics (New York: Crossroads, 1990), pp. 40–41. Women's mystical writings are highly personal and, although not autobiographical in the way we understand the term today, are intended to communicate the way in which God has entered and transformed their lives, drawing them into an ever closer perception of the divine presence.

[22] *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, ed. by Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 19, 30.

most often communicates the relational mystery of divine love in Christ with the title and metaphor, divine heart.[24] This becomes a leitmotif of her religious imagination. As a focal point of her incarnational spirituality, the divine heart of Christ is by definition a bodily as well as a spiritual organ.

Mechtild intimately grasps the continuum of time and eternity, a beginning of eternity in time, in and through her relationship with Christ. This is most fully symbolized in the *Opus Dei*, the daily round of the Divine Hours and the mass. The narrative of her visionary, experiential prayer cannot be understood apart from this liturgical–biblical matrix.[25] The communal celebration of the eucharist is a principal locus of Mechtild's intimate and mystical communion with Christ and God triune.[26] In the thirteenth century the two high points of the eucharistic celebration are the consecration and the reception of the Eucharist.

In the first narrative account in Book One of her *Liber specialis gratiae*, a golden communion cup symbolizes the gift of the divine heart.[27] At mass the cup holds the consecrated, wine, the blood of Christ. Wine symbolizes the spiritual gifts of joy, blessed ecstasy, and spiritual intoxication.[28] It also signifies a foretaste of the eternal banquet and life everlasting. In her vision Christ places the chalice, symbol of his heart (his self), in her after she receives Holy Communion and ministered the cup to all the heavenly choirs. Christ, the God-man pledges his heart to her as an organ of praise, so that she would praise God always in her virtuous life, with and through the divine heart.

A phenomenology of perception locates consciousness and cognition in their experiential context, in a network of relations generated and sustained by human embodiment.[29] Perception involves the body as a relatively unified whole in its environment. Space, the major structuring principal of visual experience,[30] is both an external quality and an internal quality. Spatially structured, the perceptual system of

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[23] See Ann Marie Caron, 'Invitations of the Divine Heart: The Mystical Writings of Mechtild of Hackeborn', *American Benedictine Review*, 45 (1994), 321–38; also Bernard McGinn, *Flowering of Mysticism*, pp. 272–82; and Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*.

[24] See Ann Marie Caron, 'Taste and See the Goodness of the Lord', in *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women*, ed. by John Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, Medieval Religious Women, 3, Bk 2, Cistercian Studies, 113B (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 509–24.

[25] The role of eucharist in Christian spirituality is an integral, though today, often a forgotten part of traditional mystical theology. See '*Eucharistie et expérience mystique*', in *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, IV, 1586.

[26] *Liber*, 1. 1; see also *Liber*, 4. 1. 1.

[27] Wine and wine cellar became topos in mystical terminlogy.

[28] David Chidester, *Word and Light: Seeing, Hearing and Religious Discourse* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), p. 8.

[29] Chidester, *Word and Light*, p. 9; see esp. chapters 1–3.

vision involves the perceiver in the experience of simultaneous co-presence and continuity in relation to the visual field.



Figure 1. The Eucharistic Banquet, drawing, c. 1500. Eichstätt, St Walburg. Copy of photograph by Jeffrey F. Hamburger (with permission).

Visionary texts, such as the *Liber specialis gratiae* of Mechtild of Hackeborn, validate sight as a mode of spiritual perception. Sometimes sight is imaginary, at other times the visionary sees with 'bodily eyes'. Sometimes Mechtild visualizes herself in the central action at the eschatological banquet, the meal of the Lamb. She relates that she serves at the banquet table and also sees her monastic community gathered around the altar where Christ feeds them with his body and blood, a Holy

Communion.[30] At this table, illustrated in figure one,[31] the nun is made one with her beloved and God Triune as she feasts on the rich food, the gifts of bread and wine now become the body and blood of her Lord and God. She is intoxicated or inebriated by the wine, and is melted as wax is melted by fire.[32]

In and through the mass, celebrated in her monastery church of St Mary, earth and heaven are united. Mechtild grasps intimately the continuum of time and eternity, a beginning of eternity in time in and through this regular exercise of worship. In the words of the beguine and mystic, Hadewijch, 'they who strive and desire to please God in love, begin here on earth that eternal life by which God lives eternally'.[33]

Examining the Image: 'Heart as House'

In Mechtild's *Liber specialis gratiae*, a cluster of three images can be associated with the image of 'heart as house': (a) heart as house of refuge, (b) heart as house enclosed and (c) heart as bridal chamber. As a cluster image, 'heart as house', is a symbol of interiority evoking space, co-presence, and gift.

a) Heart as House of Refuge

When Mechtild was in her fiftieth year, the Lord gave her a solemn pledge. He promised her that on the great day of judgement, that is at her death and passing to eternal life, she would be among those who would hear the consoling words: 'Come blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you'.[34] These

[30] One of the central ideas in the spirituality of Mechtild of Hackeborn and the Helfta nuns is this habit of viewing the celestial realities in light of the liturgical action to which they correspond: of passing from the earthly liturgy to the heavenly liturgy, from the liturgy celebrated by the monastic community to that of the exalted Christ, of the angels, the blessed. From medieval eucharistic theology as well as in the arts Christ, as Mechtild related, is actively present in the mass, as priest, host, offering and food.

[31] As part of a group, this drawing was produced c. 1500 at the abbey of St. Walburg near Eichstätt, inhabited by Benedictine nuns. Some of these drawings, like the 'Eucharistic Banquet' show a relationship to Mechtilds's visions in the *Liber specialis gratiae.* 'None of Mechtild's visions corresponds precisely to a drawing from St Walburg, and a direct relationship is unlikely, … Both drawings and visions, however, rely on a similar range of imagery, combined in kindred ways, implying that they served comparable functions.' (Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, 134; see also the image p. 140, fig. 84 and plate 11).

[32] See sober inebriation in Roger DeGanck, *Beatrice of Nazareth in her Context*, Cistercian Studies, 121 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991), 477–80. Also see *liquescere*, a melting caused by the vehemence of ardent love in DeGanck, *Beatrice*, p. 484.

[33] *Hadewijch: The Complete Works*, trans. and intro. by Mother Columba Hart O.S.B., Classics of Western Spirituality (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist Press, 1980), Letter 12, section 13, p. 70. See DeGanck, *Beatrice*, pp. 584–85.

[34] *Liber*, 2, 19, p. 155; Révélations, 2, 19, p. 184.

scriptural words echo the introit of the mass, *Venite benedicte*,[35] that she chanted that day. Later, Mechtild recounts that she felt an ineffable and extraordinary joy. Her heartfelt desire was always to hear the Lord speak to her the word 'Come'. On this day the Lord pledged to her his divine heart as a 'house of refuge', promising her that, at the hour of death, she would have eternal rest in his heart.

In this vision, Christ's heart is symbolized as a house, a sanctuary, a place of intimacy, indwelling, and rest.[36] The image, 'heart as house' of refuge, connotes her lived understanding of the continuum of time and eternity, that is, her relationship with God triune that is now and forever, and suggests that heaven is a state of being, not a location after death.

b) Heart as Houses Enclosed

At another time, Christ showed Mechtild a splendid house, extensive, and noble.[37] She recognized without difficulty that this house was the divine heart because 'she had seen it more than once under this symbol'. In this house, illustrated in figure two, she saw a smaller one made of cedar wood, lined on the interior with silver walls. [38] The Lord dwelt there. This smaller house signified her soul, that is, herself. The door of the little house was placed toward the east. It had a golden bolt, from which hung a golden chain, extending to the heart of God, so that when the door was opened, the chain could be seen to move the heart of God. The door, she understood, designated the desire of the soul; the bolt, its will; the chain, the true desire of God, which always comes before the desire and will of the soul and stimulates and draws it to God. The Lord said to her, 'Your soul is always enclosed in my heart and mine in thee'.

Hamburger observes that in this 'allegory of the mechanics of salvation', Mechtild describes a complex shifting space. The outer shell represents the heart of God,

[35] This is the Introit for Wednesday of Easter week: 'Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum, alleluia: quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi, alleluia, alleluia'. 'Cantate, Domino canticum novum: cantate, Domino omnis terra' (Matthew 25. 34; Psalm 95. 1). ['Come blessed of my father, receive the kingdom, alleluia: which was prepared for you from the foundation of the world, alleluia, alleluia'. 'Sing to the Lord a new song, sing to the Lord all the earth'].

[36] See comments on rest and leisure as a monastic concept in Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 84.

[37] *Liber*, 1, 19, p. 61: 'De domo cordis'; *Révélations*, 1, 19, p. 73. This revelation is placed in the liturgical year on the Second Sunday of Easter, also called the Octave of Easter. See Caron, 'Taste and See', p. 518. This, I suggest, is important in the reading of the whole chapter.

[38] See Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, p. 141, fig. 85 and plate 12.

the inner container, lined with incorruptible cedar, her own heart. But God also resides in the innermost space, so that Mechtild's heart both contains and is contained by the Deity. The bolt and chain on the door, a representation of prevenient grace, connect the two chambers and set the elaborate allegorical mechanism in motion.[39]

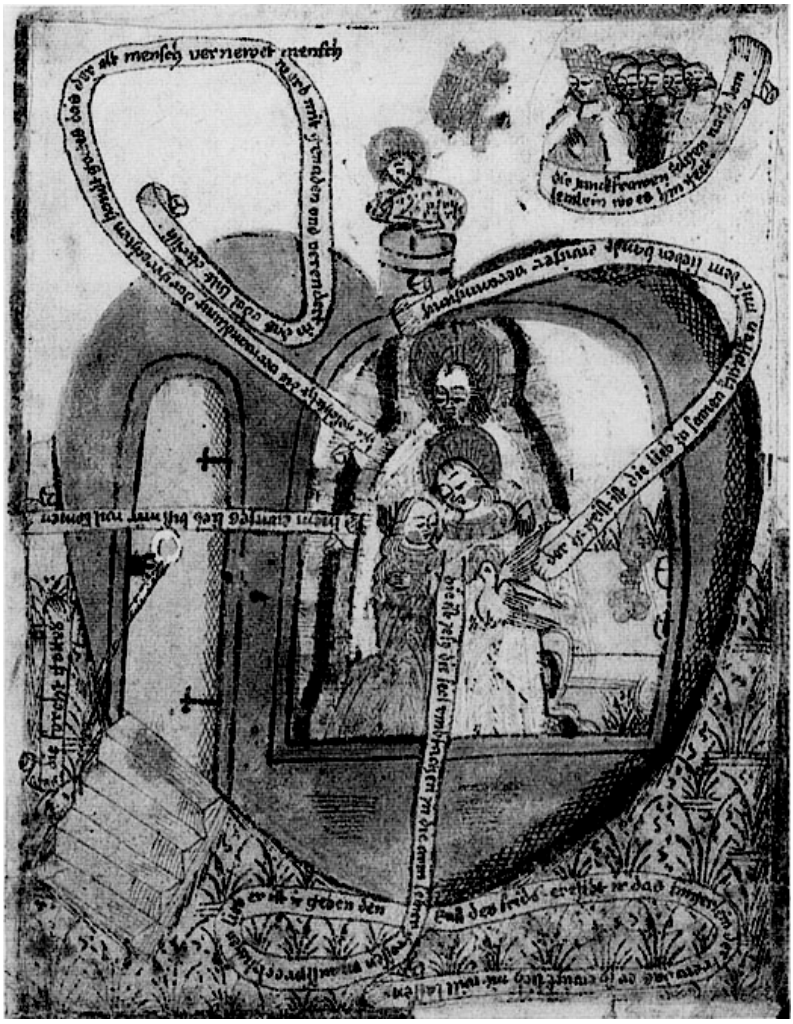


Figure 2. 'The Heart as House', c. 1500, from St Walburg; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Copy of photograph by Jeffery F. Hamburger, (with permission).

[39] Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, p. 169.

Mechtild's vision is mentioned in association with the Sunday following Easter Sunday. At that time, she is praying to receive worthily the precious body of the Lord, her beloved, in Holy Communion. She receives and passes on a teaching from Christ. He instructs her: 'When you desire to receive Communion, examine with care the house of your soul in order to see that the walls are neither unclean nor deteriorating'. When Mechtild receives Holy Communion, she enters the house, that is, the heart of Christ, and sits at the feet of the Lord. The Lord immediately lifts her up, places her on his heart, and kisses her three times saying: 'I give you the kiss of peace, with all my strength, all my wisdom, and all my unchanging goodness'.[40]

c) Heart as Bridal Chamber

At another time Mechtild relates that Christ invites her to join him in the bridal chamber of his heart.[41] As her account of this vision opens, however, Mechtild is listening to a sound, like someone knocking. It resounds from within, as if Christ is seeking entrance at the gate of her heart. The sound seems to be coming from the innermost reaches of the heart of God. As she meditates, desiring to understand its meaning, the Lord answers her. 'These three knocks denote three words that I address to the loving soul. "Come into the chamber."'[42] The word 'come' is an invitation to be separated from all creatures. She is to come into the chamber like a bride. The chamber is the divine heart. Mechtild entered the chamber of the heart of her Lord. In Christ's heart abound delights and joys; more than any human heart could long for.

'Heart as House': Theological Formulations

If the colourful, poetic, even extravagant imagery in the visions of medieval women 'served as the vehicle for complex theological formulations', what does this cluster image—'heart as house'—suggest? For the nun and monk, the monastic life is viewed as an anticipation of celestial life, a real beginning of eternal life here on earth. For all Christians eternal life begins in baptism. The monastic life is an intensification of living one's baptismal promises. In the ritual celebration of religious profession the young nun enacts her desire for God in her response of a life commitment and receives the symbols—veil, ring, etc.—in the ritual.[43]

The monastery itself is a place, a location in time and space. Architecturally and symbolically the walls of the monastery enclose and protect the nuns' and/or monks' practice of virtue. So the monastery can be viewed as a threshold. It is a

[40] *Liber*, 1, 19.

[41] *Liber*, 2, 20, p. 157: 'Qualiter Christus pro ea laudes Deo Patri persolvit'; *Révélations*, 2, 20, p. 186.

[42] Perhaps an allusion to the Book of Revelations.

[43] See Hamburger, *Rothschild Canticles*, pp. 50–52.

boundary of space and time, a liminal space. In this liminal space encounter with Christ is most efficacious in liturgical prayer, that is, the Hours of the Divine Office and mass. Here in Christ is experienced the nexus or connection between earth and heaven. On one level Mechtild of Hackeborn, is teaching that this enactment in ritual is also her internal participation in the mystery and source of her spiritual transformation. The soul of the nun or monk, as of any Christian, is where this nexus is experienced in faith.[44]

As Carolyn Walker Bynum convincingly argues, the eucharistic devotion of female mystics did not move them either to celebrate Christ's triumphal reversal of power of sinful flesh or to renounce their own status, but restored them to themselves through deep intimacy with Christ's love.

In Mechtild's *Liber specialis gratiae*, the divine heart is an engaging symbol of Christ. This symbol evokes a devotion that is personal and intimate, but not private, exclusive or extraordinary. It depicts the love of the triune God and the victorious redemptive work of Christ. The eucharist or mass celebrates the same reality, where Christ's sacramental presence is a memorial of redemption and participation and union in, with and through Christ. At the same time it is a foretaste of the eternal, celestial banquet of the lamb.[45] The memorial of Christ's life, death, and resurrection becomes a transforming reality as evidenced in the life of Mechtild of Hackeborn, and also, potentially, in the lives of those who intentionally celebrate the eucharist.

The continuum of time and eternity is rooted in this personal relationship with the divine. Heaven, then, is not some place else, nor is it a geographical place. Rather it is a state of delight, of union with God in Christ and the spirit. And Mechtild, like other women mystics, knew this in her contemplative consciousness of God's presence. They were very conscious that their lives on earth and their glory in heaven were an expression of God's love for them and their love for God. The beguine Hadewijch teaches: God himself is eternal time;[46] and when Beatrice of Nazareth writes 'the full length of God's time is eternity,[47] she sees God as 'eternity without time'.

The 'heart as house', in which Mechtild embraced Christ and the triune God, was the seat of her own soul, a place where she could take her spiritual bridegroom into the core of her being and where the bridegroom called and invited her. In the metaphor of return, the whole person—not just the soul or the body, but the soul and

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[44] As mentioned in the Rule of St Benedict: 'Let us stand to sing the psalms in such a way that our minds are in harmony with our voices' (chap. 19).

[45] See David Power, *The Eucharistic Mystery: Revitalizing the Tradition* (New York: Crossroads, 1992), pp. 304–16; and Mary M. Schaefer, 'Heavenly and Earthly Liturgies', *Worship*, 72 (1996), 482–505, esp. pp. 493–94.

[46] *Hadewijch The Complete Works*, Letter 22, section 119, p. 96, in DeGanck, *Beatrice*, p. 521.

[47] For Beatrice of Nazareth, as quoted in DeGanck, *Beatrice*, p. 521.

body—is involved. According to the women, this return to their spouse meant union forever, beyond time, space and matter. They talked about it, not in the language of doctrines, but in terms of their mystical experiences, using images to give voice to a practical, lived theology. Again, the eucharist signifies and effects the gift of indwelling grace, presence, communion, intimacy, and transformation. Desire for God was the root of their lives.

In monastic writing from the twelfth and thirteenth century the spiritual monastery is a recurring theme.[48] St Bernard for example wrote: 'I think that a soul in a state of grace is not only heavenly on account of its origin, it is even not unworthy itself to be called heaven on account of its imitation of heaven: it is heaven in its manner of life'.[49] St Bernard also asserted that the spiritual heaven, that is, the soul which is become a worthy dwelling for the Lord, should be adorned not by the sun, the moon, and the stars but by the beauty of all the virtues. What is the spiritual heaven? The spiritual heaven is the soul in whom the Lord dwells.[50]

The image and symbol of the 'heart as house', in Mechtild's *Liber specialis gratiae*, evokes Bernard's view of 'spiritual heaven'. Christ and the triune God dwell in the soul of Mechtild, and Mechtild dwells in the heart of God. The doors to this bridal chamber in the passages I have presented are often seen in association with moments of the mass, but are also evident in her long prayer at night before, during, or in relationship to the office called Vigils or Matins.

Many of the dynamic metaphors for the mutual opening to one another of God and a human soul are identical to the metaphors for heaven.[51] Mechtild sees (visions, images), hears (dialogue, melody, sound), tastes (banquet, sweetness) and touches (embrace of the beloved) celestial realities in light of the corresponding liturgical realities as she celebrated these with the nuns. They symbolize both the spiritual life

[48] Sometimes authors use this theme to describe the monastery and all its places suggesting these for their usefulness to the soul. At other times, the soul is seen as the monastery or cloister; now and then the officials of the monastery are compared to the virtues that should arise in the soul. Occasionally the Lord invites the mystic to find in his body her spiritual monastery.

[49] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons on the 'Song of Songs'*, 27. The Beauty of the Bride compared to the curtains of Solomon: why she is called a heaven. Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs: II*: sermons 21–46, in *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. by Killian Walsh, CFS, 7 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1983), III, 74–87. This text is paraphrased by Gertrud of Helfta, see bk 1, chap. 5: 'On the Nature and Description of the Spiritual Heaven', in Gertrude of Helfta, *The Herald of Divine Love*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), pp. 61–62.

[50] Bernard, *On the Song of Songs*, Sermon 27. II. 2, 3; and Sermon 27. IV. 6. Paraphrased in Gertrude, *Herald*, bk 1, chap. 5, p. 62.

[51] Russell, *History of Heaven*, p. 142: 'For the contemplative everything is what it is in its particular individuality and at the same time something more. This is the heart of metaphorical ontology: to accept the overt sense while affirming the fuller truth of the metaphorical sense'.

and the life of heaven. Heaven is more an eternal opening up than a static perfection. 'However much the theologians of the thirteenth century might define blessedness as the stilling of desire', reflects Caroline Walker Bynum, 'spiritual writers came increasingly to treat love as a longing that cannot be satiated or filled, magnifying itself forever as each increase of joy further stimulates need.'[52] The Cistercian nun, Mechtild of Hackeborn, certainly belongs with the latter writers.

The image, 'heart as house', is a rich and evocative symbol in the *Liber specialis gratiae*. The passages presented above illustrate only a few of the many referents of this image. The 'heart as house', in which Mechtild embraced Christ and the trinity was the seat of her own soul, a place where she could take her spiritual bridegroom into the core of her being and into which the bridegroom called and invited her. It signifies contemplative union, beatific mysticism, reciprocal indwelling, and evokes the continuum of time and eternity. The image 'heart as house' was also a place of refuge, a foretaste in mystical union, and a promise of everlasting union with the triune God.

The Fellowship of the Angels

The medieval monastic liturgy was sung prayer. Music creates an acoustic space which, as much as any other environment, enables ritual precisely to express meaning and purpose that cannot be put into words alone.[53] It is, by its very nature, a unitive event, uniting the singer with the song and the singers with each other. And it weds the assembly with the source and the content of the song, who is Christ.[54] Music has been called 'a sounding image of the Wisdom of God'.[55]

The Rule of St Benedict reminds nuns and monks that they stand in the presence of angel choirs whenever they chant. Steindl-Rast comments: 'They sing like angels, who are said to be calling one another, answering one another in never-ending praise. That is also an expression of spiritual life as a whole, which is, in its essence, a life of love, of listening and responding to God and to one another. Love is not a solo act'.[56]

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[52] Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*, Lectures on the History of Religions, n.s. 15 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 329.

[53] Edward Foley, 'Toward a Sound Theology', *Studia Liturgica*, 23 (1993), 121–39 (p. 132).

[54] Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos*, I. 6. 5; as quoted in Foley, 'Toward a Sound Theology', p. 137.

[55] Söhngen, 'Music and Theology', p. 14; as quoted in Foley, 'Toward a Sound Theology', p. 137.

[56] David Steindl-Rast and others, *Music of Silence: A Sacred Journey through the Hours of the Day* (Berkeley: Seastone, 1998) , p. 6.

Chant as Archetype

Yet, chant is more an inner experience than an acoustic phenomenon. Chant is also an archetype of Mechtild's way of life, wherein time flows harmoniously. In the monastic milieu, eternity is not a long, long time; it is rather the opposite of time. It is, as St Augustine said, 'the now that does not pass away' Eternity is accessible at any moment as the mysterious fullness of time. As already demonstrated in our discussion of Mechtild's usage of the image 'heart as house', the image connects two realms, that of *chronos* and of *kairos*. So, too, does the image, 'the fellowship of the angels'.

Chant or music for Mechtild of Hackeborn was not only a bridge between heaven and earth. It was the meeting place for all members of the people of God and the chief means of praising God.[57] Her service as cantor is a most obvious expression of her Cistercian spirituality and its keynote, praise of God.[58] Mechtild held the important office of cantor[59] in her monastery for forty years.[60] As first chantress of the choir, she intoned alone, and/or chanted with the schola many of the principal musical texts of the Divine Office and the mass. It is in association with this chant and its praise that some of the texts illustrating the image of the 'fellowship with the angels' are found in her *Liber specialis gratiae*.

Like many medieval nuns, Mechtild often heard angels singing the heavenly song while she chanted the office with the nuns.[61] For example, as Mechtild intoned an antiphon during Lauds, the morning hour of the Office, on the Feast of the Purification of Mary, she heard the choirs of angels in turn echo the antiphon while

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[57] See Ann Marie Caron, 'Mechtild of Hackeborn, Prophet of Divine Praise: To Sing God's Praise, to Live God's Song', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 36 (2001), 145–62.

[58] *Liber*, 7, 16.

[59] I suggest that the description of the Office of Cantor as outlined in *Ecclesiastica Officia (Les Ecclesiastica Officia cisterciens du XII*ème *siècle*, ed. by D. Choisselet and P. Vernet (Oelenberg: La Documentation Cistercienne, 1989); English trans.: *The Ancient Usages of Cîteaux*, ed. by Martinus Cawley OCSO (Lafayette, OR: Guadalupe, 1998)) is an important source that helps to clarify the important leadership role in which Mechtild served her community and why she is said to have governed the monastery with her sister, Abbess Gertrude of Hackeborn. This text is part of the corpus of Cistercian liturgical books standardized in 1184–86. For further discussion see Martinus Cawley, 'The Ancient Usages as "Cantorial Science"', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 34 (1999), 3–18.

[60] *Liber*, 7, 2.

[61] See Gertrud Jaron Lewis, 'Music and Dancing in the Fourteenth-Century Sister-Books', in *Vox Mystica: Essays for Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. by Anne Clark Bartlett, Thomas Bestul, Janet Goebel, and William F. Pollard (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995), pp. 159–69.

the nuns chanted the psalm.[62] She related that 'when the cherubim and seraphim took their turn the chant became so melodious that no harmony on earth could compare with theirs'.[63] Toward the end of Lauds, Mechtild heard the Blessed Virgin Mary singing the hymn in modulation, and the chant of the choirs of angels resounded in the heavens. In another vision, Mechtild saw a ten-stringed psaltery come from the divine heart toward her heart.[64] As she sounded each string on the psaltery for the pitch for the chant tone, each of the nine choirs of angels in turn sang with the monastic choir as one acclamation of praise.

Earth and Heaven United

For Mechtild and the Helfta nuns there is a strong sense of unity with the angelic world. We see it in the narratives mentioned above. Sometimes she envisions the angels present like a court around a king as mentioned in the account.

The next passage from the *Liber specialis gratiae* is taken from a visionary prayer which Mechtild recounts on a Sunday before the beginning of the Lenten season, when Christ invited her to come and dwell with him on the mountain.[65] Two examples from this long narrative continue to illustrate the functions of the angels and the song of praise. When Mechtild reached the third plateau of the mountain, she prostrated herself at the feet of Jesus. Then she heard the gentle voice of Christ resonate as an organ, and words from the *Song of Songs*, 'Arise my love, let me see your face'.[66] All the angels and saints surrounding the mountain chanted, in unison with God, a sweet healing prayer of love. Mechtild described their chant as sweet, and the modulation so gentle, that no human tongue would be able to repeat it.

When Mechtild reached the summit of the mountain, the seventh plateau, she again saw a multitude of angels surrounding the thrones of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin Mary. The seventh plateau was the place of the royal feast, that is, the celestial banquet and the song of praise. At this final plateau, the images suggest the unity of present, eschatological, and cosmic dimensions that are expressed in the celebration of the mass and in the continuum of time and eternity.

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[62] *Liber*, 1, 12, pp. 37–40: 'De purificatione b. Virginis et de sancta Anna'; *Révélations*, 1, 12, pp. 43–47. Antiphon: Benedixisti: Lord you have favoured your land, you have restored the fortunes of Jacob. This antiphon preceded Psalm 84.

[63] *Liber* 1, 12.

[64] *Liber*, 2. 20. 18, pp. 185, 186: how Christ performs fitting praise to God the Father for her. See also Jubilus (an exercise of praise and thanksgiving) in Gertrud the Great of Helfta, *Spiritual Exercises*, trans., intro., notes and indexes by Gertrud Jaron Lewis and Jack Lewis (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989), pp. 93–121.

[65] *Liber*, 1, 13, 'De monte et septem gradibus et fontibus, et de throno Dei et beatae Virginis'; *Révélations*, 1, 13, pp. 43–47.

[66] *Song of Songs*, 2. 14.

Care and Protection

Not only do the angels serve and sing the praises of the triune God, they are also protectors of humankind as illustrated in many other passages in the *Liber*. On one occasion, Mechtild sees numerous angels standing in reverence before the Lord, the King. She heard the Lord say to her: 'I have placed them at your service'. She desires that the service of all the nuns be for the praise of her beloved. Immediately, the angels placed their hearts in union with the divine heart, making a song so melodious that no one could repeat it.[67] Another night when she could not sleep, she heard the angels singing, 'Cast your care upon the Lord and he will sustain you'.[68] Angels lead Mechtild to the Blessed Virgin Mary,[69] defend and assist Mechtild,[70] accompany the nuns,[71] serve Mechtild,[72] offer the prayer of the community,[73] assist the Virgin Mary at the time of her death,[74] and are imitated by Mechtild.[75] These few examples in the *Liber specialis gratiae* illustrate occasions when Mechtild of Hackeborn experiences the angels' protection and care.

'Fellowship of Angels': Theological Formulations

The 'fellowship of the angels', symbolizing accompaniment and protection of Mechtild and the nuns, are rich symbols of the friends of God, who stand before the throne of God, joining earth and heaven in the joyous song of God's praise. The adoration that angels render God became an image medieval nuns and monks used to express the praise of God they performed through worship and expressed in their living. Monastic reflection on the theme of the 'fellowship of the angels' was intended to motivate them to be more self-consciously aware of the eschatological intent and meaning of their lives, again suggesting the continuum of time and eternity. In the medieval concept of heaven, heaven was conceived socially as being

[67] *Liber*, 2, 18, 'Quod Deus animam suis virtutibus decoravit'; *Révélations*, 2, 18, p. 182.

[68] Psalm 54. 23; quoted in *Liber*, 1, 15, 'De quinque modis Deum laudandi'; *Révélations*, 1, 15, p. 55.

[69] *Liber*, 1, 40, 'Angeli animam ad beatam Mariam deducunt'; *Révélations*, 1, 40, p. 149.

[70] *Liber*, 2, 22, 'De rubo et virga justitiae et de IX choris Angelorum'; *Révélations*, 2, 22, pp. 192–93.

[71] *Liber*, 1, 5, 'In vigilia nativitatis Domini'; *Liber*, 1, 5, 'De Christi nativitate melliflua'; *Révélations*, 1, 5, p. 15; *Liber*, 1, 30, 'De Angelis, et qualiter homines socientur eisdem'; *Révélations*, 1, 30, pp. 124–25.

[72] *Liber*, 2, 18, 'Quod Deus animam suis virtutibus decoravit'; *Révélations*, 2, 18, p. 182.

[73] *Liber*, 4, 21, 'Quod utile sit homini sensus a noxiis refrenare'; *Révélations*, 4, 21, p. 331.

[74] *Liber*, 1, 26, 'De vneranda Assumptione Deatae Mariae Virginis, Qualiter Maria Virgo sit assumpta'; *Révélations*, 1, 26.

[75] *Liber*, 5, 30, 'De laudabili consersatione hujus virginis'; *Révélations*, 5, 30, p. 432.

horizontal and vertical. The saved were understood to fill the places vacated by the fallen angels and to become peers of the holy angels, though remaining generically separate from the angels.[76] Further it was conceived that virgin nuns would take their places in the tenth choir of the angels after death. In this life they might experience mystical union with Christ whose bridal chamber was placed in that tenth choir. Mechtild is a woman who lives this mystical life of union with her beloved.

Conclusion

In the second part of this paper I have focused on two images in the *Liber specialis gratiae*: the 'heart as house' and the 'fellowship of the angels'. As concrete, yet complex images, they function as symbols and metaphors, pointing to the unfolding narrative of Mechtild's God consciousness. As a Cistercian nun, she lives her intimate and mystical journey with Christ and God triune, through a life of solitude in community. Her life is characterized by desire for God and praise of God. For Mechtild and the other nuns of the Helfta monastery, as for so many in this medieval period, the eucharist and the Divine Office were of central importance in spiritual life. In her *Liber specialis gratiae* Mechtild of Hackeborn suggests the intimacy of eucharistic practice that reflects a theology of the eucharist.

This milieu forms the fabric for the images, 'heart as house' and 'fellowship of the angels'. The images become concrete means to express her spirituality and a practical theology. As images of her desire for heaven, that is, her desire for God, 'heart as house' and 'fellowship of the angels' evoke the continuum of time and eternity, eternity that begins in time, in her life in the monastery; a heaven, a relationship, that begins and is experienced here. Mechtild of Hackeborn saw celestial realities in light of her concrete liturgical prayer and contemplation. She easily passed from the earthly liturgy to the heavenly liturgy with the angels, saints, the Virgin Mary, and Christ; the goal of this study of the images, 'heart as house' and 'fellowship of the angels' in Mechtild's *Liber specialis gratiae* has been to illustrate that the key metaphors for the mutual opening to God and a human soul are identical to the metaphors for heaven.[77] Her *Liber specialis gratiae* is not a work of speculation but of participation.

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[76] See Mechtild of Magdeburg, *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, trans. and intro. by Frank Tobin, preface by Margot Schmidt, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1998), Book 3, chap. 1: 'Of Heaven and the Nine Choirs and Who is Supposed to Fill the Breach', pp. 101–03.

[77] Russell, *History of Heaven*, p. 142.

Life-Cycle and Life-Course in a Clerical and Celibate Milieu: Northern England in the Later Middle Ages

P. H. CULLUM

The nature of the relationship between clergy and laity in late medieval England is an issue that has been addressed by many historians over the years. Their concerns have been varied: to investigate the extent of hostility or otherwise between the two, in order to understand lay acceptance or otherwise of church teaching and discipline; to explore the significance of Lollardy; to explain the nature and course of the Reformation; to investigate whether the Reformation and the period and processes which led to it represent the growth of secularization or the victory of clerical values over secular ones.[1] An important area for exploration here is the extent to which the clergy shared the life experiences of their lay neighbours. It has recently been argued that clerisy was becoming a less distinctive identity in the later Middle Ages. For some clerics the tension between the ideological demands of emasculinity and the biological ones of maleness were best resolved by redefining clerisy as patriarchal masculinity collectively at the Reformation, and in individual cases before then. Other changes in late medieval society led to the growth of lay literacy, the relaxation of the bar on clergy carrying arms, and the growth of

[1] Peter Heath, *English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); John A. F. Thomson, *The Early Tudor Church and Society, 1485–1529* (London: Longman, 1993); Martha C. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation, c.1530–c.1570* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); William J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Tim Cooper, *The Last Generation of the English Catholic Clergy* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999).

employments which used a clerical training without requiring major orders, all of which blurred the distinctions between clerical and lay estate.[2] While in some ways clerical status may have been becoming less clearly defined, there may have been other, subtler, ways in which clergy may have been different from their lay neighbours. As this collection is concerned with time, so this paper will explore the extent to which the clerical experience of time might differ from that of lay people. This could be done on an hourly or daily basis, and might be fruitful, given the way clerical lives were shaped by the liturgical hours and seasons (though arguably some of these pressures also affected at least devout lay people). However the intention here is to explore that difference over a lifetime.

This paper will explore one aspect of whether the clergy can be seen as having a distinct kind of social identity, or life experience: the extent to which there was a clerical life-cycle. It will address the issue of whether life-cycle or life-course is the more appropriate term to describe the lives of medieval clergy, and also the extent to which life-cycle was a monolithic experience. In the past I have suggested that one way in which the clergy were different from lay men was in terms of gender. Changing definitions of the clergy may have broken down ideas of the clergy as having a different gender from lay men, but did mean that by the later Middle Ages, clerics were perceived as having a different kind of masculinity from lay men. There may have been a variety of clerical masculinities, even as there were varied forms of lay masculinity.[3] Here I will also suggest that life-cycle was an experience which varied. This is of course, not an entirely new argument. Ever since Wrigley and Schofield's classic *Population History of England, 1541–1871* it has been clear that life-cycle experience was varied by class, by specific economic circumstance, and in other demographic work, by cultural experience.[4] The marriage regimes of the aristocracy were different from those of ordinary people, and that age at marriage and propensity to marry varied in relation to prevailing economic conditions. Different areas of Europe had very different arrangements of such matters as age at marriage, the relative ages of husbands and wives, and the domestic living arrangements of different generations within the same family.

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[2] R. N. Swanson, ' Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by D. M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 174–77; P. H. Cullum, 'Clergy, Masculinity, and Transgression in Late Medieval England', in Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 188–95.

[3] Cullum, 'Clergy, Masculinity, and Transgression', pp. 193–95.

[4] E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (London: Arnold, 1981); David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Richard M. Smith, 'Geographical Diversity in the Resort to Marriage in Late Medieval Europe: Work, Reputation, and Unmarried Females in the Household Formation Systems of Northern and Southern Europe', in *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c.1200–1500*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg (Stroud: Sutton, 1992), pp. 16–59.

Discussion of life-cycle is however largely predicated upon an expectation of marriage and reproduction. While in the English context the non-married portion of the adult population was probably statistically significant in the late medieval period, as it was in the early modern period, they are generally treated as atypical. Despite the fact that the nuclear family probably could not have existed so widely without their contribution to the family economy, they are largely seen as marginal. They were those who 'failed to marry'. Medieval clergy who aspired to, or achieved the priesthood, did not, of course, marry. In this respect their life experience was very different from the majority of their lay neighbours. It might therefore be more appropriate to describe their experience as a life-course.

The concept of life-cycle is one which assumes reproduction and the interlinked lives of parents and children. People married in order to have children, who might as adults help to care for elderly parents. It was also in marriage and the establishment of their own household that most lay people achieved social, as opposed to legal or chronological adulthood.[5] For medieval clergy in major orders, this cyclical element to their lives was, at least in principle, absent. They were required to neither marry nor reproduce. The vast majority of English clergy appear to have obeyed these requirements, though occasional fornication was probably more common. For those small numbers who did establish long-term relations of concubinage and produced families, this did not lead to an enhanced status among one's peers and family as legitimate marriage and procreation did for lay people.[6]

For clergy, once they had achieved the priesthood, their lives were unlikely to change very much until age or ill health began to make inroads. They were unlikely to feel the effects of mid-life as lay people did, with the growth of family and subsequent move up the family age hierarchy as they replaced the older generations. In this respect life-course might be a better term to describe clerical experience than life-cycle.

Life-Cycle and Life-Stage: the Clerical Experience

In some respects the earlier clerical life-stages were more clearly differentiated than they were for lay people. Progression through the various orders was closely tied to chronological age. A young man could not enter the subdiaconate, the first of the major orders until he was eighteen, or become a deacon until he was nineteen. At twenty-four a man could become a priest. There were of course complications. It has become increasingly clear that in the century after the Black Death, some men

[5] 'The single most important event in the entry of most young people into adult life was marriage.' Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 208.

[6] Swanson, 'Clergy and Masculinity', pp. 173–74; Thomson, *Early Tudor Church and Society*, pp. 169–70.

deferred progression from minor to major orders and then received all the major orders, (sometimes including the higher minor orders) in successive ordination ceremonies, over a period of around a year. The 'adolescent' phase of clerisy could thus be compressed into a very short time frame, when the individual was biologically already adult. The reason for the delay in moving from acolyte to sub-deacon is not clear. Swanson has argued that men, particularly the better educated, were delaying commitment to celibacy until they knew whether they would get a benefice.[7] Cooper, by contrast, sees this as being imposed by the clerical authorities as a test of vocation and perhaps also for the remedying of educational defects.[8] For some men, progression through the orders was much slower. Only half the men examined for ordination as sub-deacon in August 1521 in the Coventry Diocese had become sub-deacons a year later, and some had still not made the progression four years later. Nominal linkage over long time periods is fraught with problems, but Cooper suggests that one William Yate may have taken twenty-one years to move from acolyte to major orders.[9] It is of course possible that he went off and had a different career and perhaps even married in the interim, rising to major orders as a widower.

Those men who reached the top of the minor orders, or even the sub-diaconate but then took a long time to progress to the priesthood were stuck in a kind of extended adolescence.[10] They could act only as assistants at the mass, and except in those few cases where a patron was prepared to provide a sinecure or benefice which they could not serve in person, they were unable to proceed to the only kind of secure employment, a benefice. Only with admission to the priesthood came the sacramental powers which gave them authority, and the courtesy title of *dominus* or 'sir' which recognized their social status. For those who thereby gained parochial responsibilities it also gave them spiritual authority and even spiritual fatherhood of the parish.

Clergy and Life-Cycle Poverty

The typical pattern of life-cycle poverty for lay-people was made up of a series of stages. Poverty in childhood, turned to relative comfort in young adulthood and early marriage as they earned more, and the earnings of two healthy and strong adults was pooled. This dipped back into poverty as children became an increasing burden and the family income was reduced as the wife's opportunities for earnings reduced. It

[7] R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 42–43.

[8] Cooper, *Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy*, pp. 17–18.

[9] Cooper, *Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy*, p. 18.

[10] Cullum, 'Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression', p. 194.

returned to surplus as the children began to earn and then fell back into poverty as the now elderly couple or widow alone, found it difficult to support themselves as age and illness made it less possible to cultivate land, pursue a trade or hire themselves out as labourers.[11]

But the pattern for clergy was different. In principle priestly adulthood brought with it a guarantee of a livelihood. Indeed without a title to benefice, a guarantee from someone that he had a source of income and would not become a burden on the church, no man could be ordained. While there is still considerable debate about how titles to benefice worked, it is clear that in practice the church as a career was not a guarantee of a comfortable life.[12] For those who were able to undertake a university education there was likely to be extended poverty in youth while studying, at a point when unskilled young men were probably at the peak of their earning power. Once beneficed however, (and the possession of a degree did enhance though not guarantee, the chance of a benefice) there was relative comfort for the rest of their lives. Even if they became too old or sick to serve their cures, they could usually afford to employ someone to do the work for them.[13]

For some however, poverty was a whole life experience, especially for the high proportion of clergy who never became beneficed. Ordination levels were high in the late thirteenth centuries, after the Black Death, and in the late fifteenth and first two decades of the sixteenth centuries. At these times the supply of ordained men outweighed the number of benefices available. In the early sixteenth century between fifty-five and eighty percent of a diocese's clergy might be unbeneficed, and dependent on insecure employment as household chaplain, or mortuary or stipendiary priest, which might last a week, a month or a year.[14] For these men poverty was unpredictable, related simply to employment and not to life-cycle or life-stage.

For those unbeneficed who became ill, or permanently disabled, especially those who had visual problems, there was a serious problem. They had no security of tenure, and could rarely afford to pay a substitute. While the duties of a chantry or household chaplain were often not particularly onerous and could be managed by a man with a moderate disability such as a crippled leg, inability to see, and hence to

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[11] T. Wales, 'Poverty, Poor Relief and the Lifecycle: Some Evidence from Seventeenth Century Norfolk', in *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 351–404.

[12] R. N. Swanson, 'Titles to Orders in Medieval English Episcopal Registers', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davies*, ed. by H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore, (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 231–45; Cooper, *Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy*, pp.19-27; Thomson, *Early Tudor Church and Society*, pp. 140–44.

[13] Thomson, *Early Tudor Church and Society*, pp. 158–62.

[14] Dohar, *Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, pp. 92–103; Cooper, *Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy*, pp. 30–32, 94–95.

be able to perform the Mass often meant an end to further employment.[15] Wealthier households might continue to support a chaplain in this situation as an act of charity, but many would find themselves destitute.

The parlous situation of such men, meant that by the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century most dioceses had a clerical hospital to provide for them and for those chaplains and poorer parish incumbents who in old age were no longer able to support themselves. In the Exeter diocese, Clyst Gabriel Hospital, founded in 1309–12 by Bishop Stapledon provided for twelve poor infirm clergy, most of whom were unbeneficed priests.[16] In York in 1318, Dean Pickering founded the Hospital of St Mary's, Bootham to support six blind and aged chaplains a few years later.[17] In the period 1318–48 around a third of those admitted to Clyst Gabriel died within a year but a quarter survived for over five years, suggesting a mixture of the seriously ill, elderly and infirm, and the disabled but otherwise well.[18] The need for dedicated clerical hospitals indicates that clergy, especially unbeneficed ones could not dependent on the family support that was probably the main way that lay people managed in similar circumstances.

Clergy, particularly, unbeneficed clergy, then had a distinctive pattern of life-cycle poverty. They were more likely to be poor in youth, while studying or before they were ordained, or while trying to find secure employment, but less likely to suffer poverty during their 'prime', as they were not usually burdened with large numbers of children to support. However in old age, or in the event of illness or disability, they were equally likely to find themselves in poverty, and less likely to have family who would support them. They may thus have been more dependent on institutional provision than lay people.

The Clerical Dynasty as Alternative Life-Cycle

I now want to turn to two areas that suggest, by contrast with the discussion above, that clergy may have deliberately tried to sustain family relationships or to create artificial versions of the life-cycles and families that lay people experienced. It is thirty years since J. L. Grassi demonstrated the family and personal connections between the clerics who dominated English royal administration during the

[15] A number of hospitals that reserved places for the clergy, or were founded for clergy, specified that their inmates should be blind.

[16] Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital, 1070–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 115.

[17] David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1971; 2nd impr. 1996), p. 409.

[18] Orme, *English Hospital*, pp. 124–25.

fourteenth century.[19] From Edward I's presence in the north at the end of the thirteenth century, until the fall of Richard II, the higher levels of English administration, particularly the chancery were dominated by men drawn from a small area of the East Riding of Yorkshire.[20] These men were quite often closely related, such as the four Airmyn brothers, or the Hothams, uncle and nephew, and other relationships through the female line can be guessed at, such as between William Hambleton and his kinsman, John Markingfield.[21]

At more junior levels of the church it is also clear that there were clerical families, for example, the Bempton brothers, parochial clergy in mid-fifteenth century York. In 1446, John Bempton, the rector of St Cuthbert, left to 'Sir John my brother, my best gown with a red hood and a book called *Regimen Animarum*', the last being clear evidence that Sir John was a priest rather than a knight. He also left to William Bempton, vicar of St Nicholas, Micklegate, not described in relationship terms, but probably also a brother, 'a missal, a baselard, and a hood of murray'.[22] When William died in 1462, there was considerable overlap in the identities of legatees.[23]

Grassi also shows that associations were based on friendship or patronage.[24] Grassi was concerned to demonstrate the close geographical origins of these men and the way that they dominated so many aspects of royal government, rather than to explore other meanings of these associations. These clerical dynasties or affinities have often been seen by historians in terms of the way they reproduced or bolstered lay aristocratic families or affinities.[25] But another way to see them would be in terms of the families these men did not have. Certainly family connections, and the promotion of nephews as substitute sons, have been noticed before, often while suggesting that the 'nephews' were in fact rather more closely related to their sponsors. But at least as interesting is the possibility that some of these senior clergy were creating families by talent-spotting bright young men and effectively adopting them. Grassi points to the households of senior clergy, particularly the archbishops of York as the routes by which young men came to royal attention.[26] The household was the *familia*, and for celibate clergy the distinction between family and *familia* may have been even less clear than it was for contemporary laypeople. Moreover

[19] J. L. Grassi, 'Royal Clerks from the Archdiocese of York in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History*, 5 (1970), 12–33.

[20] Grassi, 'Royal Clerks', pp. 13–14.

[21] Grassi, 'Royal Clerks', pp. 14, 30.

[22] York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Register 2, fol. 135^{v}.

[23] York, Borthwick Institute, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 474^{v}.

[24] Grassi, 'Royal Clerks', pp. 16–19.

[25] Grassi, 'Royal Clerks', p. 23; Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 80.

[26] Grassi, 'Northern Clerks', pp. 15–16, 225–26.

these relationships may not have been just vertical. Shared service may also have created fraternal bonds between clerks. William Hambleton appears to have been a patron of Robert Barlby and Adam Osgodby, who remained close friends and colleagues after Hambleton's death. Henry Cliffe acted as executor to Adam Osgodby, and Robert's nephew or cousin Hugh acted as executor to Cliffe.[27] While being an executor was certainly not just entrusted to relatives, it did indicate close bonds of trust and friendship. Among the York clergy close bonds of friendship were frequently demonstrated by the gifts of clothing, books and weapons, which might more usually have gone to family members, as well as by acting as witnesses and executors of wills.

The more able and successful of the young men would leave their patron's household, perhaps passing into the royal household before themselves becoming householders and patrons of another generation.[28] In this respect clerical households closely resembled the household formation patterns of English laypeople, with the younger generation leaving to establish their own households.

Householding and Social Adulthood

As noted above, mastery of one's own household was a sign of social adulthood and status. For the beneficed clergy this was unproblematic. They headed their own household, usually in a rectory or vicarage provided by the parish. Even the two elderly chantry priests of Munden's Chantry in Bridport (Dorset) in the mid-fifteenth century had their own house with a couple of servants and others employed occasionally for particular jobs. Higher clergy might have very large households.The majority of these households were all male, and perhaps had an unusually high proportion of adolescent and young men in them, effectively training for a clerical career.[29]

By contrast the households of parish clergy may have been more like those of their lay neighbours, for a significant but unquantifiable number of them had female housekeepers or female servants. William Bempton's servant Agnes was sufficiently important to be left 20*d*. by John Bempton in 1446, and also received a bequest from William himself in 1462 of 'my bed, a single bed, four silver spoons, a big bowl and 40*s.*'. He also left her daughter 6*s*. 8*d.* Agnes was also one of his executors.[30] The

[27] Grassi, 'Northern Clerks', p. 18.

[28] John Thoresby was a household clerk of Archbishop William Melton, before becoming the royal chancellor, and himself eventually Archbishop of York, from which position he was able to train and promote in royal service his own protegés: Grassi, 'Northern Clerks', pp. 25–26. Barrie Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages, 1215–1500', in *A History of York Minster*, ed. by G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp.104–05.

[29] Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp.104–05.

[30] York, Borthwick Institute, Prob. Reg. 2, fols 135^{v}, 474^{v}.

length of time which Agnes spent in William Bempton's household, and the fact that she acted as executor, suggests the possibility that this was a stable concubinal relationship and that Agnes's daughter may have been William's illegitimate child. It was certainly common for wives to act as executors. The extent to which concubinage was tolerated is not clear, though there is some evidence that parishioners might prefer clergy who could not or would not keep vows of chastity to have a concubine rather than to prey on the wives and daughters of the parish. In such cases the families and households of clergy were almost indistinguishable form those of their lay neighbours.

However it was also common for parish priest to have other, unbeneficed clergy living with them. John Broke, maltman of Braughing, Herts., in 1514 recalled how the successive vicars of the parish over a fifty year period had been required to reside in the vicarage and also to provide at their own expense a parochial chaplain who was to reside with him. For the most part the requirement had been fulfilled and on occasion there had been two chaplains in the household.[31] Here communal living by the clergy produced a distinctly non-lay pattern of life.

For non-beneficed clergy, who far outnumbered the beneficed, living in the households of employers or others, either clergy or lay, was a common experience. John Kimblow, Rector of Lamplugh, resident in Carlisle, had living with him Sir John and Thomas Blanerhasset, his cousins. The younger man was not yet in priestly orders, but must have been at least in minor orders for he was offered the incentive of a four year chantry worth £20 and a large *portiforium* if he got himself promoted.[32] While it may have been cheaper than living independently, it also reinforced their subordinate and non-adult status.

For some secular clergy, particularly those employed within secular colleges or cathedrals, living in community was a requirement. Communal living, at the Bedern for the vicars-choral of York Minster, and at St William's College for its chantry priests, was designed to enforce discipline, and especially sexual discipline. Living communally, and often under some kind of rule was an approach used by church authorities in a number of periods to enforce standards of behaviour. It was also effectively an infantilizing technique, depriving men who might otherwise have lived independently, of that symbol of social adulthood, their own household. Given the poverty, particularly of many chantry priests, however that might have been an illusory independence. Many of these men could not have afforded to live alone, and many must have been lodgers, living peripherally attached to a household mastered by another.

Some secular clergy however appear to have lived together voluntarily in an attempt to imitate the monastic life, and as an act of devotion. This seems to have

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[31] Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, pp. 207–08.

[32] *Wills and Inventories from the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Richmond*, ed. by James Raine, Jr, Surtees Society, 26 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1853), pp. 6–7.

been the case at the Holy Priests' House associated with All Saints, Peasholme Green, York. This was inhabited by chantry priests from the late fourteenth century to the Reformation, who appear to have used the church as an informal college.[33] Monasteries can be seen as substitute families, of brothers living in common under the authority of a father. It may be that clergy who voluntarily lived together did so in part as a way of creating a substitute or artificial family. This model has a similarity to the Mediterranean *frer'eche*, where brothers cohabited in the ancestral home. Only one of them married and reproduced in order to hold the patrimony together. Monastic and collegiate families reproduced themselves not sexually, but by continually adopting or assimilating younger brothers. This contrasts with the pattern of secular clerical and lay households.

Conclusion

In principle, and to some extent in practice, clerical experience of life-cycle was different from that of lay people. The markers of life-cycle stages were less clear for the clergy than they were for the laity, in principle, if not always in practice. Youthful experience was clearly demarcated by the experience of ordination and probably more marked by poverty than was usual for lay men, especially for those who were studying, or who because of deficiencies of education or patronage found it difficult to progress quickly to priestly ordination. These latter might find themselves confined to a social and professional 'adolescence' long past the appropriate biological stage, and after their lay peers had established themselves as heads of households through marriage. Old age may have been even more vulnerable for unbeneficed clergy than for the most lay people, particularly if they became ill or disabled, but for those who had a benefice, old age may have been less of a burden than to lay men. Priestly duties were less physically demanding than the labours of most men, and could often be sustained well into old age. Clergy also lacked any markers of their mid-years, except through career progression. In theory, if not always in practice, they were not surrounded by growing families to show their increasing age and status as *paterfamilias*. However through their households, and for the senior clergy, patronage of younger men, clergy may have sought to reproduce the family relations of lay people, though perhaps with a greater emphasis on the horizontal and fraternal ties, than the more vertically oriented lay family.

It may also be that we need to distinguish the experience of monastic or communal, from secular clergy, and perhaps also the experience of the beneficed from the unbeneficed, though this may in part be effectively a class distinction. We have seen that it was the beneficed whose lives were most clearly distinct from lay

[33] Barbara Wilson and Frances Mee, *The Medieval Parish Churches of York: The Pictorial Evidence*, Archaeology of York, supplementary series 1 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1998), p. 37.

people's. For the unbeneficed the life-cycle was characterized by more persistent poverty, and by very extended social adolescence. Monks and wealthier secular clergy whether living in community or in their own household were able to establish acceptable quasi-familial relationships, whereas it was the unbeneficed who were more likely to establish (or to be accused of establishing) concubinal relationships which mirrored lay marriages. The precise elucidation of the reasons for this latter pattern remains for further investigation, but it is clear that for the late medieval English clergy even if time was not the same as money, the ownership of money certainly affected the experience of time.

University of Huddersfield

The Sea as an Image of Temporality among Tuscan Dominicans and Humanists in the Fourteenth Century

TIMOTHY KIRCHER

Temporality, or the passing of time, the temporal flow, was a topic that preoccupied not the late-medieval scholastics,[1] but rather the preachers and humanists, poets and artists of the period. Temporality and its moral or existential ramifications, left unexamined by scholastic writers, was precisely their locus of interest. One may think here of the popular *Danse macabre* or *Totentanz*, the Dance of Death, that embraced all social classes. If scholastic discussions after 1300 assigned a larger role to subjective experience in measuring time,[2] these discussions complemented the pastoral and often vernacular efforts of the mendicant brethren and humanists, who, perhaps motivated by the many disasters of the age, including the Black Death, were explaining to their audience the implications of the fleetingness of life. For the mendicants, temporality was a condition of moral temptation: for the humanists, an existential predicament. The humanist orientation

[1] In discussing views of temporality among Dominicans and humanists in the fourteenth century, it is useful to distinguish these views from what I am not discussing: the concept of time. If time was consistently debated by scholastic writers, from Roger Bacon to Petrus Aureoli, who stressed its unity, or from Petrus Olivi to William of Ockham, who emphasized its multiplicity or relativity, nonetheless their discussions rarely touch upon the theme of temporality. In the scholastic framework, time evoked mainly an ontological problem, specifically the relation between time and eternal Being and First Cause.

[2] Anneliese Maier, 'Scholastische Diskussionen über die Wesensbestimmung der Zeit', *Scholastik*, 26 (1951), 520–56 (pp. 549–54); Jean Leclercq, 'Zeiterfahrung und Zeitbegriff im Spätmittelalter', *Antiqui und Moderni*, hrsg. von Albert Zimmermann, Miscellanea mediaevalia 9 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), pp. 1–20 (pp. 7–8).

toward the existential aspect of temporal flux questioned the mendicant viewpoint, and emphasized the subjectivity of personal experience in an unprecedented, revolutionary way. The difference between the mendicants and humanists can be seen by comparing the works of two prominent mid-fourteenth-century Tuscan contemporaries, the Dominican Jacopo Passavanti and the writer Giovanni Boccaccio.

Since the vernacular writings of preachers and humanists seek a more emotional engagement with their audience, whereby the message is communicated as much by style as by content, these writings resist a solely conceptual analysis.[3] We therefore embark on an alternative course of assessment. I am contrasting an episode from Boccaccio's *Decameron* with some of Passavanti's texts, and examining a central image in these writings: the image of the sea. Let us look first at the nature of their debate, then examine the texts of each writer, beginning with Passavanti.

Their competing use of the sea-image illustrates an emerging, critical difference in philosophical orientation in the fourteenth century, from the metaphysical maxims of Passavanti on the one hand to Boccaccio's anti-metaphysical approach to experience on the other. In these writings of Passavanti and Boccaccio, the sea-imagery discloses conflicting modes of relating to the temporal flow of existence.[4] Boccaccio's work, in its use of the sea-image, parodies

[3] The preface of the *Sermones* of Jacques de Vitry (*c*. 1160–1240) remarks on the difference in preaching to clerical and lay listeners:

> One preaches one way to clerics, another way to laity. [. . .] When indeed in the convent or congregation of the discerning [i.e. clergy] we speak in the proper idiom [viz. in Latin], we are able to address many things about which it is not necessary to go into detail. To the laity, however, one must show all things visibly and graphically, so that the preacher's word is as clear and lucid as the sparkling gems of a carbuncle.
>
> (Aliter clericis, aliter laicis est predicandum [. . .] quando vero in conventu et congregatione sapientium ydiomate loquimur, tunc plura dicere possumus, eo quod ad singularia non oportet descendere; laicis autem oportet quasi ad oculum et sensibiliter omnia demonstrare, ut sit verbum predicatoris apertum et lucidum velut gemmula carbunculi.)

Latin cited by Giorgio Varanini in *Racconti esemplari di predicatori del due e trecento*, ed. by G. Varanini and G. Baldassarri, 3 vols (Rome: Salerno, 1993), II, 503. By the fourteenth century, it is apparent that vernacular writings, such as the *Specchio della croce* by Domenico Cavalca (*c*. 1270–1342), were also being read by clergy, as witnessed by the manuscript copies in monastic libraries: *Lo specchio della croce*, ed. by T. S. Centi (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 1992).

[4] An analysis of imagery and metaphor allows us to probe more deeply into a work's theme and purpose, beyond a thinker's conscious intention, and to look at how his response to the flow of existence underlies the conceptual design of his work. This is a methodological insight of G. Heath King, *Existence Thought Style* by (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1996).

the literature of Passavanti, with a philosophical aim. His *Decameron* engages in more than a critique of clerical behaviour, as it is so often characterized. Rather it takes part in a revolution of philosophical thinking which, if we had the time to show it, is aligned with the humanism of Petrarch.

The Dominican Passavanti uses the sea-metaphor to explain a conception of the world, the *saeculum*, as an arena governed by time.[5] This association among the sea, the world, and time is equally valid for Boccaccio. Passavanti, however, advocates a theology predicated on the possibility of withdrawing from the seductions of the world and time, as a moral act of will, akin to the monastic notion of *fuga mundi*, 'the flight from the world'. Boccaccio considers this dogma to be untenable, a flight from the reality of existence itself, which is conditioned by time's passing. His work presents a new understanding of life, in which every experience and perception is modulated by the temporal moment. If all human activity, of both body and soul, has the secular, temporal world for its mode and measure, if we are irredeemably cast onto moving waters of existence with no stable orientation, then the traditional medieval boundary between the secular—as the temporal, profane sea—and the religious—as the *terrafirma*—breaks down. What has changed for Boccaccio is the conception of ontology and the self: once existence is seen as inextricably conditioned by the temporal flow, all ways of thought and expression—whether metaphysical, epistemological, or moral—are consequently altered as well.[6] Boccaccio's conception treats the mendicant teachings with scepticism, since they arrogate to themselves a standpoint of atemporal, objective certainty.

[5] The sea is also an image of fortune, and the differences between Passavanti and Boccaccio on this subject are noteworthy too, but outside the scope of this essay.

[6] At least two aspects of this change are worth considering, although we cannot give them their due attention in this paper: the more profound appreciation of time's power opened the way to a new awareness of the individuality of the historical moment, in which one resided; on a psychological level, the degree of one's anxiety over the flow of time became a central factor in determining what choices one made in life.

It would be interesting to analyse, in another venue, the comparison between these humanists and the anti-metaphysical tendencies in late medieval scholasticism. See Charles Trinkaus, 'The Religious Thought of the Italian Humanists: Anticipation of the Reformers or Autonomy?', in *The Scope of Renaissance Humanism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983), pp. 237–62 (p. 243); *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Charles Schmitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 590–97. Though the relation between Trecento humanists and late medieval scholastics such as Ockham and Nicolas of Autrecourt has hardly been studied, we see in all these writers, in contrast to their more conventional contemporaries, a movement toward the experiential, and away from metaphysical preconceptions.

Passavanti's Description of Penitence as 'the Second Board After the Peril of Shipwreck'

Jacopo Passavanti was preacher for the Dominican Order at Santa Maria Novella in Florence, and died there in 1357.[7] The Church of Santa Maria Novella was chosen by Boccaccio as the point of departure from Florence for his ten storytellers of the *Decameron*, who were escaping the plague of 1348. The necrology of the convent cites Passavanti with the following words:

> An exceptionally eloquent priest and preacher, who spent a great deal of time in this capacity, he was a man of great piety and zeal, restrained and continent in his actions and morals, bold and confident in speaking the truth both publicly and privately, and so expert and well-spoken in giving counsel that he was sought after by both the greater and the common citizens in difficult negotiations, and was especially renowned for this.[8]

According to this epitaph, Passavanti lived his life true to the mission of Saint Dominic: active in the convent, but moreover engaged in the world of his urban lay congregation, addressing their concerns and habits through the teachings of the church.

Passavanti left unfinished at his death his vernacular treatise entitled *The Mirror of True Penitence*, which was based on his Lenten sermons of 1354.[9] It is from the prologue to his *Mirror of True Penitence* that we may best observe his use of the sea image and establish a close relationship to Boccaccio's *Decameron*, in particular to his story of Landolfo Rufolo of the second day's tales.[10]

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[7] For a recent source for Passavanti's life, see Varanini, *Racconti esemplari*, II, 521–26.

[8] Stefano Orlandi, *'Necrologio' di Santa Maria Novella*, 2 vols (Firenze: Olschki, 1955), I, 88–89; cited by Varanini, *Racconti esemplari*, II, 499–500:

> Sacerdos et predicator supra modum facundus et in hoc actu magno tempore occupatus, fuit vir magne religionis et zeli, et in suis actibus et moribus circumcisus et continens, audax et securus in veritate dicendi in publico et in privato, tam expertus et dictus in consiliis dandis ut a maioribus et pluribus civibus esset in arduis consiliis requisitus, et in hoc singulariter nominatus.

[9] The *Mirror* has been treated by scholars as an important work of vernacular prose, though no one, to my knowledge, has studied its importance in a cultural-historical context. See especially Giovanni Getto, 'Umanità e stile di Iacopo Passavanti', in Giovanni Getto, *Letteratura religiosa del Trecento* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1967), pp. 1–105; and the references in Varanini, *Racconti esemplari*, II, 505.

[10] Although the *Decameron* has been dated to the years 1349–51 (see Teodolinda Barolini, 'Giovanni Boccaccio', in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by W. Jackson and G. Stade, 14 vols (New York: Scribner, 1983–91), II, 509–34 (p. 518)), hence

Passavanti's *Mirror* begins with an extended deliberation on a dictum of St Jerome: 'Poenitentia est secunda tabula post naufragium'. This opening line is found in at least one other contemporary manual of penitence, and the image was well known to medieval theologians.[11] Passavanti translates this dictum as 'la penitenzia é la seconda tavola dopo il pericolo della nave rotta': 'penitence is the second *tavola*—board, tablet—after the peril of shipwreck'. He writes:

> The blessed doctor speaks of penitence by similitude to those who fall into the sea. And it often happens that, after the ship has capsized by 'great fortune' or the storms which arise on the sea, those sailors who are more quick-witted seize one of the boards of the broken ship, and clinging firmly to it, float on the water and are not submerged. Instead they gain the shore or harbor and are rescued from the danger of the storm-tossed sea.[12]

Passavanti proceeds to interpret the likeness for his listeners. 'This world', he explains, is called the sea 'on account of *its continual movement and unstable state*.'[13] And in this world, 'on this perilous sea, all drown unless rescued by help of

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prior to the Specchio's date of 1357, both the Specchio's reliance on earlier sermons and the prevalence of the image of the shipwreck (see below, n.11) make it plausible that the *Decameron* was engaging in parody of a motif familiar to Florentines who attended mendicant sermons.

[11] An *incipit* of the *Summa de poenitentia* (Paris, BNF, MS lat. 14927, fols 175^{r}–76^{v}); cited by Varanini, *Racconti esemplari*, II, 506. The image appears, in various formulations, at least six times in the writings of St Jerome (epistola 77, 6 [*Patrologia Latina* 22, col. 0694]; ep. 84, 6 [PL 22, col. 0748]; ep. 117, 3 [PL 22, col. 0955]; ep. 130, 9 [PL 22, col. 1115]; *Commentariorum in Isaiam prophetam*, Bk 2 (on Isaiah 56. 8, 9) [PL 24, col. 0065D]; *Commentariorum in Ezechielem*, Bk 5 (on Ezekiel 16. 52) [PL 25, col. 0155C] as well as Tertullian, *De poenitentia*, chap. 4 [PL 1, col. 1233B]. By the twelfth century it was common enough to appear in the writings of Hugh of St Victor, *Summa Sententiarum*, tr. 6, chap.10 [PL 176, col. 0146C]; Abelard, *Adversus Haereses*, chap. 13 [PL 178, col. 1840A]; and Gratian, *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, pars 2, causa 33: 'tractatus de poenitentia', quaestio 3, distinctio 1, canon 72. All references are to *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–65), accessed 12/2000 and 4/2002 in electronic database format (*Patrologia Latina Database*, Bell & Howell, 1996-2000).

[12] Iacopo Passavanti, *Lo specchio della vera penitenza*, ed. F.-L. Polidori (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1863), p. 1:

> Parla il santo dottore della penitenzia, per somiglianza di coloro che rompono in mare, de' quali spesse volte interviene che, rotta la nave per grande fortuna e per tempestade che sia commossa in mare, coloro che sono più occorti predono alcuna delle tavole della rotta nave, alla quale attengnendosi fortemente, soprastando all'acqua, non affondano; ma giungono al rivo o al porto, iscampati del periglio del tempestoso mare.

[13] Passavanti, *Lo specchio*, p. 1: 'questo mondo, il quale è appellato mare per lo continuo movimento e inistabile istato'; my italics.

divine grace', just as Christ reached out and saved Peter from drowning. The first means of rescue offered humanity is what he calls 'the light and steadfast ship' of baptismal innocence, which can 'carry those healthy and saved who persevere within to the harbour of eternal life, as true and righteous Christians'.[14]

As his likeness indicates, this voyage through the dangerous, unstable world is normally upset. Passavanti lists many reasons: negligence, vanity, ignorance, desire, and other moral failings. So too, he says, ships at sea founder on contrary winds, currents, sea swells, whirlpools, 'the obscurity of the darkest night', pirates, indeed by 'the terror of wild beasts' and 'the sweet song of charming sirens'.[15]

Weighed down by vices and sins, which have shattered his baptismal innocence, 'man is sent deep, abandoned and naked into the midst of the stormy sea, without hope of any aid'. The aid, of course, now comes in the form of penitence, the second board, which he must grab after this shipwreck, 'before'—as Passavanti puts it—'the waves of the sea drag him under'.

Although grace is offered to the Christian in the sacrament of penance, the preacher Passavanti stresses the need to turn one's heart to receive and take hold of it. One must move quickly and decisively; and 'just as one must, without delay, seize the remedy of penitence', he writes, 'so too must one hold on with perseverance'. Passavanti equates the board, the *tavola* of penitence, with the *lignum vitae*, the tree of life, and adds that it was signified by the tablet—*tavola*—attached to the wood of the Cross.[16] Since we are, he says, 'fallen into the deepest part of the uncertain and

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[14] Passavanti, *Lo specchio*, p. 2:

> In questo periglioso mare ogni gente anneiga se l'aiuto della divina grazia non lo soccorre; la quale ha provveduto, per iscampo della gente umana, d'una navicella lieve e salda. [. . .] Questa navicella è la innocenzia battismale. [. . .] E se si conduce e si guida bene, porta sani e salvi al porto di vita eterna coloro che dentro vi perseverano, siccome veri e diritti cristiani.

Examples of these who transport themselves unscathed through the world, according to Passavanti, are the Virgin and John the Baptist, two saints popular among his Florentine audience.

[15] Passavanti, *Lo specchio*, p. 3: 'per iscurità di tenebrosa notte, o per ispaventamento delle fiere bestie, o per lo dolce canto delle sirene vaghe.' We see in the last two dangers especially a moral warning against undertaking sea voyages that may in fact be designed to discourage exploration. In this respect Boccaccio and Petrarch's use of the sea metaphor, shorn of its moral implications, accorded better with the ambitions and actual experiences of Italian merchants and adventurers.

[16] Passavanti, *Lo specchio*, pp. 4–5:

> Anzi rimane l'uomo così nabissato, abbandonato e 'ngnudo nel mezzo del tempestoso mare, senza speranza di gnuno buono soccorso [. . .] innanzi che l'onde del mare lo traportino. [. . .] E come dee tosto, sanza indugio, il rimedio della penitenzia predere, così la [tavola] dee con perseveranza tenere. E di ciò parla la santa Iscrittura, che dice: *Lignum vitae est his qui apprehenderent eam, et qui tenuerit eam, beatus*: Ella, cioè la

worrisome sea of the world, doused in mortal sin', we must 'extend our hand and take this necessary and triumphal board of penitence, and hold steadfastly to it, until it conducts us to the shore of the celestial kingdom to which we are called'.[17] The sea image thus conveys for Passavanti a person's ability and responsibility to determine the course of his moral life, and Passavanti emphasizes that we must escape from our immoral sea and temporal seductions as we would keep high and dry, and placed on solid ground.[18]

In his *sermones de tempore* Passavanti speaks even more forcefully about the choice facing the Christian between the sinful transience of the *saeculum* and the eternal permanence found in the church. Addressing perhaps his fellow friars, he says: 'The world is in motion and also its desire. For you will either love temporal things and move in a temporal fashion. Or love Christ and we shall live in eternity. But it is better to choose that we live with the Lord in eternity and let go of this temporal world'.[19]

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penitenzia, è legno di vita a chi la prende; e chi la terrà, sarà beato. [. . .] Onde forse fu significata per quella tavola la qual fu soprapposta al legno della croce.

[17] Passavanti, *Lo specchio*, pp. 5–6:

[Noi siamo] ma caduti nel mezzo del profondo pelago del dubitoso e angoscioso mare del mondo, e nabissati nel peccato mortale [. . .] stendiamo le mani a pigliare questa necessaria e vittoriosa tavola della penitenzia, e perserverantemente la tegnamo, fino ch' ella ci conduca alla riva del celestiale regno, al quale siamo chiamati.

[18] Passavanti makes it clear through his reference to perseverance that people must choose to co-operate within divine help. God is our celestial *padrone*, he writes (*Lo specchio*, p. 3):

Insofar as he extends, commits and leaves to man the power and faculty of free will, and makes him the boatman when he has reached those years of discretion, when he is able and knows and can choose, with oar in hand [. . .] to endure the trial of watching and waiting and steering this so noble vessel which God has allocated and sent to him.

(Il governo e la cura del movimento, e 'l conducimento della detta navicella, il celestiale padrone Iddio in alcuno modo, tanto quanto si stende la potenzia e la facultade del libero arbitrio, commette e lascia all' uomo, e fal nocchiere quando é venuto agli anni di tale discrezione che possa e sappia e possa volere, col remo in mano [. . .] durare fatica nella guardia e nella condotta di si nobile vasello in che Iddio l'ha allogato e messo).

[19] *Sermones de tempore*, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 13580, fols 145rb–45va: 'Mundus transit et concupiscentia eius. Quod vis utrum amare temporalia et transire cum tempore. Aut christum amare et in eternum vivemus. Sed melius ets eligere ut cum domino in eternum | vivemus et transeuntem mundum relinquemus'. One can also consider the iconography of the fresco of the Church Militant in the Capella degli Spagnoli in Santa Maria Novella, painted by Andrea di Bonaiuto in the 1360s: the Dominican path to salvation is portrayed underneath the Navicella in the vault.

Boccaccio's Parody of the Penitential Image of Shipwreck

Given Passavanti's public profile, it is hard to imagine that Boccaccio and he did not know of each other. As mentioned above, the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella was the place where the *Decameron*'s ten storytellers gather before their exit from Florence. This point of departure is thematic as well as geographical, when one considers the *Decameron*'s commentary on the friars and their lessons, from Emilia's story on the first day (I. 6) to Boccaccio's own remarks on mendicant behaviour in the conclusion.[20] In his story of Landolfo Rufolo (II. 4), Boccaccio charts for his readers a different course from that of Passavanti. Here the sea denies the dogmatic limitations imposed upon it by the Dominican, and casts scepticism on the land-loving clergy.

As told by the narrator Lauretta, Landolfo Rufolo is a proud, ambitious man, who turns to piracy in order to amass a fortune double the one he had previously lost in a risky business venture. Just at the point of his success, his ship and its goods are seized by Genoese traders and Landolfo is taken prisoner. The Genoese ship, however, runs aground in a tempest near Ionia; Landolfo is cast out into the waters, 'in darkest night, with the sea high and swelling'. [4. 17][21]

Landolfo, who had first wished to die rather than return home in shame, now changes his mind as he stares death in the face. He had become very frightened, and 'like the other sailors took hold of a board [*una tavola*] that he could reach, so that perhaps God, who delayed his drowning, might send him some means for his rescue'. [4. 18][22]

At this point Lauretta's tale enters the semantic field of Passavanti's metaphor. Landolfo has grasped a *tavola*, a board, as a means of escaping death after his shipwreck, and he beseeches God's mercy to make it to dry land, just as the Christian, according to the Dominican, grabs hold of the board of penitence and prays to complete his life's course with the aid of God's grace. If the story ended here, it would be an artistic recounting of the mendicants' moral lesson. And the tale, in fact, would still harmonize with the theme of the day's storytelling, of achieving happiness unexpectedly. But there are surprises in store for Landolfo and Lauretta's readers.

After the night's storm, Landolfo discovers he is further out to sea then ever before: all he glimpses are sea and clouds. To make matters worse for him in his isolation and disorientation, a chest or trunk, *una cassa*, bobs over the waves so close to him that he fears it will knock him off the board and under water. And so it

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[20] Conclusion, 23–26. All references to the *Decameron* are from the edition by Vittore Branca (Torino: Einaudi, 1992).

[21] 'Quantunque obscurissima notte fosse e il mare grossissimo e gonfiato'.

[22] 'E, come gli altri, venutagli alle mani una tavola, a quella s'apiccò, se forse Idio, indugiando egli l'affogare, gli mandasse qualche aiuto allo scampo suo'.

happens: a blast of wind courses over the sea, pushing the chest against the board, and Landolfo is sent under. When he surfaces, he now clutches the chest, as the object close at hand; the board is far away. Clinging now for dear life to this chest, he is 'cast about by the sea [. . .] without knowing where he was or seeing anything but the ocean about him'. [4. 21][23]

The next day—according to the tale, 'by God's pleasure or force of wind' [4. 22][24]—Landolfo and his trunk near the coast of Corfu. There a poor washerwoman spots him from shore. She pulls him from the water and restores him to his senses. She also returns the chest. Landolfo finds, to his great delight, that it contains a sack filled with precious stones. The merchant, the story says, 'praised God once again for not having abandoned him' [4. 26].[25] And so he returns home, as he had first intended, twice as rich as when he set out.

How does one decipher the tale's *dénouement*, in context of the metaphor presented by Passavanti? Let us consider two new elements in the *Decameron* narrative: the loss of the *tavola* or board; and the descriptions of the seascape as the setting for the action of the story.

Landolfo loses his hold on the board, due to his collision with the chest. He views this at the time as a new disaster. Interpreting the board as the tablet of penitence described by Jerome and expounded by Passavanti, one can read the tale as Boccaccio's parody of the mendicant theme of penitential emergency. This parody poses the question whether the tradition of penitence is necessary for the salvation of those shipwrecked in the waters of life. For Landolfo is saved by the chest, the very object that endangered him and the board. He is rescued contrary to his expectations and in fact succeeds in the end in the original aim of his journey.

The Dominican use of the sea-metaphor, we have seen, is an attempt to impress a sense of security, through the means of the church, upon the exigencies of life. But Landolfo loses the board, the church's symbol of security, while on the high seas, and still he comes to shore. Is it possible that the mendicants interpret the sea-image itself within too narrow boundaries, and that they are or should be concerned that the very fluidity of this image escapes their definitions of dogma?

The story indicates that this concern is well-founded. Boccaccio's perspective on human life is not founded on a *terra firma* of mendicant certainties, but on the contrary orients itself in the midst of the very ocean of one's existence, which is unstable, changeable, and mortal. The sea alerts one to the fact of temporal existence, shorn of moral attribution. Lauretta describes how even after Landolfo seized the board, he was further from shore, more isolated and alone than ever before. In addition, his rescuer is a woman, whose very nature, in its supposed

[23] 'Gittato dal mare ora in qua e ora in là [. . .] senza sapere ove si fosse o vedere altro che mare'.

[24] 'O piacere di Dio o forza di vento che 'l facesse'.

[25] 'Lodando Idio che ancora abbandonare non l'aveva voluto'.

impulsive, inconstant quality, was associated by moral writers with the undulations of water.[26]

In Boccaccio's view, the sea-image's existential qualities overflow the moral limitations placed upon it by the mendicants. Taking on the field of symbolic connotation promoted by the church, Boccaccio suggests through his ironic use of this image that the moral authority of the clergy is not well anchored, is itself insecure. One's outward experience is too variable, too filled with permutations of fortune that have no immediate moral origin—think only of the Plague! Inwardly people may no sooner escape from their passions and instincts than they can escape from the motions of existence. Lauretta's story will expose the Dominican concept of a stable moral refuge from the sea of existence as an aesthetic fallacy. For Landolfo, the means of rescue emerge from the temporal, feminine resources of the sea itself.

Boccaccio's description of the human condition sheds new light on the phenomenon of 'humanism' in the mid-Trecento. As we see here, the humanists' argument with the church or tradition does not restrict itself to issues of classicism or rhetoric, as it has often been described, most famously by Paul Kristeller, nor to explicit treatises on moral philosophy.[27] Humanism for Boccaccio (as well as for Petrarch, if we had the time to examine it) rather embraces the question of how one may posit *a priori* moral virtues as regulative when all thinking is conditioned by the flux of time. In the humanists' use of the sea metaphor, the church's morality is itself adrift, like the board of Landolfo Rufolo.

The inherent instability of the *saeculum*, however, need not obscure the outlook on the Transcendent. On the contrary it may open up a new perspective towards it. The sea-metaphor can convey both the fluctuating quality of existence, and also the need for spiritual resolution. If spiritual resolution is not Boccaccio's subject in the *Decameron*, his work may yet provide a clearance for the religious potentialities of personal experience amid their doctrinal obscuration. This resolution comes to the fore in the writings of Petrarch, and also in Boccaccio's poetry, as in *Rime* 110:

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[26] For example, by the contemporary Dominican Johannes de Sancto Geminiano (d. 1337), in his *Summa de exemplis et similitudinibus rerum* (Basel, 1499 [Hain 7654]), and his *Sermones funebres* (Lyon, 1499 [Hain 7548]). See *Summa de exemplis*, 10. 73: 'Joseph [i.e. Gen. 39] fled, leaving his cloak in the hands of a woman. And so man willingly escapes naked from the dangers of the sea'. ('Joseph relicto pallio in manu femine fugit. Et homo de periculo maris libenter nudis evadit.'); *Sermones*, distinctio 1, sermo 2: human life is weak and corrupt because 'man is born of woman, a fragile and weak thing [. . .] he is born of a fragile origin, namely of a woman' ('homo natus de muliere: quod est res fragilis et debilis [. . .] sit natus ex principio fragili. s. ex muliere.').

[27] See for example Kristeller's *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961); Schmitt, *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, p. 569.

We are so spun about on the high seas,
And whatever the cruelty of the winds,
The thrashing waves and fierce chances could do,
We have tested; nor has any sign
Rescued our sea-trip, with sail or by oar,
From the threatening dangers
Among sharp reefs and hidden shoals,
But only He who can do whatsoever he will. (lines 1–8)[28]
(Assai sem raggirati in alto mare,
e quanto possan gli empiti de' venti,
l'onde commosse e i fier accidenti,
provat' abbiamo; né già il navicare
alcun segno, con vela or, con vogare,
scampati ci ha dai perigli eminenti
fra' duri scogli e le secche latenti,
ma sol Colui che, ciò che vuol, può fare.)

Boccaccio's *Decameron* is instead devoted to uncovering the flow of existence concealed by clerical teaching. Petrarch, referring to Heraclitus in his *Remedies for Fortune*, writes in this vein: 'We are never whole, never just one, but at odds with ourselves, self-destructing'.[29] We may well apply this sentence to the *Decameron*. Its characters and narrators live time, experiencing its flow inwardly and outwardly. A moral doctrine that does not respect this existential movement, the work suggests, is abstracted from life's temporal and mortal nature. This doctrine lacks the 'very human quality' of compassion, as Boccaccio expresses it in the preface to his work, for those distressed by the hazards of existence, because it looks upon their troubles from an imaginary *terra firma*. By contrast the humanism of the *Decameron* will suffer with the distressed, for it acknowledges that each is at sea, never whole, never just one, that each was in part different yesterday from what he is today.[30]

This struggle between clergy and humanists ended, in Italy at least, with the church having the final word. At a time that marks the close of the Renaissance, the

[28] Boccaccio, *Rime*, ed. by Vittore Branca (Cles: Mondadori, 1992), CX, 89. For other examples of the sea metaphor from his poetry, see *rime* 23, lines 3–4; 34, lines 66–80; 41, lines 7–9; 44, lines 1–8. A few examples of Petrarch's use of the sea metaphor: *Rerum memorandarum libri*, ed. by G. Billanovich (Florence: Sansoni, 1945), p. 172 [III. 80]; *Le Familiari*, ed. by V. Rossi and U. Bosco, 4 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1933–42), XVI. 6. 5; *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (Bern: [n.pub.], 1605), I: *Preface*; II, 76.

[29] *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, II: Preface; in Conrad Rawski, *Petrarch's Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul*, 4 vols (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), III, 12.

[30] It is fitting that the work expresses this understanding indirectly, through the guise of story telling, without appealing to the authority of the storyteller. The reader, like the narrator, is afloat, and comes to this understanding before him without dogmatic preconceptions or guidance.

Council of Trent in 1546 issued its chapter on the fallen and their restoration. This chapter confirmed Passavanti's penitential theory by declaring that 'the Holy Fathers have aptly called [the sacrament of Penance] a second board after the shipwreck of grace lost'.[31] The Council here anathematized Luther for rejecting this dictum, who argued that it undermined the role of baptism in the remission of sins.[32] Yet Trent, furthermore, rebutted the viewpoint of Erasmus's colloquy 'The Shipwreck', which, in manner similar to that of the *Decameron*, employed this sea metaphor to protest clerical authority and hypocrisy.[33] The clerical shore was building jetties now against the erosion of its power, and not only against the threat of Protestantism. The concern with the sea of existence retreated to a melancholy, long, withdrawing roar, and awaited a revival from other quadrants.

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[31] Chap. 14: *De lapsis et eorum reparatione*: 'Hic enim iustificationis modus est lapsi reparatio, quam "secundam post naufragium deperditae gratiae tabulam" sancti Patres apte nuncuparunt'; cited by Denzinger in *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, ed. by Heinrich Denzinger 24-25 edn (Barcelona: Editorial Herder, 1948), §807.

[32] Martin Luther, *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, in *Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 58 vols (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–), VI, 527: 'These opinions have been provided a pretext by that dangerous word of St Jerome, according to which, whether badly put or badly understood, he called penitence "a second table after shipwreck", as if baptism were not penitence' ('prebuit his opinionibus occasionem verbum illud periculosum divi Hieronymi, sive male positum, sive male intellectum, quo poenitentiam appellat secundum post naufragium tabulam, quasi baptismus non sit poenitentia'). This idea of Luther was expressly condemned by Trent's *Canones de sacramento poenitentiae*, can. 2 (in Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, §912).

[33] *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans. Craig R. Thompson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 138–46. Here it is a woman and child who calmly ride a plank to shore, while clergy bicker and invoke various saints. I am indebted to Jodi Bilinkoff for this reference.

Literary Representations

Going Round in Circles? Time and the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*

PHILIPPA J. SEMPER

The story known as the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* has its origins in late antiquity; the Latin text is probably based on an earlier Greek 'romance'.[1] The talented, aristocratic protagonist, Apollonius, suffers injustice, exile and shipwreck before he succeeds in marrying a princess. Her apparent untimely death during childbirth at sea is the starting point for another round of adventures, during which she arrives at Ephesus, is revived, and becomes high priestess to Diana; in the meantime, her daughter Tarsia is brought up by untrustworthy friends and eventually sold to a pimp, while Apollonius wanders the seas in despair. A series of coincidental recognition and reconciliation scenes result in the reunited family living happily ever after as rulers in several cities. Since it is set in an unspecified moment in the classical past, the narrative encapsulates corresponding generalized classical and Mediterranean cultural norms.[2] The Latin version of the story was widely circulated throughout the medieval period and there were also translations into various vernaculars.[3]

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[1] Elizabeth Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre: Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), p. 7 and pp. 31–33.

[2] It has been argued that 'the romances always have an historical or pseudo-historical basis, however deeply buried it may be: "The romancers were bound by the long-established convention of serious or ideal narrative, whether in poetry or prose, to write about presumably historical persons"': Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 37, quoting B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 139. However, attempts to connect either Antiochus or Apollonius to any specific historic namesake seem doomed to remain speculative.

[3] Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 3.

The narrative under scrutiny here is the Old English version, known simply as *Apollonius of Tyre*. This version provides a text that enacts a specific temporal and cultural response to the Latin *Historia.* Issues of time may be usefully analysed in relation to this textual response from two angles. Firstly, the ways in which time is coded and structured within the narrative can be read as both evidence for, and consequences of, the particular cultural location of the version-making process. Secondly, shifts and slides in meaning away from the Latin original inscribe this location within the narrative, with implications for both Anglo-Saxon and modern readers.[4]

Time Within the Narrative of the Old English 'Apollonius'

'Our perception of time depends on our experience of change, which includes sequence (the order of change) and the duration of each change', as Richard Lock explains.[5] Thus narrative creates its own time by means of the events of the plot, the ordering of these events, and the duration of each event. The Old English *Apollonius* preserves the narrative sequence of the *Historia*, and translates closely the corresponding temporal references. In the late classical period and in the Anglo-Saxon period (both 'pre-mechanical clock' eras), concepts of time are related to natural cycles, and to ritual events that pertain to these cycles. Time references are therefore relative; events occupy a space in time according to their positioning before or after other events, or according to the passing of the seasons. As a result there are many references which define a part of the day, or refer to an unspecified period, rather than a fixed moment: 'sume dæge on ærne mergen', 'binnon anum dæge', 'ðonne hit dæg wæs', 'binnon feawum tidum'.[6] Even the more closely defined 'on ðare þriddan tide ðare nihte'[7] remains vague in comparison to modern ideas of time referents.

In most instances the Old English text is following the Latin quite closely. However, there is sometimes an added emphasis in the Old English; the word 'nu' appears on several occasions, at times with other adverbs to strengthen an existing

[4] As Riedinger explains, 'clearly a writer and Latinist so talented as this was capable of altering his source and so transforming his characters when he wished or needed to [. . .] This fact, in turn, makes his verbatim translations as important as his emendations': Anita Riedinger, 'The Englishing of Arcestrate: Woman in Apollonius of Tyre', in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. by Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 292–306 (p. 293).

[5] Richard Lock, *Aspects of Time in Medieval Literature* (New York: Garland, 1985), p. 6.

[6] *The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre'*, ed. by Peter Goolden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 2, 10, 28, and 30.

[7] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. 8.

time reference—'nu todæg' for *hodie*—or, elsewhere, to locate an event more firmly in the narrative present.[8] This may be because a simpler system of tenses forces a greater emphasis on such terms, since they provide distinction within a discourse of time for which events are otherwise indistinguishably past or indistinguishably present. For example, the lack of either future or imperfect tenses in Old English means that 'nu', along with 'þonne' and 'git', has to carry more complex temporal references in the claim made by Apollonius to Arcestrates during the feasting: 'ac hat me nu sillan þa hearpan; þonne wast þu þæt þu nu git nast'.[9] 'Nu' is also used to translate 'itaque' in two speeches where speakers are constructing a case, indicating causality as much as temporality.[10] It is clear that even the simplest of temporal referents marks the problematic nature of negotiating the linguistic distance between the Latin and Old English versions of the Apollonius story.

In some instances, reference to measures of time moves the story on directly, such as the thirty days that Apollonius has to check his solution of Antiochus's deceitful riddle and make good his escape from Antioch and Tyre, having uncovered the secret of the king's incestuous relationship. Later, in Cyrene, it is essential that the lovestruck princess Arcestrate, unable to remain in bed after her 'unstille niht', should go to her father 'sona swa hit leoht wæs' to plead for Apollonius to be appointed as her tutor.[11] The sense of urgency, and hence the extremity of her emotional situation, are emphasized in this Old English addition to the Latin; Apollonius's immediate incorporation into the inner circle of the king and his daughter is thus furthered, and the narrative is swiftly moved along towards his

[8] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. 2. So, for example, Old English 'ic grete þe nu of helle geciged' translates Latin 'Saluto te ego ab inferis revocata' (Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, pp. 40 and 41). Compare also 'Hwæt dest þu nu, Apolloni?' as a translation for the Latin 'quid agis, Apolloni?' (Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. 8).

[9] The Latin reads 'denique iube mihi tradi liram et scies quod ante nesciebas' (Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, pp. 26 and 27).

[10] The princess ends her plea for Apollonius as a tutor with a sentence beginning 'nu bidde ic', translating Latin 'Peto itaque' (Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, pp. 28 and 9). Similarly, her suitors conclude their case to her father with 'nu bidde we' (Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. 30). For 'nu' in relation to causality, see Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), II, 323. It seems in these examples to give emphasis to what has just been said in relation to what is to follow. In cases such as 'astih nu rædlice on scip' ('ascende ergo confestim navem'—Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, pp. 8 and 9), 'nu' seems to be functioning for both 'ergo' and 'confestim', with 'rædlice' an addition to the Latin.

[11] 'Immediate sequence is most commonly denoted in Old English by a combination of sona and swa' (Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, II, 362). A similar effect is conveyed by the use of 'sona swa' in relation to the reaction of the old fisherman: "Ða sona swa se fiscere geseah þæt se iunga man æt his fotum læg, he mid mildheortnesse hine up ahof" is the Old English version of the Latin 'Piscator ut vidit prima specie iuvenem pedibus suis prostratum, misericordia motus levavit eum' (Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, pp. 18 and 19).

marriage to Arcestrate. Yet such references remain symbolic, functioning only as mechanisms of progression from one scenario to the next. It makes little difference to the narrative how many days Apollonius has to solve the riddle, or how many months it is before he leaves Tarsus for Cyrene, or how many years he lives happily with his wife after their reunion. Some indication of a period of time is required, but the exact length of this period is largely irrelevant. The numbers do not coincide with any gesture at verisimilitude; they merely indicate an awareness of how meaning in human existence is constructed in relation to lived space in a natural world in which days and nights and seasons follow one another in cycles. The lack of significance is manifested in the way that periods of time are corrupted in the manuscript tradition; as Peter Goolden points out, 'in several cases numerals in the Old English text differ from those in the better Latin texts'—examples are Apollonius's stay at Tarsus for six months in the Old English version rather than for fifteen days in the Latin, and his final seventy-seven years with Arcestrate rather than seventy-four. [12]

The text thus manifests a structuring of time that is fundamentally different to that of modern narrative fiction. Paul Ricoeur outlines the way in which a modern text may contrast specific temporal explication with 'condensing into a single exemplary event iterative or durative features ('every day', 'unceasingly', 'for weeks', 'in the autumn', and so on). Tempo and rhythm thus enrich, in the course of the same work, the variations of the relative lengths of the time of narration and the time narrated'.[13] Such an 'enriching' contrast is not available in either the *Historia* or the Old English *Apollonius*.

As in other Old English narratives, the sense of progression through the Old English *Apollonius* is established by liberal use of the temporal adverb 'þa,' or 'then'.[14] The word appears over one hundred and eighty times in the text, frequently as part of constructions beginning with 'mid' followed by a demonstrative[15] which establish a degree of relativity in the nature of the progression: when one thing happens, then another follows. This gives the appearance of a linear narrative, which

[12] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. xvi.

[13] Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. by Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, 3 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), II, 79.

[14] Enkvist suggests that passages of Old English concerned with 'the depiction of dramatic, violent, climactic events' show a more frequent use of the adverbial þa. He concludes that 'a sweep over a sample of Old English poetry and prose seems to support [. . .] the view that one of the functions of adverbial þa is to mark actions and sequences of actions': Nils Erik Enkvist, 'Old English Adverbial Þa', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 73 (1972), 90–96 (p. 93).

[15] Sixteen in all: with 'mid þi þe' nine times, with 'mid þy þe' three times, and with 'mid þam þe' four times; there are eight other instances of 'mid plus demonstrative' formulae that are used without relation to 'þa'.

proceeds from beginning to end without undue complication or diversion.[16] However, the appearance is deceptive: a series of cyclical movements are also incorporated. Like all 'happily ever after' stories, the *Apollonius* is inherently cyclical; it performs a cycle that starts from a time of peace and prosperity and works through several internal cycles of fortune and misfortune before returning to peace and prosperity once more.[17] The return is to a situation which is similar in detail but often peopled by different characters, or which presents the characters in different roles in relation to one another. Apollonius begins as a fortunate nobleman with good marriage prospects; becomes a misfortunate (a proscribed man, an exiled man, a shipwrecked man); moves back into fortune (he is married to the princess of Cyrene, his problems disappear with the death of Antiochus, and he is offered the kingship of Antioch). Misfortune strikes again as he loses his wife, then his daughter), but a return to fortune finally takes place as he is reunited with his daughter, then his wife and lives happily ever after with the kingship of Antioch, Tyre and Cyrene, a wife and son, and daughter and son-in-law.

The presence of these cycles complicates the narrative to such an extent that simple narrative goals are difficult to identify. At any one moment, Apollonius is involved in both a movement forwards towards the culmination of the narrative (a generalized 'Apollonius lived happily ever after') and a movement round a cycle of fortune and misfortune.[18] This complexity prevents the sense of linear progression by temporal sequence from becoming simplistic. It also provides a point of contact with Old English texts which are more usually characterized as very different in narrative technique to the *Apollonius*; for example, *Beowulf* might be remapped by means of such a cyclical structure, especially in the light of Lock's assertion that 'the whole of *Beowulf* seems to be infused with a contrast in the happiness, virtue and wealth of

[16] As Foster points out, 'many Old English narrative passages are composed of strings of largely independent units marked and coordinated by þa, which is used here as an infinitely repeatable marker of temporal sequentiality and carries little or no information about the grammatical relation of clauses. [. . .] These passages, then, can be examined from a broader perspective that the level of grammatical relations, namely that of the organization of narrative material': Robert Foster, 'The use of þa in Old and Middle English Narratives', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 76 (1975), 404–14 (p. 406).

[17] What are here characterized as cycles are sometimes referred to as reversals in fortune; since the narrative repeats the pattern but not the events, cycle seems a more useful term.

[18] Compare Genette's assertion that 'since any narrative [. . .] is a linguistic production undertaking to tell of one or several events, it is perhaps legitimate to treat it as the development—monstrous, if you will—given to a *verbal* form, in the grammatical sense of the term: the expansion of a verb. *I walk*, *Pierre has come* are for me minimal forms of narrative, and inversely the *Odyssey* or the *Recherche* is only, in a certain way, an amplification (in the rhetorical sense) of statements such as *Ulysses comes home to Ithaca* or *Marcel becomes a writer*': Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 30.

one time as opposed to the misery, evil and poverty of another'.[19] Shorter narratives such as the 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' episode in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* evidently respond to a cyclical pattern, the fortunes and misfortunes of Cyneheard being merely the most obvious of a number of smaller cycles. The narrative structure of the Old English *Apollonius* is thus seen to be less isolated than it might seem within the wider context of Old English literature.

Shifts and Slides in Meaning in Relation to Temporal Context

In the discussion above, the 'story' of Apollonius is seen to operate in an indeterminate temporal location, the 'once upon a time' common to fairy tales and folktales, in which specific ideas of 'historical' time have little or no relevance. However, such tales are always read within a particular culture; each instance of re-telling provides a context belonging to a particular period of time, and is only meaningful insofar as the details of the tale can be read and understood through the culture of that time. In the Old English *Apollonius*, this cultural reading of the *Historia* is enacted as a text that reveals far more than a simple transference of narrative events from one language to another.

The Old English Reading of the Latin Narrative

The Old English version has been infrequently analysed for signs of cultural difference. It has more often been characterized as a translation of the Latin *Historia*, which adopts the narrative structure of its source without change and then produces instances of 'good' and 'bad' translation.[20] However, examination of the context within which the new version exists and how that affects meaning may reveal points of cultural contact as well as difference, just as a comparison of the cycles of fortune and misfortune to those in other Old English texts reveals that the linear temporal progression of the narrative is not necessarily a feature which has to be 'translated', or something which must be defined as alien to the literary traditions in which Old English operates.

Attention is called to the frame of Anglo-Saxon culture by the intervention of a 'translator figure' in direct address to the reader at the end: 'her endað ge wea ge wela Apollonius þæs tiriscan. Ræde se þe wille. And gif hi hwa ræde, ic bidde þæt he þas awændednesse ne tæle, ac þæt he hele swa hwæt swa þar on sy to tale'.[21] This

[19] Lock, *Aspects of Time*, p. 171.

[20] See, for example, Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, pp. xx–xxiii; Stanley Greenfield, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 6.

[21] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. 42.

at once manifests a challenge to potential readers, an attempt to distance the narrator from the text he narrates, and an anxiety about the nature of the text, resulting in the request for an active (and forgiving) reading practice. The awareness of potential readership, difficulties in translation, and inscribed relation of narrator to tale, make explicit a process that has been going on throughout the text. The presence of the translator appears in the guise of the narrative voice—that is, in terms of Genette's appropriation of the term 'voice' to 'designate the connections between both *narrating* and *narrative* and *narrating* and *story*'.[22] The voice does not only narrate the story, but narrates its own relationship to that story by means of various points of conflict and confusion that appear in the text. The Old English *Apollonius* is the product of the movement of a story from one culture into another; it therefore performs the movement of a narrative from one period of time into another, operating between two spheres of meaning, which at times interact and at times conflict.

Translation is, of course, an ongoing and frequently frustrating process, in which moments of comprehension may be succeeded by miscomprehension or downright incomprehension owing both to linguistic difficulties and to issues of cultural diversion. Translation making often seems like a process of 'going round in circles' as moves into new cultural and linguistic systems seem to result in mutilated or meaningless texts which can only be understood by referring back to the source language. Yet this process is in itself interesting for what it can reveal of how meanings are produced or lost. When Goolden comments that, in terms of all the deviations made from the Latin *Historia* in the Old English *Apollonius*, 'close translation would have been preferable', one is prompted to ask why, and in what way, and to whom this would be preferable.[23] In the additions and changes to, and removal of elements of the source text, the translation reveals its own cultural patterns and defines its relationship to the past of the source in a gesture of appropriation. Jack Niles points out that 'each generation, with greater or lesser intensity, experiences the same need of anchoring itself by discovering a significant past and charging that past with ideals it can live by'.[24] In this case, the existence of a popular story gains local currency by its translation into Old English, and is claimed as a part of Anglo-Saxon literary culture which thereby locates itself within a larger tradition of classical writing. Yet the story cannot remain the same, since it can neither be written nor read in the same way.

One very obvious example of this may be seen in textual references that require a geographical knowledge unlikely to be circulating within an Anglo-Saxon context.

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[22] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, p. 32.

[23] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. xxii.

[24] John D. Niles, 'Appropriations: A Concept of Culture', in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997), pp. 202–228 (p. 221).

For instance, it might have been significant to a Greek or Roman audience that when rowing away from Tarsus Apollonius was beset by storm and shipwrecked *intra duos horas* ('betwux twam tidum', within two hours); it might thus have been obvious to them that Apollonius's swim to Cyrene was a feat of some distinction. Yet to an Anglo-Saxon audience, this is largely a matter of indifference, since they are unlikely to have any meaningful concept of the distance between Tarsus and Cyrene. The time reference loses its function; it is irrelevant how many hours have passed. The Old English translation makes use of the word 'tid', which can be translated as hour, but can also refer to a more indefinite period of time; yet this more vague interpretation also fails to convey the significance of the Latin phrase. A similar difficulty occurs in the assertion that, on his way back from Tyre, Thaliarcus 'mid gewisre seglunge binnon anum dæge com to Antiochan'.[25] Without some idea of how long this journey would usually take, the significance of the single day of travel and the skill in sailing that it entails are entirely lost. To a modern reader, the point of the reference is likely to be understood by means of consulting notes to the text or a map of the area in question. Thus the narrative reference to time performs an assumption of cultural norms which is entirely undercut by the temporal and cultural location of both the Anglo-Saxon audience and the modern critic. Riedinger has pointed out, however, that Apollonius's progress to the shore 'mid sunde'—and without the plank available to him in the Latin version—is comparable to Beowulf's swimming feat.[26] Apollonius can thus be signalled as a performing a traditionally heroic feat within an Anglo-Saxon context by means of the phrase used to describe the act, rather than by means of the temporal reference, which remains in the Old English text as a trace of an earlier meaning, a kind of cultural fossil.

Such difficulties are most in evidence when the culture in which the story is located conflicts with the culture for which the narrative is produced. Hence the Old English falters when confronted with the situation at Cyrene; there is some confusion over what happens in the gymnasium—there is a brave attempt at translation in 'bæðstede' but this hardly covers the range of meanings required[27]—and Apollonius ends up spinning a top rather than providing a massage, a situation made all the more peculiar by the fact that Apollonius's spinning expertise makes Arcestrates feel as though he were young again. Elizabeth Archibald characterizes this situation as the translator 'guessing wildly',[28] yet the guessing itself provokes interesting questions:

[25] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. 10.

[26] Riedinger, 'The Englishing of Arcestrate', p. 294.

[27] See Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 72–75. 'Bæðstede' is glossed as 'thermae vel gymnasium' in Ælfric's *Glossary*, a gloss which underlines the difference of cultural custom associated with the term; Archibald points out that 'public baths were very popular in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, though they did not usually include exercise halls after the Greek and Roman fashion' (Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 73).

[28] Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p.73.

why did the top appear a reasonable solution to the translator's difficulties? What assumptions about what happened in gymnasia, and what experience of the workings of bathhouses, does this translation suggest? The passage shows very clearly that events in this part of the story depend upon a cultural context that is difficult to make meaningful for an Anglo-Saxon audience. It is not a straightforward decision as to whether the massage would have seemed more or less out of place to them than the spinning top. Whichever it may have been, the passage represents a moment of incomprehension during the interaction of classical and Anglo-Saxon expectations of social practice: a moment when the translator's relation to the narrative is inscribed in the text.

A similar situation arises with the episode in the hall; Apollonius singing and playing the harp may easily find a place within an Anglo-Saxon cultural frame; but the mimes and comic and tragic extracts that follow are beyond translation.[29] As a compromise, the Old English merely explains that Apollonius 'plegode', and that he 'fela fægera þinga þar forð teah, þe þam folce ungecnawen wæs'.[30] The Anglo-Saxon audience of the text are equally unaware of such 'things', and are thus inscribed here inside the Old English text, written in as those who may indeed admire Apollonius's antics, but have never seen anything quite like this before.

A further example of confusion occurs when Apollonius is out walking hand in hand with King Arcestrates. According to the Latin, this stroll takes place a 'few days' after Apollonius's appointment as royal tutor ('post paucos dies'); in Old English it occurs 'binnon feawum tidum'—within a few 'times'—of his taking up the post. Since it seems unlikely that Apollonius can teach his pupil as well as he himself had learned in a mere few hours, it is probable that the meaning here is 'after a short time' or 'after a while'. A verbatim translation was, of course, available to the translator; he could have chosen to give 'binnon feawum dagum'. The use of 'tid' suggests some difficulty with exactly how much time would be appropriate between Apollonius's appointment and his promotion to royal son-in-law.

Even apparently straightforward translations encode a whole series of cultural problems. Goolden claims that 'a Greek feast' is able to 'find [. . . its] way into the translation unobtrusively'.[31] Yet this 'Greek feast' enters in disguise, as 'gebeorscipe', which, while it provides a term that is familiar and comprehensible within Anglo-Saxon culture, does not convey the norms and traditions of a different kind of feasting in a different kind of climate, a feasting which is embedded in a network of differing social practices.[32] Just how different some of these practices

[29] See Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 76–77.

[30] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. 26.

[31] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, p. xxiii.

[32] The different uses to which 'gebeorscipe' is put elsewhere confirm the slippage of cultural significance; it is the term used to feasts given by both Abraham and Pharoah in the Old Testament (Genesis 21. 8 and 40. 20, see *The Old English Version of Heptateuch*, ed.

are—and how subtly they may be conveyed in the text—has recently been illustrated by Anita Riedinger's analysis of 'The Englishing of Arcestrate', in which the methods by which the princess is translated into a more acceptable version of royal womanhood are laid bare.[33] To this might also be added the transformation of Apollonius himself; his description of his status in the Old English—'Ic eom Apollonius se tirisca ealdorman'—encodes a role which is by no means simply analogous to that of the classical hero, who proclaims 'ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, patriae meae princeps'.[34] This type of transformation, preserved through the process of translation, demonstrates the ways in which Anglo-Saxon readers could construct the meaning of the *Historia Apolloni*, and the ways in which its cultural formations were dismantled and reassembled according to their own norms and expectations.

Reading the Old English through the frame of contemporaneous culture is therefore a way of reading time into the text, and allowing its presence to reveal meaning. If the text is read outside an idea of Anglo-Saxon culture, as a somehow 'timeless' exercise in translation, then it is rendered problematic and accused of flaws, mistakes and bad translation. Within Anglo-Saxon culture it can be read as a version of the Apollonius story, in which these so-called 'mistakes' and 'bad' translations are re-evaluated as moments of inscribed cultural interaction.

The Modern Reading of the Old English Narrative

In the analysis outlined above, the emphasis on reading within an Anglo-Saxon temporal context has to some extent obscured my own reading position within a modern cultural system. Genette asserts that:

> The temporality of written narrative is to some extent conditional or instrumental; produced in time, like everything else, written narrative exists in space and as space, and the time needed for 'consuming' it is the time needed for *crossing* or *traversing* it, like a road or a field. The narrative text, like every other text, has no other temporality

by S. J. Crawford, Early English Text Society, o.s. 160 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922)), while in the New Testament it covers events ranging from the division into groups at the feeding of the five thousand (Luke 9. 14) to the Last Supper (John 21. 20, *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, ed. R. Liuzza, Early English Text Society, o.s. 304, 314, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994–2000), I). In the Old English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, it refers to the kind of communal feasting that Cædmon abandons for the safety of his cattle when the harp is passed around. Riedinger notes that Arcestrates' feast is held in a hall rather than 'in a *triclinium* within a *domum*' and that 'guests are not *discumbentes* "reclining at tables", but more formally sitting, *ymbsittendan*' (Riedinger, 'The Englishing of Arcestrate', p. 294).

[33] Riedinger, 'The Englishing of Arcestrate', pp. 292–306.

[34] Goolden, *'Apollonius of Tyre'*, pp. 18 and 19.

than what it borrows, metonymically, from its own reading.[35]

A modern reading of the Old English narrative of *Apollonius of Tyre* thus entails a complex interaction of temporal structures. The reader creates a personal reading time, consisting of the interaction between the time taken to read the text and the 'now' during which the reading takes place; during the reading process, the narrative is interpreted as representative of a location in a historical time period—the Anglo-Saxon—and as embodying a story whose temporal and cultural context is classical.[36]

Hence, it is important to distinguish between the temporal duration of the narrative (the time taken to read it) and the duration of narrated time (the period described by the narrative); both of these are further distinguished from the temporal location of the narrative (the time period during which it was written) and the temporal location of the reader. Paul Ricoeur asserts that what is required for useful narrative distinctions is 'a three-tiered scheme: utterance-statement-world of the text, to which correspond a time of narrating, a narrated time, and a fictive experience of time projected by the conjunction/disjunction between the time it takes to narrate and narrated time'.[37] The application of such a scheme to the Apollonius narrative allows the perception of a text in which an utterance conditioned by Anglo-Saxon linguistic and social norms is combined with a statement describing the Classical past, and for which the world of the text produces an uncomfortable awareness of modern reading positions.

In a reading of the Old English Apollonius, perception of the 'fictive experience of time' is further disturbed by the relation of the reader to the cycle of order from which the text of disorder and disruption emerges and to which it returns. The reader completes this process by identifying and connecting the two points of order—'the once upon a time and happily ever after' of the story. This beginning-and-ending process defines both the reading time, and the temporal constructions that the reader employs in interpreting the text, since it delineates the world of the text through which both utterance and statement are received. The modern reader may well appear to be going round in one particular circle here, but is in fact

[35] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, p. 34.

[36] The physical condition of the text as a result of temporal transmission has further implications for the interpretation of the text. The lacuna resulting from the loss of several folios of the manuscript introduces a further set of complex cross-readings in order to 'restore' events lost from the narrative. The reader may experience this creatively, as a lack that reflects Apollonius's sense of loss when deprived of wife and daughter, but this could be dismissed as critical rationalization of an unsatisfactory narrative experience. The gap in the narration distorts reading time further in relation to the events of the story, and serves as a reminder of the text as an object with a history: modern editions are forced to reproduce the sign of that history and thus reinforce their own status as copies located within a different and specific set of cultural and literary norms.

[37] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, p. 77.

employed on a series of cyclical interpretative strategies, reading his/her own time back into a text which is read back into an earlier text.

As with all reading practices, there is a danger that the outcome of such a system of narrative distinction appears to be a further process of going round in circles: setting up expectations of cultural norms, reading texts according to those expectations, and reproducing those norms in the texts. What breaks these circles is an openness to the points at which the text does not conform to expectations: a willingness to perceive and explore the inconsistencies, and to re-examine moments of apparent consistency, with close attention to the temporal structures which operate within and upon the text.

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The Psychedelic Transmogrification of the Soul in Vercelli Homily IV

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Questions about time and eternity and the mysteries of the afterlife were much on the minds of early English authors, who wrote copiously about these topics from the time of Bede onward. A large number of poems and sermons in Old English are preoccupied with otherworld visions, the tidings of Doomsday, the activities of angels and demons, and the manner of the soul's release from the body after death.[1] The frequency with which these themes are explored in Old English literature might lead one to expect that at some point the Anglo-Saxons arrived at a reasonably secure set of ideas that add up to a coherent body of eschatological doctrine, but in reality the situation turns out to be far from secure or coherent. The central message of these texts is generally obvious, and their manipulation of earlier authors or traditions is often easy to detect, but if one reads them in the hope of encountering a carefully articulated system of beliefs concerning the nature and destiny of the soul, then there is room for disappointment. Milton Gatch put this somewhat more kindly when he wrote in a landmark essay that:

> The mind of the early medieval theologian was not plagued as is ours with the *bête noire* of consistency. Tradition and orthodoxy tended to outweigh consistency and structure, especially in works so synthetic as the Anglo-Saxon homiletic collections. The homilists would neither have thought to work out an eschatalogical scheme (in the

[1] The eschatological concerns of Old English verse are most usefully surveyed by Leslie Whitbread, 'The Doomsday Theme in Old English Poetry', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 89 (1967), 452–81; and Graham D. Caie, *The Judgment Day Theme in Old English Poetry* (Copenhagen: Nova, 1976). There is no comprehensive guide to Anglo-Saxon eschatology in general, but an important step in that direction is the article by Milton McC. Gatch cited in the following note.

> Scholastic sense) from the diverse elements of the documents at hand nor have noted any of its inconsistencies.[2]

The one qualification I would make to this statement is that 'tradition and orthodoxy' are sometimes difficult to pin down in early insular eschatalogical writings, which cannot always be relied on to repeat ideas found elsewhere with absolute fidelity, or without introducing significant changes. These texts evince no anxiety whatsoever about contradicting themselves, or about violating fundamental theological principles. The tenth-century Old English sermon known as Blickling Homily XIII, on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, for instance, has Mary's body both separated from her soul and assumed together with her soul into heaven, and the assumption scene is presented not once but twice.[3] The Last Judgement takes place immediately after death in Pseudo-Wulfstan Homily XXIX,[4] but a much different kind of judgement scene is acted out at recurrent weekly intervals (presumably for all eternity) in two Old English homilies in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 85.[5] Vercelli Homily I claims that when Christ harrowed hell, he defeated death and delivered the elect to heaven and thereby made it possible for all righteous souls thereafter to gain eternal rest after death without a length of time in the grave, whereas Vercelli Homily V, in the same manuscript, tells us that all men must die, and that even those rescued from hell by Christ have to taste death again and must endure a state of death until the bodily resurrection.[6] To a great extent, this apparent confusion can be reconciled by the fact that the Anglo-Saxons were heirs to a large number of disparate classical, biblical, patristic and early medieval teachings concerning Doomsday, the afterlife, and the concept of the soul which are inherently in conflict and which can only be expected to complicate these issues rather than clarify them. However, it would be a mistake to think of these texts as fundamentally traditional or orthodox, since their manipulation of tradition and orthodoxy tends to

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[2] Milton McC. Gatch, 'Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies', *Traditio*, 21 (1965), 117–65 (p. 123).

[3] *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. by R. Morris, Early English Text Society, o.s. 58, 63, 73 (London: Early English Text Society, 1874–80; repr. in one vol. 1967), pp. 137–59; discussion by Mary Clayton, 'Blickling Homily XIII Reconsidered', *Leeds Studies in English*, 17 (1986), 25–40.

[4] *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*; *Erste Abteilung: Text und Varianten*, ed. by Arthur Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883; repr. with a supplement by Klaus Ostheeren, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Study, 1967), pp. 134–43.

[5] Printed and discussed by Rudolph Willard, 'The Address of the Soul to the Body', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 50 (1935), 957–83.

[6] *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. by D. G. Scragg, Early English Text Society, o.s. 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 7–43 (Hom. I), 111–121 (Hom. V).

be partial and unpredictable, and their concern for theological correctness is generally subordinate to their interest in creating shock value and packing a hortatory punch. This is only a minor adjustment to Gatch's assessment, but I think it helps explain the conceptual inelegance of many of these complicated texts.

My test case for this assertion is a text that, to my mind, constitutes the single most extraordinary commentary on the fate of the soul in Old English. Here I have in mind a homily in the tenth-century Vercelli Book known as Vercelli Homily IV.[7] Vercelli IV is a soul-and-body homily whose contents are in some ways strikingly unique, although portions overlap with other Old English homilies, and there is reason to think it was involved in a complicated process of revision and recycling from the early tenth to the mid-twelfth centuries. A second complete copy of Vercelli IV is included among the mid-eleventh-century marginal entries in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, and a one-page fragment is preserved in a twelfth-century section of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 367 Part 2.[8] The homily's penitential introduction, moreover, borrows material from a composite tenth-century Old English sermon known as the 'Macarius' homily, which survives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 (s. xi^{med});[9] and a portion of Vercelli IV was also used by the compiler of the anonymous eleventh-century eschatalogical sermon known as Pseudo-Wulfstan Homily XXX.[10] In spite of the text's eventful transmission history, however, there are aspects of its eschatology that have no close parallel elsewhere in Old English, and I would like to consider them in some detail here. The episode describing the good and bad souls' addresses to their bodies is too long to quote in full, but in order to provide a basis for discussion I offer the

[7] For general orientation on the Vercelli homilies, see Gatch, 'Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies', pp. 136–60; Paul E. Szarmach, 'The Vercelli Homilies: Style and Structure', in *The Old English Homily and Its Backgrounds*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany: SUNY Press, 1978), pp. 241–67; and D. G. Scragg, 'The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints' Lives before Ælfric', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 8 (1979), 223–77 (pp. 225–33).

[8] These textual relationships are summarized by Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 87–88.

[9] The debt of Vercelli IV to the 'Macarius' homily is demonstrated by Charles D. Wright, 'The Old English "Macarius" Homily, Vercelli Homily IV, and Ephrem Latinus, *De paenitentia*', forthcoming in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall with assistance from Thomas D. Hill and Charles D. Wright (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2001). The 'Macarius' homily is edited by Hans Sauer, *Theodulfi Capitula in England: Die altenglischen Übersetzungen, zusammen mit dem lateinischen Text*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, 8 (München: Fink, 1978), pp. 411–16.

[10] Pseudo-Wulfstan XXX is edited afresh by Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 395–403. See also the discussion by D. G. Scragg, 'Napier's "Wulfstan" Homily XXX: Its Sources, Its Relationship to the Vercelli Book and Its Style', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 197–211 (pp. 203, 209).

following summary, punctuated by translations of the two passages detailing the colourful transformations of the bodies and souls at the moment when they pass to their eternal post-judgement reward. According to Vercelli IV, when an individual dies, that person's body and soul separate and remain separated until the hour of judgement, when it will be the soul's responsibility to confess the sins of both body and soul before an assembly of witnesses consisting of all the occupants of heaven and hell and earth.[11] The hour of judgement is temporally located specifically at Doomsday rather than immediately after death, or at some unspecified time during the interim, which puts Vercelli IV in agreement with Assmann Homily XIV but in conflict with a number of other Old English texts, including the two *Soul and Body* poems.[12] The Last Judgement scene itself gets underway when God directs his angels to receive the blessed soul (which is grammatically feminine) into heaven as a reward for her good works. The angels praise and bless the soul, which in looking around her recognizes her body standing in the midst of the multitude, and asks that her body not be allowed to die, or decay, or suffer torment but be reunited with her because of all the good deeds the body performed in life for the soul's benefit. The soul asks God not to keep her and her body apart, and she reels off a litany of the body's meritorious works, emphasizing the virtues of constancy and moderation. At this point the voice of the homilist takes over, admonishing the homily's audience to reflect on the blessed soul's address to her body, and the description of the body's transformation follows:

> Most dearly beloved, let us consider how gladly and how joyfully and how beautifully and how mercifully she speaks, that soul, to her body when she first speaks those words that I have just related. Then the body turns into various forms (*bleon*): first it is in the appearance (*hiw*) of a small man, then secondly in the appearance of a most beautiful man. Then after that it possesses the beauty of those plants the lilies and roses, and then so forth, until it has a colour (*hiw*) like that of gold and silver and like the most valuable gems and precious stones. And afterward it twinkles like a star and gleams like the moon and shines like the sun when it is shining most brightly.[13]

[11] On the tripartite audience of the soul's confessions (in Old English typically classed as *heofonwaru*, *helwaru*, and *eorfwaru*), see Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 85–88; and Andrew Breeze, 'The Three Hosts of Doomsday in Celtic and Old English', *Miscelánea*, 15 (1994), 71–79 (with reference to Vercelli IV at p. 73).

[12] For these distinctions and their occurrences in Old English literature, see Willard, 'The Address of the Soul to the Body'; and Gatch, 'Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies', pp. 124–34, 146–60.

[13] Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, p. 96, lines 153–61:

> Men þa leofestan, utan geðencan hu glædlice 7 hu wynsumlice 7 hu fægre 7 hu mildlice heo sprycð, sio sawl, to hire lichaman, þonne hio ærest þas word sprycð þe ic ær nemde. Þonne bryt se lichoma on manigfealdum bleon; ærest he bið on medmicles

Once the blessed body attains this state of sun-like radiance, God calls out and declares that this colour (*hiw*) was prepared in advance for the body by its soul on earth, and he orders the blessed body and soul together to enter into their rightful abode in heaven, whence they originally came, and enjoy eternal rest. The body and soul are again reunited, regain their ability to speak, and utter extravagant praises to God as they enter heaven.

After a short intervening message by the homilist, exhorting the audience to be mindful of God's wrath against the wicked at judgement, there follows a parallel scene featuring an encounter between a wicked soul and her body. In a fearful voice the wicked soul rebukes her body for having lived sinfully and for having neglected to think about the fate of its soul. The soul asks death why it did not release her from her body sooner, and she accuses the body of a lengthy list of sins, including gluttony, slander, theft and immoderate laughter. The wicked soul's lament continues for some eighty lines in Scragg's edition before the body has a chance to respond, and when it does it undergoes a transformation that is described as follows and that, unlike the blessed body's transformation earlier, is accompanied by a corresponding transformation of its soul:

> Most dearly beloved, the dead flesh then stands confounded, and he can give no answer to his soul and sweats with a very foul sweat, and unpleasant drops fall from him, and he changes into many colours (*hiw*). At first he is like a very loathsome man, when he grows black and darkens; another time he is pale and colourless; at another moment he is coal-black. And likewise the soul transforms (*hiwaf*) into an evil colour (*bleoh*) in the same manner as the body, and yet it is of a worse colour (*hiw*). And they both stand very afraid and await judgement with trembling.[14]

The devil then steps forward to claim the wicked soul and body as his own, and God orders the soul and body to enter together into the house of perdition, where they are destined to suffer in eternal flame. The judgement day scene then abruptly breaks

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> mannes hiwe, þonne æt nehstan on þam fægerestan manes hiwe; swa æt nehstan þæt he þara wyrta fægernesse, lilian 7 rosan, 7 þonne swa forð ðæt he hæfð gelic hiw golde 7 seolfre 7 swa þam deorwyrðestan gymcynne 7 eorcnanstanum; 7 æt nehstan þæt he glitenað swa steorra, 7 lyht swa mone, 7 beorhtað swa sunna þonne hio biorhtust bið scinende.

The meaning of the term *bryt* in this passage is discussed by D. G. Scragg, 'Old English "bryt" in the Vercelli Book', *Notes and Queries*, 211 (1966), 168–69.

[14] Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 101–02, lines 288–94:

> Men þa leofestan, þonne stent ðæt deade flæsc aswornod, 7 ne mæg andwyrde syllan þam his gaste, 7 swæt swiðe laðlicum swate, 7 him feallað of unfægere dropan, 7 bryt on manig hiw. Hwilum he bið swiðe laðlicum men gelic, þonne wannað he 7 doxaþ; oðre hwile he bið blæc 7 æhiwe; hwilum he bið collsweart. 7 gelice sio sawl hiwað on yfel bleoh swa same swa se lichoma, 7 bið gyt wyrsan hiwes. 7 standaþ butu swiðe forhte 7 bifigende onbidað domes.

off, and the homily ends with a brief allegorical commentary on the devil's bows and arrows and a call to shield ourselves against the devil's weapons.[15]

Now a number of things in this scene call for comment, certainly one of which is the representation of the relationship between the soul and the body. Deluded by many years of living in the twentieth century and suffering from overexposure to more recent accounts of medieval faculty psychology and great heaps of body theory, we as latter-day readers are likely to come to this homily with the false expectation that the body and soul are somehow fundamentally different. But this is not at all the case in Vercelli IV, which presents the body and soul as virtually mirror images of one another. Both body and soul are endowed with capacities for intellection, cognition and emotion, and there is no strict identification of the soul (and the soul alone) with the rational, intellectual faculties of the mind, as we find, for instance, in discussions of the nature of the soul by Alcuin and King Alfred.[16] Such abilities to think and feel which we now associate with the mind are shared by body and soul alike in Vercelli IV. The blessed body, we are told, 'grieved' and 'lamented' for its soul while alive in the world; it was 'joyful' in the Lord, and it 'wished' never to experience eternal hardship with its soul. So too the wicked body was 'pleased' by its sins and 'imagined' that it might live forever, and it stood 'confounded' after its soul's accusations. Both bodies, moreover, are said to possess a will that is independent of the soul, and it is in the body's will that sin is said to originate.[17] If it were not for the damned body's concupiscent desires, the devil would not be dragging its soul off to hell toward the end of the homily. The damned soul even reproaches its body at one point with the charge that 'We two were never

[15] The closing allegory and its probable reliance on a sermon by Caesarius of Arles are discussed by Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., 'Caesarius, Chrodegang, and the Old English *Vainglory*', in *Gesellschaft. Kultur. Literatur: Rezeption und Originalität im Wachsen einer Europäischen Literatur und Geistigkeit. Beiträge Luitpold Wallach gewidmet*, ed. by Karl Bosl, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 11 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1975), pp. 167–78 (pp. 170n.10, 173, 176).

[16] M. R. Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 271–98; Paul E. Szarmach, 'Alfred, Alcuin, and the Soul', in *Manuscript, Narrative, Lexicon: Essays on Literary and Cultural Transmission in Honor of Whitney F. Bolton*, ed. by Robert Boenig and Kathleen Davis (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2000), pp. 127–48.

[17] This feature of Vercelli IV is remarked by Allen J. Frantzen, 'The Body in *Soul and Body I*', *Chaucer Review*, 17 (1982–83), 76–88 (pp. 79–80). Robert W. Ackerman, '*The Debate of the Body and the Soul* and Parochial Christianity', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 541–65 (pp. 550–51), discusses a similar ascription of will to the body in the early Middle English *Vices and Virtues* and in *The Pricke of Conscience*.

for a single moment of one will' ('Næron wyt næfre ane tid on anum willan'[18]), which implies that the body and soul have separate and independent wills. By the same token, both of the souls in this equation are endowed with concrete physical attributes that encourage us to think of them not as formless spirits but as visible corporeal entities. In the midst of the blessed soul's address to her body, she looks at her body 'with very joyful eyes' ('swiðe bliðum eagum'[19]). The damned soul stands awaiting judgement, and claims that in life she was her body's 'walking and going' ('in feðe 7 in gang'[20]), which seems to suggest that she was responsible for the body's mobility; and, of course, the damned body's sweaty metamorphosis at the end of the scene is accompanied by a parallel transformation in its soul's physical appearance, which the homilist emphasizes shifted visually 'in the same manner as the body' ('swa same swa se lichoma'[21]). In short, the body and soul are paired in this homily not only in that they share a collective experience and fate after death, but in their close resemblance to one another in their abilities to think, feel and desire, and in their common materiality. The only thing the soul possesses that the body does not is paradoxically the ability to speak. Once the body and soul are separated at death, the faculty of speech resides not with the body but with the soul. The body is mute, and the soul must speak for it.

If there is a single feature of this judgement day scene that is most extraordinary, however, it is the set of multi-colour transformations that occur just before the souls and bodies are conveyed to heaven or hell. One reason this process requires explanation is that the language used to describe this process is just semantically indeterminate enough to make it difficult to know whether these transformations are intended to be alterations primarily in form, or in colour. The Old English nouns *hiw* and *bleoh*, which in these passages denote that feature of the body or soul that undergoes visible change, both have a relatively fluid semantic range that encompasses aspects of form or shape as well as colour.[22] *Hiw*, which is the direct ancestor of modern English *hue*, has an especially wide range of meanings in Old English, including 'shape, make, form, fashion, species, kind, appearance, symbol, hue, and colour'.[23] The word's semantic breadth is clear enough in the first

[18] Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, p. 101, lines 286–87.

[19] Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, p. 95, line 133.

[20] Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, p. 101, lines 279–80.

[21] Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, p. 102, line 293.

[22] Drawing on Günter König's 'Die Bezeichnungen für Farbe, Glanz und Helligkeit im Altenglischen' (unpublished dissertation, Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, 1957), C. P. Biggam, *Blue in Old English: An Interdisciplinary Semantic Study*, Costerus, n.s. 110 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), p. 55, identifies both *hiw* and *bleoh* as 'nouns which can denote "colour" as a hyperonym', meaning that colour is only a subset of their overall semantic content.

[23] Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford

passage above describing the transformation of the blessed body, where *hiw* refers equally to qualities pertaining to a small man, a beautiful man, gold, silver, and precious jewels. (Surely it is the shape and size of the small man that are meant to receive emphasis here, the beauty of the beautiful man, and the colour and lustre of gold, silver, and precious jewels.) Old English *bleoh*, which is cognate to the French word *bleu*, from which we get modern English *blue*, is more straightforward in that it more often simply means 'colour',[24] but something more must be intended in the first passage above, where the plural *bleon* is used as a categorical term for all the various changes the body goes through, including each of the states identified as a *hiw*. If at some prior stage in their textual history these passages in Vercelli IV patterned themselves after a Latin antecedent, as is likely the case given the compositional histories of all the Vercelli homilies, then it may be that these ambiguities were not present in the Latin and were introduced in the Old English; but whatever the case, the net result in Vercelli IV is a set of parallel transformations that involve changes simultaneously in colour and form, and this consequently means that colour and form, at least according to this homily, are attributes of body and soul alike.

This brings us to a second reason why these passages call for comment, namely that their representation of the soul explicitly violates a concept of the soul that is clearly expressed in other Anglo-Saxon writings. In the second set of transformations in Vercelli IV, the damned soul shifts colours as well as the damned body, even though an important school of thought, with origins in patristic and medieval debates over the nature of the soul, holds that the soul is not something that can have colour. A principal exponent of this view is Alcuin, who insists in his *De animae ratione* that the soul is incorporeal, and invisible, and is consequently colourless and weightless, without physical substance of any kind.[25] It cannot be seen, and it certainly is not capable of altering its form or colour since it has none. This Alcuinian view of the soul was adopted by Ælfric, who drew heavily on Alcuin's *De animae ratione* in composing the Old English text printed as the first item in his *Lives of Saints*, a text rubricated for the Nativity of Christ, and which is essentially a short treatise on the nature of the soul. Following Alcuin, Ælfric writes that the soul:

University Press, 1898), s.v. *hiw*.

[24] Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s.v. *bleoh*; A. F. Cameron, 'Old English *unbleoh* Again', *Neophilologus*, 53 (1969), 299–302; *Dictionary of Old English: B*, ed. by Antonette di Paolo Healey and others (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1991), s.v. *bleo*: 'The general sense of the word is "aspect, appearance"; the two subsenses "colour, hue" and "form, shape" cannot always be identified clearly'.

[25] Alcuin, *De animae ratione*, § 10: 'Hoc modo anima definiri potest juxta suae proprietatem naturae: anima seu animus est spiritus intellectualis, rationalis, semper in motu, semper vivens, bonae malaeque voluntatis capax [. . .] ad regendum carnis motus creatus, *invisibilis*, *incorporalis*, *sine pondere*, *sine colore*, circumscriptus, in singulis suae carnis membris totus' (PL, 101, cols. 643D–44A) (my emphasis).

> is invisible and incorporeal, without weight and without colour, clothed upon with the body and dwelling in all the limbs. It cannot depart out of the body by its own power, nor return there again unless He who made it and sent it into the body should so will. [. . .] Just as Almighty God excels all creatures, so the soul excels all created bodies by the dignity of its nature, and no bodily creature may be compared with it. We said before that the soul was without colour because it is incorporeal. A body has colour, and the soul will be adorned according as it has merited on earth. Of this Christ spoke in His Gospel: 'Then the just will shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father'.[26]

Alcuin and Ælfric are both convinced that colour and visibility are not properties of the human soul, and additional proponents of this claim could be cited,[27] but what complicates this issue, for readers of Ælfric, is Ælfric's concluding statement that even though the soul has no colour, its body does, and in the afterlife 'the soul will be adorned according as it has merited on earth'—an assertion that has the biblical support of Matthew 13. 43: 'Then the just will shine as the sun in the kingdom of

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[26] *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. and trans. by W. W. Skeat, Early English Text Society, o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London: Early English Text Society, 1881–1900; repr. in 2 vols, Oxford: Early English Text Society, 1966), I, 20, 22:

> ís unge-sæwenlic . and ún-lichomlic . butan hæfe and butan bleo . mid þam lichaman befangen . and on eallum limum wunigende. Ne heo ne mæg be hyre agenre mihte of þam lichoman gewytan ne æft ongean cy rran . butan se wylle þe hi geworhte . and ón þonne lichaman asænde. [. . .] Swá swá god ælmihtig oferstihð ealle gesceafta . swá oferstihð seo sawul ealle lichamlice gesceafta mid wurðfulnysse hyre gecyndes . and nán lichamlic gesceaft ne mæg beon hyre wið-meten . We cwæden ær þæt heo wære butan bleo . forþan ðe heo nis na lichamlic . On lichaman bið bleoh . and seo sawul bið swá ge-wlitegod . swa heo on worulde ge-earnode . Be þam cwæþ crist on his godspelle . Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno patris eorum.

[27] Ratramnus of Corbie likewise authored a treatise affirming the incorporeality and invisibility of the soul, drawing on the teachings of Augustine, Claudianus Mamertus, Isidore, Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, and Ambrose: see André Wilmart, 'L'opuscule inédit de Ratramne sur la nature de l'âme', *Revue Bénédictine*, 43 (1931), 207–23. These treatises by Alcuin and Ratramnus contributed to a lively Carolingian debate concerning the nature of the soul. For an overview of this debate, as revealed chiefly through the writings of Alcuin, Ratramnus, Hrabanus Maurus, Hincmar, and Gottschalk, see Gérard Mathon, *L'anthropologie chrétienne en occident de saint Augustin à Jean Scot Erigène*, 3 vols (Lille: Faculté de théologie, 1964), I, 226–358. The role played by Ratramnus is examined by Philippe Delhaye, *Une controverse sur l'âme universelle au IXe siècle*, Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia, 1 (Namur: Centre d'études médiévales, 1950). Among early Christian Latin authors, the contrasting belief in the physical materiality of the soul was championed by Tertullian, who argues in his controversial treatise *De anima* that the soul is corporeal, colour-bearing, ethereally bright, and shaped just like a human being, though still a little difficult for most people to see: *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De Anima*, ed. by Jan Hendrik Waszink (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1947).

their Father'. The sins or virtues for which a person is responsible during life, in other words, will be visibly manifest in the afterlife in the appearance of the risen body; and since the sins and virtues committed by each individual are different, it stands to reason that each body will appear differently. The brightness and colour of a body must match the particular combination of sins and virtues that adorn its soul. Thus the soul itself may have no colour, but its sins and virtues do.

From this idea one can see that it takes but a small step to reach the notion contradictory to Ælfric that the sins and virtues that adorn one's soul colour that soul, and one does not have to look far among works known to the Anglo-Saxons to find statements to this effect. In the third of his *Conferences*, Cassian recalls the teachings of the desert priest Paphnutius concerning the sins and virtues that stain the soul after death, and he summarizes these teachings as follows:

> We must hurry therefore to make a total effort to ensure that the inner man shall reject and scatter those sinful riches which he gathered during his earlier way of life. These riches belong to us and hold fast to us in body and soul, and if we do not cut them out and throw them away while we are still alive, they will continue to be our companions after death. Just as the virtues acquired in this life and the love which is their source clothe their possessor after death in shining beauty, so do sins cloak the soul and stain it with the foul colours which will cling to it. Beauty or ugliness of spirit come with the brand of virtue or of sin. Colour comes upon the soul to make it shine and make it deserve to hear the prophetic words: 'The king will fall in love with your beauty' (Ps 44. 11); or else there is the colour that makes it dark, foul, and misshapen and makes it speak out to admit the nastiness of its shame: 'My wounds stink and are festering, the result of my folly' (Ps 37. 6).[28]

What Cassian has to say here about the garment of the soul, the colour and appearance of which are determined by one's sins and virtues, will sound familiar to readers of

[28] *John Cassian*. *Conferences*, trans. by Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), pp. 89–90. *Iohannis Cassiani Conlationes XXIIII*, ed. by Michael Petschenig, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 13 (Wien: Gerold, 1886), pp. 79–80 (III. 8):

> Festinare igitur omni debemus instantia, ut interior quoque noster homo uitiorum suorum diuitias quas in anteriore conuersatione contraxit uniuersas abiciat atque dispergat. quae corpori atque animae iugiter cohaerentes propriae nostrae sunt, ac nisi adhuc in hoc corpore constitutis nobis abiectae fuerint et abscisae, post excessum nos non desinent comitari. ut enim uirtutes uel ipsa caritas, quae earum fons est, in hoc saeculo conquisita post finem quoque huius uitae pulchrum ac splendidum amatorem suum reddit, ita uitia ad illam perennem commorationem obfuscatam mentem quodammodo coloribus taetris infectamque transmittunt. pulchritudo enim uel deformitas animae uirtutum seu uitiorum gignitur qualitate, ex quibus quidam adtractus color aut ita eam splendidam reddit, ut a propheta mereatur audire: et concupiscet rex decorem tuum, aut certe atram, faetidam atque deformem, ita ut faetorem propriae turpitudinis ipsa confiteatur et dicat: conputruerunt et corruptae sunt cicatrices meae, a facie insipientiae meae.

Piers Plowman, and turns out to have a very long history as a metaphor employed in patristic and medieval discussions of the nature of the soul.[29] In a reduced monochrome form, this is the idea that is partly responsible for the large number of medieval texts in which wicked souls are depicted as black and good souls are depicted as white. In the tenth-century Irish text from the Liber Flavus Fergusiorum known as 'The Two Deaths', for example, wicked souls are 'as black as a raven'.[30] And in the entry for saints Vitus and Modestus in the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*, the souls of the child martyr Vitus and his companion Modestus are seen flying to heaven in the form of doves that are seven times whiter than snow.[31] On rarer occasion we find texts purporting to describe encounters with the other-world in which souls of varying states of goodness or badness are stained with degrees or admixtures of whiteness and blackness. A prime example of this mottled permutation is the early thirteenth-century *Vision of Thurkill* related by Roger of Wendover, in which a London labourer named Thurkill is taken on an other-world journey by St Julian, who leads him first to a purgatorial church known as the Congregation of Spirits, where the souls of the recently departed await assignment of their ultimate abode of punishment or glory. At the northern end of the church Thurkill sees a wall, and near the wall is the entrance to the pit of hell. As Thurkill approaches the wall, he sees a number of spirits of varying degrees of whiteness and blackness:

> After being taken beyond the northern wall, he saw a great number of spirits standing near the wall, marked with black and white spots. Some had a greater show of white than black, and others the reverse; but those who were whiter remained nearer to the wall, and those who were farthest off had no whiteness about them and appeared deformed in every part.[32]

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[29] Alois Kehl, 'Gewand (der Seele)', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. by T. Klauser and others, Vol. 10 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978), cols. 945–1025. The theme of the garment of the soul in *Piers Plowman* is most dramatically realized in the episode of the B-Text (XIII. 272–80) describing the soiled 'cote of Cristendom' worn by Haukin the active man: William Langland, *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A*, *B*, *C and Z Versions*. I: *Text*, ed. by A. V. C. Schmidt (London: Longman, 1995), p. 530.

[30] Carl Marstrander, 'The Two Deaths', *Ériu*, 5 (1911), 120–25 (p. 123).

[31] *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. by Günter Kotzor, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, n.s 88, 2 vols (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), II, 120–21:

> Ah Godes engel hine [St Vitus] þa gelædde ond his festerfæder mid hine, Sanctum Modestum, on þæs flodes neaweste se is cweden Siler. Þær gesegon Cristne men heora sawle fleogan to heofonum swa swa culfran, ond hi wæron seofon siðum hwittran þonne snaw.

[32] *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante*, ed. by Eileen Gardiner (New York: Italica Press, 1989), p. 221, adapted from *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History*, trans. by J. A. Giles, 2 vols. (London: Bohn, 1849; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1968), II, 221–35 (p. 222).

Later on, as Thurkill is guided on another leg of his other-world tour by St Michael, he is brought to a pleasant field where he is shown a man 'clothed from his feet to his breast in a garment of various colours'. This man, Michael explains, is Adam, and the multi-coloured garment he wears—a garment that does not quite completely cover him—is the robe of immortality, whose appearance reflects the accumulated virtues of all of Adam's righteous children from Abel to the present time:

> Just as the chosen ones shine in their different virtues, this garment is dyed with various colours. When the number of his elect children is completed, Adam will be entirely clothed in the robe of immortality and glory. In this way the world will come to an end.[33]

The *Vision of Thurkill* thus gives us two different types of examples of souls whose coloured appearance represents virtues possessed during life (though in the latter case the virtues are not those of Adam but of all his spiritual heirs). In Old English literature there are also expressions of a related concept, that on Doomsday the souls of the righteous will shine with degrees of brightness relative to their placement on a scale of blessedness. In an anonymous Old English homily on the Transfiguration in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343, the souls of the blessed are ranked by the intensity of their luminescence corresponding to the number of good deeds they performed on earth:

> St Paul the apostle said about Christ's saints: 'Even as one star outshines another in brightness because it is brighter than the other, so much the more glorious and brighter shall one man be on the Day of Judgement when he shines there before the other'. Because as much as one man accomplishes more good here on earth than another—as much as he is better in his deeds than another—so much more reward and recompense shall he receive from our Lord on the Day of Judgement.[34]

Even closer to the scheme in Vercelli IV are two Old English body-and-soul homilies, the so-called 'Macarius' homily in Corpus 201 and Pseudo-Wulfstan Homily XXIX, in which the damned soul confronting its body makes the accusation

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[33] Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven and Hell*, p. 234; cf. Giles, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History*, II, 234.

[34] Homily 6 in *Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343*, ed. by Susan Irvine, Early English Text Society, o.s. 302 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 170:

> Sanctus Paulus þe apostol cwæð be þam Cristes halgæn: Efne swa þe steorræ oferscineð oðerne on brihtnesse þæt he bið brihtre þene þe oþer. Swylc bið þe mon ærest on domes dæge swa mucele wundorlycor and brihtræ þenne he þer scinæð for þene oðerne. For þam swa mycele mare swa ðe mon her on weorlde to gode deþ toforen þam oðre, and swa mucel swa he bið on his dæde bætere þene þe oðer, swa mycele mare mæde and ædlean he sceal underfon æt ure Drihtine on domes dæg.

that during life the body's carnality, and its own consequential suffering, were already colour-coded. The grieving soul cries out to the body: 'While you were joyful and red and of good colour, I was black and very depressed; while you smiled and laughed, I wept bitterly'.[35]

These passages from Cassian's *Conferences* and the *Vision of Thurkill* and elsewhere suffice to show that in the early Middle Ages there were several overlapping currents of thought which encouraged the idea that the soul is visible, corporeal, and colour-bearing, and that at the hour of judgement the colour and appearance of one's soul will be determined by the cumulative weight of one's vices and virtues. What has happened in the judgement day scene in Vercelli IV is that this relatively simple idea has been combined with the image of the luminescence of the blessed soul established by Matthew 13. 43, and with a more vaguely defined concept of the passage of the disembodied soul through several ascending or descending stages, and these combined images have been transferred from the soul to the body, which is, after all, the soul's twin. At the end of the blessed soul's address to its body, the body alone changes colour and undergoes a series of transformations: from the likeness of a small man to a beautiful man to the colour of lilies and roses, to gold and silver and precious gems, and finally to the brilliance of the stars and moon and sun. The sequence moves from human to plant to mineral to heavenly body, as though depicting a gradual metempsychosis through several categories of physical creation, culminating in a return to the stars, where Plato tells us souls were born in the first place. This migratory process is roughly (but only

[35] The two texts are printed in parallel by Louise Dudley, 'An Early Homily on the "Body and Soul" Theme', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 8 (1909), 225–53 (p. 231): 'And þû þê wâere rêod, and ic mê waes blâc; þû waere glaed, and ic mê waes unrôt; þu hlôge, and ic wêop' (Corpus 201); 'Þonne ðu wære glaed and rêod and gôdes hîwes, þonne waes ic blâc and swyðe unrôt; þonne þû smercodest and hlôge, þonne wêop ic biterlîce' (Pseudo-Wulfstan XXIX). Dudley also prints corresponding passages from two closely related Latin sermons that contain an analogous set of contrasts, the longer of which reads: 'Tu quidem fecundum eras, et ego macra; tu rubicundum, et ego pallida; tu hilare, et ego moesta. Tu ridebas, et ego flebam; tu gaudebas, et ego dolebam' (p. 230). The correspondences between the 'Macarius' homily and Pseudo-Wulfstan XXIX are examined in detail by Julius Zupitza, 'Zu "Seele und Leib"', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 91 (1893), 369–404 (pp. 370–81). For a soul that undergoes a change in colour (though not within the context of judgement), compare the Irish anecdote copied into the fifteenth-century 'Saltair of Edmund Mac Richard' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 610) about a soul in hell that starts out as black as coal ('cirdubh amal gual') but thanks to the prayers of a holy man becomes progressively whiter until it is purged of sin and is allowed to depart from hell: Kuno Meyer, 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 3 (1901), pp. 17–39 (pp. 33–34). Compare the story of Cairpre Crom's rescue of the soul of Mael Sechnaill mac Maele Ruanaig, king of Tara, from hell through prayers that rendered his black soul 'half-speckled', as discussed by Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, pp. 137–38.

roughly) comparable to the ascent of the soul through the seven heavens, which in early insular texts, such as the *Vision of Adomnán*, is presented as a progression of souls through a succession of heavenly realms until they achieve the radiance of the stars.[36] The process is purgative and purifying, and in Vercelli IV one implication of this first transformation scene is that only the blessed body is in need of such purgation and purification before it can be assumed into heaven with its soul. In the second transformation scene, however, the damned body and soul experience parallel shifts in shape and hue that eventually turn to an evil blackness, though the colour of the soul ends up 'even worse' than that of its body. The two scenes are not perfectly balanced, and the temporal adverbs in the second passage (*hwilum*, *ofre hwile*, *hwilum*) are so chronologically imprecise that they ambiguate the sequencing of the various stages in the transformation. The colours of the damned body even shift from dark to 'pale' to coal-black, which disrupts the expected progression from flesh-colour to dark to black. This second transformation scene, in other words, both regularizes the process (by subjecting body and soul to parallel metamorphoses) and confuses the process (by subverting its sequentiality and its colour symbolism). The homily thus perfectly fulfils Gatch's characterization of Anglo-Saxon eschatalogical writings as logically inconsistent and structurally uneven, but it can hardly be viewed as traditional or orthodox, if by either of these terms we mean that it uncritically reproduces older models it takes to be right. Instead, Vercelli IV gives us an account of Domesday that is at once selective and synthetic and creative, drawing from multiple traditions that have been reconceived in order to apply teachings concerning the soul to the body, and at the same time directly controverting other medieval doctrines concerning the colour of the soul. As a result, this is one of the most complex and original eschatalogical texts in Old English, but its core message is very simple: watch out for your soul.

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[36] For discussions of this phenomenon in early English, Latin, Irish, Greek, and Coptic literature, see Rudolph Willard, *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*, Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 30 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1935), pp. 1–30; and Jane Stevenson, 'Ascent through the Heavens, from Egypt to Ireland', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 5 (1983), 21–35.

Time and Eternity in the Anglo-Saxon Elegies

JOHN DENNIS GROSSKOPF

When reading the Anglo-Saxon elegies, one is struck by the central role played by the passage of time. 'The Ruin' effectively illustrates how the Anglo-Saxons might have conceptualized time. In this poem we see time as the unstoppable predator, devouring man and all his works.

> Wondrous is this stone-wall, wrecked by fate;
> the city-buildings crumble, the works of the giants decay.
> Roofs have caved in, towers collapsed,
> barred gates are broken, hoar frost clings to mortar,
> houses are gaping, tottering and fallen,
> undermined by age.[1]

It is an awesome force that cannot be opposed directly, as evidenced by the crumbled buildings and the broken gates of the ancient city. But unlike these cold stones, men try to resist the destructive passage of time and two of the Anglo-Saxon elegies, 'The Seafarer' and 'The Wanderer' propose two possible strategies for dealing with individual's place in time. As we know, there are many similarities between these two works. They both relate the story of a man who is describing his lot as a sailor, and the difficulties of travelling the cold northern seas. Like all the other elegies, they treat the topic of loss, and they are both about the struggle against time, and possess 'a shared concern for the ultimate passing of things'.[2] But by

[1] 'The Ruin', lines 1–6. This and all subsequent quotations from the elegies are taken from the translations by Kevin Crossley-Holland, *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[2] Martin Green, 'Man, Time, and Apocalypse in "The Wanderer", "The Seafarer" and *Beowulf*', in *Old English Shorter Poems*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (New York:

examining the differences between these two elegies we can gain a valuable insight into two different aspects of dealing with time and faith: the 'Seafarer'[3] is a pilgrim seeking sanctuary from the passage of time so that he can be closer to the eternal aspect of God; the 'Wanderer' is trapped within time, lamenting past losses and seeking to recreate the past for his future. These two poems provide a valuable insight into the way the Anglo-Saxons regarded time, and all things temporal. Each of these poems provides an extreme example of the possible strategies for dealing with the passing of time. Examining these differences also provides a useful platform from which to discuss the possible method of composition for one of these elegies.

Although both of these works are moving examples of the excellence of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and they raise various issues, one of the most poignant aspects of 'The Wanderer' and 'The Seafarer' is the way they 'present the plight of man in time'.[4] It has been suggested by Frank Kermode that 'the confrontation with time is one of man's recurring and persistent problems'.[5] The poets of 'The Seafarer' and 'The Wanderer' are both keenly aware of this problem, and each offers a portrayal of an extreme solution for dealing with time. As noted by Martin Green, though the strategies of the poems are very different from each other, they both 'put man in a landscape that reflects the ultimate futility of attempts to erect bulwarks against the pressure of transitory time'.[6]

These Anglo-Saxon poets were not unique in their concern with the passage of time, and their conceptualization of the nature of time had a long tradition. In his *City of God*, St Augustine comments on the desire to escape the temporal world and commune with the eternal, and of the difficulty of such an undertaking:

> It is a great and very rare thing for a man, after he has contemplated the whole creation, corporal and incorporal, and has discerned its mutability, to pass beyond it, and, by the continuing soaring of his mind, to attain to the unchangeable substance of God.[7]

In *De trinitate* Augustine claims 'perfection in this life is nothing other than to forget

Garland, 1994), pp. 281–302 (p. 281).

[3] The narrator of 'The Seafarer' will be referred to as the Seafarer, and the narrator of 'The Wanderer' will be referred to as the Wanderer in this paper. This is useful in avoiding confusion and in viewing how each of the narrators and their unique situation exemplifies a specific religious strategy.

[4] Green, 'Man, Time, and Apocalypse', p. 281.

[5] Quoted in Green, 'Man, Time, and Apocalypse', p. 281.

[6] Green, 'Man, Time, and Apocalypse', p. 281.

[7] *Augustine: The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. by R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 346.

those things which are behind'.[8] Augustine has stated that not only is it a good thing for man to pass beyond the temporal world, but seeking spiritual perfection involves letting go of the past. Past events can anchor the soul, as it does the Seafarer, because it blocks contemplation of the eternal. 'There is no doubt that St Augustine's works [. . .] were well known to the Anglo-Saxons.'[9] He was a favourite of Alcuin, and quoted by Ælfric and Bede. This Augustinian theology provides a solid base for examining 'The Wanderer' and 'The Seafarer.' The first is a sad case, trapped in time, and the latter is a spiritual success story.

Augustine was not the only prominent theologian to believe in the ability to escape the current of time. Ambrose believed in 'the ability of mind to transcend spatial and temporal limitations'.[10] In the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede gives an account of Gregory the Great who 'even though still imprisoned in the body [. . .] was able to pass in contemplation beyond the barriers of the flesh'.[11] In this same work, Bede creates a wonderful metaphor that we all remember from *The Conversion of King Edwin* that represents the soul's existence in time. He creates a scene in which a sparrow flies through an open window into a hall, flutters about for a time then flies back out into the winter. It comes in from the consistency of winter, to spend a brief time in the warmth of creation, then flies out another window, returning to the eternal.

Frank Kermode suggests that man invents fictions to give an order and meaning to time, one of the most common fictions being that of the apocalypse. He writes 'the psychological function' of this is to 'give meaning to the present'.[12] Kermode points out that man is born in time and needs to form a 'connection to what has come before and what will come after'. The Anglo-Saxons were very concerned with time and believed the end was coming—they wrote of fiery dragons and other portents in the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', the 'Blickling' and 'Vercelli' manuscripts contain apocryphal sermons, the 'Exeter Book' contains poetry dealing with doomsday—and, much like us, they were fascinated and worried by the ending of the millennium. These images of apocalypse, appearing as ruined towns and the constant presence of death, set the mood in these poems. 'The present for the Wanderer and the Seafarer is thus given a sense of utmost urgency by the intimations of apocalypse which surround them.'[13] The urgency of these apocalyptic images force the poets to make a decision about how the issue of time will be resolved;

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[8] John Selzer, '"The Wanderer" and the Meditative Tradition', *Studies in Philology*, 80 (1983), 227–37.

[9] Selzer, '"The Wanderer"', p. 231.

[10] Neil Hultin, 'The External Soul in "The Seafarer" and "The Wanderer"', *Folklore*, 88 (1977), 39–45 (p. 40).

[11] Hultin, 'The External Soul', p. 40.

[12] Quoted in Green, 'Man, Time, and Apocalypse', pp. 281–83.

[13] Green, 'Man, Time, and Apocalypse', p. 291.

defied by the Seafarer, surrendered to by the Wanderer.

As I have mentioned earlier, 'The Wanderer' is a sad tale. The character is forever trapped within time by his sadness and inability to surrender the past. His past is pain and loss, his future is lamentation and suffering, and the potentiality of his future is lost to his unwavering desire to recreate the past. The Wanderer refuses to give up his search for another ring-lord:

> in sadness I sought far and wide
> for a treasure-giver, for a man
> who would welcome me into his mead-hall,
> give me good cheer (for I boasted no friends),
> entertain me with delights. ['The Wanderer', 25–29]

And he seeks to alleviate his sense of loss by replacing those things that time has taken from him: a hall, companionship, and comfort. It is a sadly empty quest, because by pursuing another hall, the Wanderer is pursuing more grief, since his ultimate goal is transitory. The past can never be regained so the Wanderer will always fail; and, by depending on regaining temporal things for happiness, he is missing the unchanging joys that come from the promise of salvation, made by an eternal Lord that exists outside of time. The Wanderer is buffeted by time and fate, and has been pushed out of the hall into the harshness of winter, but unlike Bede's sparrow, the Wanderer continues to circle trying to find his way back in again.

Of the two poems, the Wanderer's problem in time is more sharply perceived. 'In *The Seafarer* there is no disjunction in time.'[14] This is because the Seafarer has effectively escaped the lure of temporal things and the passage of time. As has been well documented in the work of Janet Bately and others, the Anglo-Saxons viewed time as something 'inseparable from the existence of the world' and 'linear time was strictly finite, encapsulated in eternity'. Time was created with the world and was part of the creation, and 'the end of this world and of linear time was simultaneously a new beginning, a shift to eternity'.[15]

The Wanderer's unceasing morning and reflection on happy past times prevent him from achieving that Augustinian state of perfection that the Seafarer is pursuing. In 'The Wanderer' there is the suggestion of a desire to preserve the past, to freeze time. All of the Wanderer's attention is focused backwards in time, into the past.

> Where has the horse gone? Where the man? Where the giver of gold?
> Where is the feasting-place? And where the pleasures of the hall?

[14] Green, 'Man, Time, and Apocalypse', p. 285.

[15] Janet Batley, 'Time and the Passing of Time in "The Wanderer" and Related Old English Texts', *Essays and Studies*, 37 (1984), 1–15 (p. 3).

> I mourn the gleaming cup. The warrior in his corselet,
> The glory of the prince. ['The Wanderer', 92–95]

Through his solitary lamentation he recreates the past in his mind over and over again. B. K. Green points out the Wanderer is the *anhaga*, who can do nothing but endure and lament his situation. Green has suggested that the term *anhaga* suggests not merely isolation, but 'containment'. This idea of being contained by sadness develops from 'enclosed and alone thinking' to 'surrounded by death and sorrow' to 'enshrinement of painful memories'.[16] This idea can also be extended to include the sense that the Wanderer's soul in contained within time by his sorrow. This idea of containment is interesting because time itself is a structure, and for the Wanderer, anchored within the structure of the hall. He is fixated upon structure and can escape neither hall nor time. The message of Bede's sparrow is lost to him. He will not fly free and, like the ruin, will be 'undermined by age'.

The Seafarer is free from the cares of the Wanderer, and is not even contained by time. He clearly declares his rejection of the temporal things that bind the soul, and states his preference for those things that are eternal and endure:

> So it is that the joys
> of the Lord inspire me more than this dead life,
> ephemeral on earth. I have no faith
> that the splendours of this earth will survive for ever.
> ['The Seafarer', 64-7]

The comparison the poet makes between his condition and those who remain on land underscores the Seafarer's physical and spiritual distance from them. They are always conscious of being in time by marking the evidence of its passing.

> The groves burst with blossom, towns become fair,
> meadows grow green, the world revives. ['The Seafarer', 47–48]

The Seafarer has rejected all these temporal things and removed himself from them. The Seafarer is a development of a 'simple and powerful character [that] recurs throughout the history of Christian spirituality: that of the Desert ascetic'.[17] In the early centuries of Christianity when spiritual men wanted to withdraw from the temporal world into the wilderness, it was to an actual desert; but, at other times and places 'a literal desert was not always at hand.' Indeed, within two hundred years of

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[16] B. K. Green, 'The Twilight Kingdom: Structure and Meaning in "The Wanderer"', *Neophilologus*, 60 (1976), 442–51 (pp. 442–46).

[17] Clair McPherson, 'The Sea a Desert: Early English Spirituality and "The Seafarer"', *American Benedictine Review*, 38 (1987), 115–26 (p. 115).

Augustine's mission to England, monasteries had become soft 'havens of comfort and culture' and not very conducive to removing oneself from the temporal world. When a devout English Christian wanted to withdraw from the comforts and softness of the temporal world, the sea provided the escape. The Seafarer's chosen life was the Anglo-Saxon version of ascetic monasticism.[18]

'Seafaring itself was understood as inherently good for the soul, even, in the extreme case, as an end in itself.'[19] This is the condition of the Seafarer. He is aboard ship for the good of his soul, as he seeks the perfection that Augustine defined. No destination is ever mentioned in the poem, only the Seafarer's commitment to seafaring. The Seafarer is following along a well-established tradition. Early British ecclesiastical history is replete with characters of 'sea-going monastics' like St Cuthbert, St Columba, St Kentigern, St Patrick, and St Columbanus.[20] The typical characteristics of this ascetic tradition were physical asceticism, bearing hardships, and the 'virtue of isolation'. The Seafarer is an Anglo-Saxon development of this ascetic monastic tradition.

By way of comparison, the Wanderer is firmly associated with the heroic tradition. The major ethos of heroic life 'is the vital relationship between retainer and lord, whose binding virtue is loyalty.'[21] This is the relationship the Wanderer is seeking: a temporary surrogate relationship with an earthly lord, instead of an unchanging relationship with the eternal lord. In the world of the Wanderer 'to lack a lord is to lack place and role, friend and kin, help in need, and vengeance after death'.[22] Without these things the Wanderer is displaced and has no purpose in the world. 'The hall is the literal and symbolic centre of the world.'[23] The Wanderer can have no life outside these heroic conventions. He is unaware of his 'illusory existence', so he seeks to maintain his 'comitas-identity' and the moral code he held in hall as a warrior, not realizing the code is meaningless for the 'solitary warrior'.[24]

An argument has been posited that the poem climaxes with the Wanderer realizing that all things are transitory and the Wanderer finds some sense of spiritual peace. For John Selzer and many others, the poem is a learning experience leading up to the realization of the path to salvation.[25] This argument is based on the ending

[18] McPherson, 'The Sea a Desert', p. 116.

[19] McPherson, 'The Sea a Desert', p. 116.

[20] McPherson, 'The Sea a Desert', p. 116.

[21] Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Heroic Values and Christian Ethics', in *Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 107–27 (p. 107).

[22] O'Keeffe, 'Heroic Values', p. 107.

[23] Green, 'Man, Time, and Apocalypse', p. 290.

[24] Green, 'The Twilight Kingdom', p. 447.

[25] Selzer, '"The Wanderer"', pp. 227–37.

of the poem. My reading of this elegy is in disagreement with this assessment and I side with the view that 'most critics see the opening and closing lines, not as part of the original poem, but as the addition of a later Christian copyist'.[26] 'The Wanderer' is 'a monologue [. . .] with a short introduction and conclusion by the poet'.[27] R. M. Lumianski, T. D. Dunning, A. J. Bliss, Dennis Chase, and others also argue for this structure, that of a 'dramatic monologue with the poet intervening'.[28] The poet, or a later copyist, intruded his personal philosophy into the narrative to teach a proper Christian outlook to the Wanderer's situation, and to try to save the Wanderer, but the Wanderer, himself, never comes to this realization and is lost.

The Wanderer 'wrestles with *tristitia mundi*, the sadness of the world'. The original audience of this poem had a very different view of excessive sadness than that provided by our own sensibilities. They would have seen this sadness as a serious sin, as that sadness may lead to 'despair of the mercy of God'. [29] In B. K. Green's reading of 'The Wanderer', the ending of the poem changes the containment metaphor into a 'complex religious one'. The only adequate moral action is to place faith in God, which enlarges the human condition into one that is outside time and the domain of wyrd.[30] The Wanderer is a participant of the *ubi sunt* tradition: 'where have all the good things in life gone?', and much like the lamenting narrator of 'Deor', places his faith in the mutability of fate. While the narrator of 'Deor' knows that time will bring an end to those things that make him suffer, the Wanderer also hopes for time end his suffering, and also to replace his lost joys.

In 'The Seafarer,' the oxymoron 'deade lif' that the Seafarer identifies derives from the Latin tradition of *vita mortalis.* This echoes the Christian paradox that 'death brings life, and that life brings death'.[31] The Seafarer looses his temporal life among other men in society to gain an eternal life, knowing that to love this temporal life too much will bring eternal death. Unlike 'The Wanderer', we can be certain this is the Seafarer's own philosophy and not a poetic intrusion by the narrator or a copyist. Most scholars 'are now prepared to accept ['The Seafarer'] as a unified composition concerned with the rejection of this transitory world, and with some kind of journey'.[32]

'The Seafarer' and 'The Wanderer' provide excellent sketches of possible

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[26] Dennis Chase, 'Existential Attitudes in "The Wanderer"', *Language Quarterly*, 26 (1986), 18–22 (p. 18).

[27] Chase, 'Existential Attitudes', p. 18.

[28] William Alfred, 'The Drama of "The Wanderer"', in *The Wisdom of Petry*, ed. by Larry Benson and Siegfried Wenzel (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publns., 1982), pp. 31–44 (p. 32).

[29] Alfred, 'The Drama of "The Wanderer"', p. 32.

[30] Green, The Twilight Kingdom', p. 449.

[31] Joyce M. Hill, ''Þis Deade Lif: A Note on "The Seafarer", Lines 64–66', *English Language Notes*, 15 (1977), 95–97 (pp. 96–97).

[32] Hill, ''Þis Deade Lif', p. 95.

strategies for dealing with the passage of time. One seems to be rooted in the heroic tradition and is incapable of leaving behind the concerns of this world. The other follows a monastic model that demands a complete withdrawal from temporal concerns. What they have in common is that they record the real concern that the Anglo-Saxons had with the passage of time, and how to best spend that time—some of the same concerns that we struggle with today. Through these elegies we can learn that time devours all things, and that some things never change.

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Discourse and Ideology in the Old English 'The Wanderer': Time and Eternity

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Introduction

One basic lesson of linguistic criticism is the characterization of language as a social semiotic which, by intermeshing with other social systems, plays a vital role in the construction and comprehension of reality. As such, this critical tendency has successfully been applied to several tasks: a) to analyse different kinds of texts in which experience is constructed and organized by contemporary speech communities; b) to untie the discourses and semiotic processes which give expression to the meanings and values of particular institutions and constrain the material realization of texts; and c) to unveil the cultural assumptions, beliefs and categories—i.e. ideologies—which prevail in particular textual surfaces through the semiotic link of discourses.[1] In spite of these accomplishments, this theoretical framework has not been applied either in the speculation of how our medieval ancestors shaped their world through language, or in the inquiry of how the cultural artefacts of their society—including literature—were the products of ideologically-laden discourses.

[1] On language as a social semiotic system see: Michael A. K. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic* (London: Arnold, 1978); and Michael A. K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). On the principles and applications of linguistic criticism see, among others: Gunther Kress, *Linguistic Processes in Socio-Cultural Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Roger Fowler, *Linguistic Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Social Semiotics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); and David Lee, *Competing Discourses: Perspective and Ideology in Language* (Harlow: Longman, 1992).

This essay is an attempt to stimulate the historical function of linguistic criticism by extending to the medieval world the correlation between text, discourse, and ideology which critical linguists are currently applying to contemporary cultural products. The Old English poem 'The Wanderer' will be analysed with the aim of understanding the meaning of its textual construction in connection with the ideologies and the world-views it construes. This kind of analysis is not free of risks. On the one hand, it assumes the possibility of effective communication across a millennium, through a text preserved in the strange medium of a manuscript and transmitted in a code no longer actively used. On the other, the interpretation of this text and its cultural, social, and institutional contexts are mediated by centuries of historical reconstruction and critical commentary. In spite of these difficulties, the variety of interpretations of the poem—sometimes contradictory—encourages us to undertake this study. Not only because this wealth of approaches may presuppose an interesting plural ideological structure, so that this single work embodies different value-systems articulated in some conflicting relationship, but also because the clash of opposing ideologically-laden discourses may have been the reason for the composition of the text in the first place and for its appreciation as a work of art for more than ten centuries.

'The Wanderer': Interpretation and Narrative Construction

The Old English poem 'The Wanderer' is included in folios 76–78 of The Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501). Its ambiguous contents refer to several themes that recur in other texts of the Anglo-Saxon corpus: the topic of exile, the passing of time, the 'ubi sunt?' motif, etc., all of them surrounded by the external framework of Christian reflection. As such, the early interpretations of The Wanderer tended to polarize around a religious or non-religious characterization of the poem. While the 'romantic' paradigm 'search[ed] for Anglo-Saxon paganism'[2] to the point of stripping the extant copy of spurious interpolations of a Christian nature, other approaches, exclusively relying on Christian principles, saw the complete text as an allegory of the difficulties that humans encounter in the journey through this fleeting world, before being granted 'frofre to Fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð' ('consolation from the Father in heaven, where for us all the immutable abides', line 115).[3] These opposite perspectives soon appeared to have

[2] Eric G. Stanley, *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1974).

[3] Unless otherwise indicated, all references to the poem are from 'The Wanderer', ed. by Thomas P. Dunning and Alan J. Bliss (London: Methuen, 1969). The translation offered by S. A. J. Bradley in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: An Anthology of Old English Poems in Prose Translation* (London: Dent, 1982), pp. 320–25 has also been followed throughout. Christian and allegorical interpretations of the poem can be found in Bernard F. Huppé, '"The Wanderer": Theme and Structure', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 42 (1943), 516–38, and

been excessively precise and rigid for the equivocal surface of 'The Wanderer' which, in the words of Fowler, does not 'yield a single theme easily' and 'cannot be typed satisfactorily'.[4] The explicit reference to the Christian God—*Fæder* (line 115)—at the very end of the poem, and the implicit allusion by means of the kenning 'ælda Scyppend' ('the Creator of men', line 85b) assisted those who rejected a non-religious approach. Similarly, the exclusively Christian interpretations were also hard to sustain in view of the discordance between the religious content of the opening and closing lines and the rest, where neither Christian consolation—*frofre* (line 115)—or salvation—*fæstnung* (line 115)—nor God's mercy—*are* (line 1b), *miltse* (line 2a)—are mentioned.

The exclusiveness of this interpretative polarization can be questioned by looking at the narrative construction of the poem. 'The Wanderer' makes use of a technique in which one speaker explicitly introduces by means of *verba dicenci*—'swa *cwæð*' (lines 6a, 111), 'þas word *acwið*' (line 91b)—other voices to exemplify the moral issues advanced in the opening (lines 1–5) and summarized in the closing ones (lines 112–15). This structure led to a critical debate on the adjudication of the opening and closing sections to either the speaker-narrator or to the internal character or characters, and on the global definition of the poem as a dialogue, involving at least three different speakers—a wanderer (*eardstapa*, line 6a), a wiseman (*snottor on mode*, line 111a), and the narrator—or as the monologue of a single character, whose course is interrupted and introduced by the latter. Defenders of the first perspective based their claims on the partition of the text by the words of the speaker-narrator in lines 88–91. In addition, they also understood that the alternation between first and third grammatical persons and the radical thematic shift from line 58 were clues on the splitting of characters.[5] Greenfield soundly solved the debate by proposing that the adverb *swa* (lines 6a, 111) has different functions in each of the lines which frame the speech of the character(s). In line 6a—'swa cwæð eardstapa'—it would have a prospective or cataphoric reference, while the same form in line 111a—'swa cwæð snottor on mode'—would have a retrospective or anaphoric one, so that the whole text in between, except another prospective intervention of this apparently external (extradiegetic) narrator in lines 88–91, is attributed to the internal (intradiegetic) character(s), and the overture (lines 1–5) and coda (lines 112–15) are part of the narrator's speech. Regarding the second question,

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George V. Smithers, 'The Meaning of "The Seafarer" and "The Wanderer"', *Medium Aevum*, 24 (1957), 137–53, 'The Meaning of "The Seafarer" and "The Wanderer" (continued)', *Medium Aevum*, 26 (1959), 1–22.

[4] Roger Fowler, 'A Theme in "The Wanderer"', *Medium Aevum*, 36 (1967), 1–14 (p. 1).

[5] Huppé, 'The Wanderer:' p. 525; John C. Pope, 'Dramatic Voices in "The Wanderer" and The "Seafarer"', in *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. by J. B. Bessinger, Jr. and R. P. Creed (New York: New York University Press, 1965), pp. 164–93; Whitney F. Bolton, 'The Dimensions of "The Wanderer"', *Leeds Studies in English*, 3 (1969), 7–34.

the definition of the core of the poem as dialogue or monologue, Greenfield dismissed that the alternation of personal pronouns in Old English texts systematically involves a change of speakers, particularly in view of its use in other poems as part of the stylistic *variatio*. He also proposed that the thematic shift after line 58 reflects the psychological growth of a single character who progresses from *eardstapa* to *snottor on mode* and learns to contextualize his personal circumstances in the general decay surrounding him.[6] If this is the case, the organization of the narrative framework and the voices of both speaker-narrator and internal character can be represented as follows:

[6] Stanley B. Greenfield, '"The Wanderer": A Reconsideration of Theme and Structure', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 51 (1951), 415–65 (pp. 456–58); '*Min*, *Sylf* and Dramatic Voices in "The Wanderer" and "The Seafarer"', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 68 (1969), 212–20 (pp. 214–16). In addition to this claim for the dissociation of the words of the narrator and the internal character(s), the assignment of the opening and closing lines to the former, and the simplification of the latter to a single one, which completely overrides the dialogue hypothesis, other critics and editors of the text have proposed that the character speaks the opening and closing lines: among others, Robert M. Lumiansky, 'The Dramatic Structure of the Old English "Wanderer"', *Neophilologus*, 34 (1950), 104–12; Susie I. Tucker, 'Return to "The Wanderer"', *Essays in Criticism*, 8 (1958), 229–37; 'The Wanderer', ed. by Roy F. Leslie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966); and Dunning and Bliss, 'The Wanderer', pp. 78–94. More recently, the belief—initially advanced by Thomas C. Rumble, 'From *Eardstapa* to *Snottor on Mode*: The Structural Principle of "The Wanderer"', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 19 (1958), 225–30; and Eric G. Stanley, 'Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of "The Wanderer", "The Seafarer" and "The Penitent's Prayer"', *Anglia*, 73 (1956), 413–66—that it is not vital to determine whether a character or the narrator is speaking in any given line, since all are introduced only to express the poet's theme, has gained ground, and the progressive synthesis of the fictive and the authorial voices in the poem is suggested by, among others, Rosemary Woolf, '"The Wanderer", "The Seafarer" and the Genre of *Planctus*', in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation*, ed. by L. G. Nicholson and D. Warwick Frese (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 192–207; Marijane Osborn, 'Classical Meditation in "The Wanderer"', *Comparison*, 1 (1975), 53–63; and Peter Clemoes, *Interactions of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 399. Defenders of this view tend to support it with linguistic arguments, attributing to the adverb *swa* the function of introducing 'continuing clauses'—referring both backwards to what has just been said and forwards to what follows—so that, in the view of Gerard Richman, it does not indicate a change of speaker: see Gerard Richman, 'Speaker and Speech Boundaries in "The Wanderer"', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 81 (1982), 469–79. See also Elizabeth A. Hait, '"The Wanderer"'s Lingering Regret: A Study of Patterns of Imagery', *Neophilologus*, 68 (1984), 278–91; and Lois Bragg, *The Lyric Speakers of Old English Poetry* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991), pp. 128–29 for complete summaries of the different perspectives on the narrative or dramatic construction of the poem.

Voice of narrator	Narrative framework	Voice of internal character
lines 1–5		
	lines 6–7: 'swa cwæð eardstapa' [*swa* = prospective]	
		lines 8–57: as *eardstapa*
		lines 58–87: evolving into *snottor on mode*
	lines 88–91: 'þas word acwið' [*þas word* = prospective]	
		lines 92–110: as *snottor on mode*
	line 111:'swa cwæð snottor on mode' [*swa* = retrospective]	
lines 112–15		

Figure 1: Narrative framework and distribution of voices in 'The Wanderer'

The religious vs. non-religious polarization of interpretations has also been challenged by proposals that define the poem as a kind of 'palimpsest' where different layers of meaning are combined.[7] On the surface, the personal narrative of the *eardstapa* (lines 8–87) exemplifies the consequences of exile: one of the most disreputable contingencies to affect a member of Anglo-Saxon heroic society. The speaker takes up the allusions to sorrow and exile in the opening lines (2b–5a) and expands them by referring to the search for a new lord and *comitatus* once all the members of his former group have vanished. This unchains a distressing reflection on solitude, on the threatening surrounding world, and on the disappearance of past glories. At another level, the poem explores the acquisition of knowledge and confronts the audience with the transformation of the character into *snottor on mode* (line 111) (a wise man), by the generalization of his personal microcosm into a macrocosmic eschatological view of the transience of the human world towards its dissolution (lines 92–110). Eventually, this reflection allows the external narrator to mention the source where human beings may find consolation and to exhort, within the Christian tradition, to pursue the eternal salvation granted by God's mercy: *are* (line 1b).[8] Other critics have attempted to observe how each of these heterogeneous

[7] Carol B. Pasternack, 'Anonymous Polyphony and "The Wanderer"'s Textuality', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 9–122; Carol B. Pasternack, *The Textuality of Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 33–59.

[8] Greenfield, '"The Wanderer": A Reconsideration', p. 458; Stanley B. Greenfield, 'The Old English Elegies' in *Continuations and Beginnings. Studies in Old English Literature* (London: Nelson, 1962), pp. 146–56.

components advances over the other, in an attempt to impose a coherent appreciation of the text. Some scholars believe that the concluding lines have an effect of closure which leaves no grounds for doubting an overall Christian didactic aim, so that the mixture of religious and heroic motives is due to the permanence of the latter within the Anglo-Saxon literary tradition.[9] Other scholars understand that the poem is a secular lament on mutability as it affects the retainers of heroic society, their activities, and way of life. As a result, the scant religious references at the didactic tag and in line 85b may have been habitual ones at a time when Christianity was already established as the basic explanatory model for the human world.[10]

I believe that the critical linguistic analysis of the poem may evince a desire to impose unity on a text written at a time when this ideal was not held. The critical approach to texts as determined by different discourses and ideologies implies accepting that contradictory perspectives may coexist on the surfaces of texts and that they may represent the problematic beliefs current within the particular society producing them. In the case of 'The Wanderer', the observation that certain aspects of the textual surface depend on different discursive stances, may allow us to expose the analyses which seek to enforce a coherent global appreciation and help us to understand how contradictory values were transmitted in a remote culture.

Discourse and Time in 'The Wanderer'

One of the most productive textual aspects for critical linguistic exploration is the expression of time, not only because it has a vital function in the organization of human experience, but also because of the subjectivity inherent in it, so that it may be discordantly perceived in different societies, at different stages of social or

[9] See: George K. Anderson, *The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 159; and Smithers, 'The Meaning (continued)', p. 16. Moreover, the employment of these stereotyped topics does not lead to the complete secularization of the Christian theme; on the contrary, quite often it asserts itself over the heroic message and leads to contradictory perceptions of heroic reality. In this light are interpreted lines 65b–72 which involve a clash between the vindication of moderation and prudence and the expected boastful behaviour of Anglo-Saxon warriors and noblemen, who would swell with pride and vainglory in the face of successful future actions. This custom is openly criticized in lines 70–72:

> beorn sceal gebidan, þonne he beot spriceð,
> oþþæt, collenferð, cunne gearwe
> hwider hreþra gehygd hweorfan wille.
>
> (A man must wait before he utters a pledge, until that person of bold spirit is fully aware which way his mind's thinking wants to turn.)

[10] Leslie, 'The Wanderer', p. 16; Fowler, 'A Theme', p. 12.

cultural development or by different individuals of the same society.[11] The clash between distinctive perspectives on time within the same group may be reflected in texts or even have been the basic reason for their composition. In addition to these basic arguments, there are other motives for the critical examination of this aspect in 'The Wanderer'. Firstly, this 'elegy', as many other Old English texts comprised under this ambiguous generic label, explores the fleeting nature of the activities performed by human beings in this world, particularly the contrast between happiness in the past and a sad present, which is often understood as a sign of apocalyptic future destruction. Secondly, the textual construction of time in literature usually adopts the form of narratives: culturally determined ways of organizing and presenting discourse by connecting events into sequential, temporal, and causal chains. The strategic combination of the constituents of a narrative may tend to support a particular world-view and carry with it interesting connotations, either sustaining and reproducing the value systems of particular societies, or implicitly criticizing the dominant *mentalités*.[12] Finally, time is inherent in both the material and the product of literature, it is constitutive both of the means of representation and of the objects represented. This attribute, as modern narratology has observed, permits the author to manipulate this category and create a literary pseudo-time, only apprehensible in terms of conventions and categories of its own. The possibility of foregrounding in literature discursive marks differing from the textual utterance of the events narrated favours the methodological split of 'discourse' and 'story' and allows readers and critics to observe the treatment of time both at the level of enunciation (*énonciation*) and at the level of enounced (*énoncé*): the fictive or real time of the act of narrating which shapes the textual material (*Erzählzeit*) or the time of the narrative itself (*erzählte Zeit*).[13]

This methodological distinction may be highly profitable for the critical linguistic analysis of the expression of time. However, if it is carried to its logical extremes, it may lead to a characterization of narratives as atemporal constructions, as fictive structures that produce an illusive, conventional perception of time. This approach may hinder the process of apprehending the effects that cultural assumptions, categories and beliefs have on the discursive constraints on texts. In this sense, Ricoeur has censured the aseptic treatment of time by some narratologists who systematically reduce it to a question of narrative technique and neglect to correlate it with the actual subjective experiences that are the origin of both the

[11] A. J. Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 27; A. J. Gurevich, *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), p. 39.

[12] Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, pp. 229–30.

[13] Paul Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, 2 vols (Paris: Seuil, 1984–85), II: *La configuration dans le récit de fiction* (1984), p. 14; Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London: Methuen, 1983), p. 44.

creation and reception of literature: *vécu temporel* or *Zeiterlebnis*.[14] To avoid this simplification, Ricoeur has reinterpreted the aristotelic category of mimesis as 'l'imitation créatrice de l'expérience temporelle vive'[15] and has attempted to confer upon it the dynamism required by its basic mediating function. He proposes that the author transfers into the text a 'prefigured' subjective experience of time (mimesis I) which is manipulated and 'configured' by resorting to artistic techniques and conventions (mimesis II) with the final aim of producing the desired effects on the addressees. They decode or 'refigure' (mimesis III) the author's rendering of his or her personal experience of time by confronting it with their own, and with a critical awareness of the techniques and conventions used in the textual manipulation of this category.[16] The assessment of the literary construction of time in connection with the temporal facets of the real knowledge of authors and audiences is invaluable for critical linguistic analysis, provided that it transcends the examination of textual techniques—as conceived by narratology—and explores the intersection of texts and discourses with the different modes of constructing and expressing experience which prevail in a given community.

A critical linguistic analysis of the literary treatment of time should attempt at locating the textual realizations of this category in its discursive contexts. Firstly, it should try to expose the constraints which the inevitable linear arrangement of texts imposes over the many-sided treatment of chronology in discourse, by observing the ways in which the time of the events referred to in an utterance ('story-time' or 'time of the enounced') interacts with the time of uttering ('discourse-time' or 'time of enunciation').[17] Secondly, it should move beyond the initial interest on the relationship between text and discourse in the configuration of the literary work and attempt to analyse the subjective temporal experience(s) and the related world-view(s) which this particular arrangement reveals. The fact that time only situates itself in either discourse or text when a speaker uses the linguistic resources to satisfy his or her communicative needs, implies that the instance regulating the treatment of time is the subject of enunciation. In other words, it is the narrator who, by handling the discursive elements available to him or her (enunciation) constructs a textually-rendered story (enounced), to the extent that his or her own position conditions the structure of the textual surface, controls the information available, and determines the ideological inscription of the text.[18] This is related to point of view, where the analysis of the treatment of time in 'The Wanderer' starts.

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[14] Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, II, 123.

[15] Paul Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, 2 vols (Paris: Seuil, 1984–85), I: *L'histoire et le récit* (1985), p. 55.

[16] Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, I, 86; Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, II, 232–34.

[17] Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, p. 44.

[18] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 50.

Point of View in 'The Wanderer'

Among the prevalent discussions of point of view, critical linguists have made extensive use of the model provided by Boris Uspensky in *A Poetics of Composition*.[19] The model has the advantage of splitting the treatment of this category into four planes—the ideological, the psychological, the phraseological, and the spatio-temporal ones—and, by observing the concurrence or non-concurrence of perspective at each of these levels, in connection with the basic sources of enunciation (characters and narrators), it provides readers and critics with a useful framework to detect the shifts or manipulations of this aspect and the ideological connotations derived from it. For another thing, it opens the possibility of correlating spatio-temporal point of view with the psychological and ideological dispositions of the focalizer, and permits one to observe how the whole process is thoroughly permeated by the knowledge, attitudes, opinions, and worldview of the medium through which the fiction is narrated.[20]

Regarding, first, the phraseological level—the exploration of the textual marks of authorial or character's speech in relation to the persons used in the narrative[21]—the analyst of 'The Wanderer' must consider the mediating function of the speaker-narrator who functions as the basic subject of enunciation (lines 6–7, 88–91, 111). As such, he pretends to have heard the utterance of the character and assumes the position of a reporter faithfully recording what he has heard in the form of a 'quoted monologue', to use the label proposed by Dorrit Cohn.[22] Nevertheless, this is just an apparently external (extradiegetic) narrator and some discursive clues prop up his involvement in the story. The use of *verba dicendi* to introduce and interrupt the words of the character, and the uttering of the moralizing opening and closing lines by the narrator himself have decisive consequences for the analysis of phraseological point of view in the poem and, especially, for the nature of its relationship with the ideological plane—the general system adopted for viewing the world conceptually. *Verba dicendi* may be interpreted as an artifice to conceal that the immediate source for whatever words are used in the telling are the speaker-narrator's. The moral comments by the narrator open and close the proper development of the text's subject-matter, and, therefore, frame, enclose and give additional meaning to the utterance of the internal character, which, in connection with this surrounding moral framework, can only be understood as an *exemplum* of the religious discourse and the Christian position embodied by the narrator. In this sense, taking the poem as a

[19] Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

[20] See: Fowler, *Linguistic Criticism*, pp. 127–34; Paul Simpson, *Language, Ideology and Point of View* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 12–21.

[21] Uspensky, *Poetics of Composition*, p. 16.

[22] *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

whole, it is the point of view of the narrator that prevails and the character's perspective, even though it may not be concurrent with the dominant one, is subordinated to the former and re-evaluated from this most influential position.[23] Critical linguists have coined the label 'type D' to designate this kind of seemingly external focalization: even though the account of the thoughts and feelings of the character(s) by the narrator is avoided, the audience is not facing a completely impersonal report, but the 'persona' of the narrator is highlighted. The result is the impression of a speaker who controls the telling and has definite views on the world at large and on the events and characters in the story.[24] In 'The Wanderer' the speaker-narrator is the ultimate subject of enunciation who, not only selects the bits and pieces of the character's discourse relevant to his own ideological position, but also reconstructs the psychology of the character from his own knowledge of the words he would utter. Thus, in line 2b the character is qualified as *modcearig* (anxious of mind) on account of the sad contingencies quoted later in the monologue, and in lines 88–91 the narrator describes him as *frod in ferðe* (wise at heart). These are clear clues that the former is showing his knowledge of the character's conscience, exceeding the limits of his initially external positioning; a kind of 'paralepsis'—in Genette's terminology[25]—in which the character's words are evaluated from the point of view of the narrator who, in this sense, may condition the audience's interpretation.

Nevertheless, the quotation in direct speech of the character's monologue implies a shift of phraseological point of view into another type of focalization in which an internal (intradiegetic) character is now responsible for the orientation of the story. This corresponds to 'type A' in the casuistry devised by some critical linguists: the telling by a participating character that allows the reader to detect personal marks of his subjective psychological and ideological stances on the world.[26] The contrast with the external narrative framework results in what Uspensky has characterized as non-concurrence at the ideological and phraseological planes: the narration is now conducted from the point of view of the character while, as stated above, the compositional aim of the whole work is to evaluate him from the apparently external perspective of the narrator. The use of this technique, which implies that the character's state of mind is totally opened to observation, leads to contradictory perceptions of his role in the poem: at the plane of phraseology he emerges as a vehicle of authorial point of view, but at the ideological he serves as its

[23] Uspensky, *Poetics of Composition*, pp. 41–43; Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, pp. 81–82.

[24] Fowler, *Linguistic Criticism*, p. 142; Simpson, *Language, Ideology*, pp. 62–73; Michael J. Toolan, *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 67–76.

[25] Gerard Genette, *Figures III* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).

[26] Fowler, *Linguistic Criticism*, p. 135.

object.[27] Finally, if it is accepted that the piece of text framed by the words of the speaker-narrator (lines 8–87 and 92–110) represents the monologue of a single character who progressively acquires knowledge when he manages to see his personal circumstances in the eschatological context of this world moving towards dissolution, then the exploration of point of view in this section must take into account the shifting perspective of the character, as determined by his psychological transformation from *eardstapa* to *snottor on mode*.

In this sense, two main parts can be detected in 'The Wanderer'. From lines 8–57 the character indulges in the description of his personal experience of exile and describes the causes and effects of these disreputable circumstances: he refers to the death of the lord (lines 22–23a), to his own seafaring alone in search for a new lord and retinue, and for the pleasures associated with them (lines 23b–29a). Despite this account of the reasons for the character's state of mind, the most salient message of this section is his emotional insistence on the effects of solitude and incommunication. This is repeatedly mentioned in the first person in lines 8–11a and 19–21, and, again, in the third person, in lines 29b–31:

> Wat se þe cunnað
> hu sliþen bið sorg to geferan
> þam þe him lyt hafað leofra geholena. (lines 29b–31)

(He who tries it knows how cruel is grief as a companion to him who has few loved bosom friends.)

At the phraseological level, the shift to the third grammatical person could be interpreted as an early attempt by the character at generalizing his personal experience, leading to a more impersonal statement which agrees with the acquisition of wisdom and with the general subordination of the personal narrative to the opening and closing moral statements. However, this detachment does not agree with the general tone in this section of the monologue. Firstly, it is not accompanied by the expected gnomic remarks granting that the character has envisaged a solution to the crisis. In fact, the only gnomic statements appear in lines 11b–18 and refer to the typically heroic advice to keep distress hidden. Secondly, the character brings to the foreground his concern with the effects of incommunication resulting from exile

[27] Uspensky, *Poetics of Composition*, p. 102. In fact, as Clemoes points out (*Interactions*, pp. 273–95), the origins of this artifice can be aligned with the Christian tradition. In contrast to the epic whose characters manifest a single perspective, although it represents ideologically the community as a whole, the importance conferred by Christianity on individual behaviour and the attention it gave to the development of inner life would unchain the literary interest in the psychology of characters, and in the textual or compositional techniques suitable to reflect it, including the possibility that they expressed their own thoughts, emotions and states of mind.

by subjectively presenting the pleasant activities associated with the *comitatus* through memory (*gemunan*) (lines 34–36a), dream ('þincan on mode') (lines 39–44) and imaginary vision (lines 49–52), and confronting them with the solitude that invariably surrounds him (lines 45–48, 53–57). This thematic sequence can be noticed in lines 49–57, which portray the wanderer's delusive vision of his group of *comites*, and his own coming round to realize that he is only accompanied by sea-birds, whose quacking is not the expected consolatory voice:

> Þonne beoð þy hefigran heortan benne,
> sare æfter swæsne. Sorg bið geniwad
> þonne maga gemynd mod geondhweorfeð,
> greteð gliwstafum, georne geondsceawað.
> Secga geseldan swimmað eft onweg,
> fleotendra ferð no þær fela bringeð
> cuðra cwidegiedda —cearo bið geniwad—
> þam þe sendan sceal swiþe geneahhe
> ofer waþema gebind werigne sefan.[28]

(Then the heart's wounds are heavier, when painfully longing for a beloved one. Sorrow is renewed when the recollection of kinsmen pervades his imagination, comes to it joyously, eagerly surveys it. The companions of men drift away again, the minds of the floating ones do not bring there many familiar utterances—anxiety is renewed—to him who must very often drive forth his weary spirit over the expanse of the waves.)

Thus, the use of the third grammatical person does not reflect an impersonal

[28] The edition of 'The Wanderer' by Dunning and Bliss is not thoroughly followed in the quotation of these lines. I believe that Leslie's interpretation makes better sense of the obscure syntax in lines 49–52. Thus, I do not assign to *mod* (line 51b) the function of subject of *geondhweorfeð* and to *maga gemynd* (line 51a) the function of object of the same verb and therefore reject the translation of this line as 'when his imagination visits every part of his memory of his kinsmen', as proposed by: Dunning and Bliss, 'The Wanderer', pp. 21–23; Kemp Malone, *Ten Old English Poems Put in Modern Alliterative Verse* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941), p. 9; and Peter Clemoes, *'Mens absentia cogitans* in "The Seafarer" and "The Wanderer"', in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. by D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London: Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 62–67. I believe that asyndetic coordination allows one to understand the very same subject and object for the three verbs in these lines: *geondhweorfeð* (line 51b), *greteð* (line 52a) and *geondsceawað* (line 52b). The first function—subject—is assigned by Leslie, 'The Wanderer', p. 76, to *maga gemynd* (line 51a) and the second—object—to *mod* (line 51b), so that the resulting translation is 'when recollection of kinsmen pervades his imagination, comes to it joyously, eagerly surveys it'. This disagrees with Bradley's rendering of the sequence into modern English, which, therefore, is not followed either.

account of the effects of exile, particularly because memories, dreams, and hallucinations are subjective experiences that can only be recounted from a personal point of view. This shift in deictics should not be taken as a means to establish the specificity of the passage, but as a rhetorical device which foregrounds and emphasizes the speaker's account of his personal experience.[29] To sum up, the point of view of the character in lines 8–57 does not completely agree with the general evaluative orientation of the poem determined by the narrator. By lamenting his personal situation and foregrounding the memory (dream and vision) of his former state of happiness and the reasons for it (the protection offered by a generous lord), the character indulges in the remembrance of a heroic past and his words transmit a sad complaint for the disappearance of a happy period associated with it: 'wyn eal gedreas!' (line 36b).

Lines 58–63 can be understood as a general summary of the message conveyed in the second part of the character's monologue (lines 58–110):

Forþon ic geþencan ne mæg	geond þas woruld
forhwan modsefa	min ne gesweorce,
þonne ic eorla lif	eal geondþence,
hu hi færlice	flet ofgeafon,
modge maguþegnas,	swa þes middangeard
ealra dogra gehwam	dreoseð ond fealleþ.

(I cannot think, therefore, why in this world my heart does not grow dark, when I thoroughly contemplate the life of men—how swiftly they, brave warrior-thanes, have yielded up the hall. Just as this middle-earth each and everyday declines and decays.)

The generalization of the character's personal experience and its contextualization into an eschatological view of the fleeting surrounding world explains the shift at the phraseological level from the first to the third grammatical person, which is systematically maintained in the rest of the poem. This detachment from personal experience also explains the absence of a highlighted emotional perspective, which tends to be replaced—in agreement with the character's acquired wisdom—by gnomic remarks and illustrations of the general decay of the world, anticipating the final dissolution implicitly mentioned in lines 73–74: 'Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle hu gæstlic bið, | þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð' ('A prudent man must recognize how appalling it will be when all the wealth in this world stands waste').

Regarding the ideological or evaluative plane, gnomic remarks in this section tend to be contradictory with heroic tradition: the advices to be patient (*geþyldig*), not to be impulsive (*hatheort*), hasty of speech (*hrædwyrde*) or reckless (*wanhydig*),

[29] See: Hait, '"The Wanderer"'s Lingering Regret', p. 289; Bragg, *Lyric Speakers*, pp. 128–29.

and to avoid greed (*feohgifre*) and vainglory ('gielpes [. . .] georn') agree with Christian morality. However, the images selected to portray the decline of the surrounding world are taken from the heroic worldview: walls deserted, ruined, and subject to the inclemency of the wintry weather (lines 75–77, 97–105), and the beasts of battle snatching away the corpses of fallen warriors (lines 80b–84):

Woniað þa winsalo,	waldend licgað
dreame bidrorene,	duguþ eal gecrong
wlonc bi wealle.	Sume wig fornom,
ferede in forðwege:	sumne fugel oþbær
ofer heanne holm;	sumne se hara wulf
deaðe gedælde;	sumne dreorighleor
in eorðscræfe	eorl gehydde. (lines 78–84)

(The wine-halls are crumbling, the rulers are lying dead, deprived of pleasure, the whole proud company has fallen near the wall; some were snatched away and carried off along the onward road; one a bird bore away over the deep ocean; one the grey wolf dismembered in death; one a sad-faced man buried in a grave in the earth.)

The orientation of the character's discourse differs from that of the speaker-narrator. Even though the latter's words may enclose the character's and determine their global interpretation as examples of the progression of the world towards destruction, the character indulges in depicting and lamenting the disappearance of heroic realities. This is accompanied by concurring textual circumstances, like the use of 'ubi sunt?' formulae in lines 92–96, whose expected interrogative clauses—*hwær bið?*—have been replaced by *hwær cwom?* (lines 92–93a), *hwær sindon?* (line 93b) or by exclamative sentences without verb (lines 94–95a):

Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago? Hwær cwom maþþumgyfa?	
Hwær cwom symbla gesetu?	Hwær sindon seledreamas?
Eala beorht bune!	Eala byrnwiga!
Eala þeodnes þrym!	Hu seo þrag gewat,
genap under nihthelm,	swa heo no wære!

(Where has gone the steed? Where has gone the man? Where has gone the giver of treasure? Where has gone the place of the banquets? Where are the pleasures of the hall? Alas, the gleaming chalice; alas, the armoured warrior; alas, the majesty of the prince. Truly that time has passed away, has grown dark under the helm of night as though it had never been.)

The particular orientation of this section determines also the ideological evaluation of the only Christian reference in the character's monologue:

Yþde swa þisne eardgeard	ælda Scyppend

oþþæt, burgwara breahtma lease,
eald enta geweorc idlu stodon.[30] (lines 85–87)

(Thus the Creator of men laid waste this earthly abode until, bereft of the sounds of the citizens' revelry, the ancient gigantic structure stood desolate.)

This is an ambiguous view of God: although the kenning defines him as creator—*Scyppend*—the message of the text constructs him as an agent of destruction. This may be another instance of non-concurrence of the ideological and phraseological planes in which the point of view of the character evades the narrator's global evaluation: it offers a non-consolatory view of the Christian divinity which contradicts the function assigned to it in the moralizing closing lines. This point of view is also prevalent in the last lines of the speaker's monologue (lines 97–110) which remark on the decay of the surrounding world (lines 97–98, 101–05) making use of the circumstances of a vanished heroic past as *exempla* (lines 99–100). The absence of explicit references to Christian tenets—quite usual in other Anglo-Saxon texts belonging to this tradition—and the wealth of details related to the heroic age may imply that the character is more concerned with the disappearance of the lay world than with its consequences for the Christian community.

From the ideological perspective, the character's point of view is to be taken as a sincere lament for the loss of the heroic past; however, seen from the evaluative perspective of the speaker-narrator, this is a handy illustration of a surrounding world in decadence, leading to a final remark on the transience of the human world and a didactic tag on the role of God as a source of consolation. In summary, the relationship between point of view and the representation of ideology in 'The Wanderer' depends on the subtle combination of the different parts of the poem with the whole. The overt expression of the speaker-narrator's Christian perspective when the poem is perceived as a whole counteracts the partial point of view of the internal character who wails for the loss of heroic realities. However, when each section of

[30] Some scholars believe that the verb *ieðan* in line 85a conveys an implicit reference to destruction by water at the end of the world. They sustain their claim in the similarity of the verbal form with the noun meaning 'water' or 'flood'—*yð*—and the possible intention of creating a pun on the part of the author; see: John Burrow, '"The Wanderer", lines 73–87', *Notes and Queries*, 210 (1965), 166–68; Smithers, 'The Meaning'; Daniel G. Calder, 'Setting and Mode in "The Seafarer" and "The Wanderer"', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 72 (1971), 272–73; and John Richardson, 'Two Notes on the Time Frame of "The Wanderer" (lines 22 and 73–87)', *Neophilologus*, 73 (1989), 158–59. If this is the case, the use of the preterite in these lines would help to qualify the character as a visionary who vividly describes events in an apocalyptic future. I rather agree with Greenfield, '"The Wanderer": A Reconsideration', pp. 458–59; Fowler, 'A Theme', p. 10; and Tucker, 'Return to "The Wanderer"', p. 235, that these lines are a mere recognition of mutability and need not be associated specifically with the Day of Judgement.

the character's monologue is individually discerned, he seems liberated from the conditioning discourse of the narrator and a partially different message is conveyed. This varied focalization determines the treatment of time and the organization of tenses in the poem, which are surveyed in the next section.

Time, Tense and Point of View in 'The Wanderer'

The current cooperation of new philological methods with semiotics and narratology in the analysis and interpretation of medieval texts has contributed to a new perspective on the stylistic bearings of early language usage and on the manipulation of verbal categories like tense and aspect. Rather than simply qualifying the temporal gaps, the alternations of tenses and the conspicuous repetitions of the same events as mere instances of the illogical or awkward construction of medieval texts, critics attempt at contextualizing them within the adequate discursive framework. Thus, attention is given to the asymmetric and complex relationship of tense deixis to actual time and the difficulties of assessing them in a remote culture, to the connections between textual construction and communication in basically oral societies,[31] to the ambiguity inherent in underdeveloped verbal systems—like the two-tense structure of early Old English—and, especially, to the possibility of assigning new functions to medieval tense usage, by exploring how the utterances of a text (enounced) inevitably contain traces of the locutionary activity that produced them (enunciation). As a result, observing how the construction of point of view binds the organization of time and tenses in narratives should be the prime concern of analysis, and Uspensky's examination of 'point of view on the temporal plane' is a good starting point.[32] In the case of an apparently external narrator, like the one in 'The Wanderer', it is widely assumed that, as subject of enunciation, this narrative instance controls the time of the narrative, enjoying a kind of panchronic freedom to situate the time of the enounced in relation to the ficticious present of enunciation in which he is located. However, the narrator assumes in lines 6–7, 88–91 and 111 the position of a reporter quoting the words of the character in direct speech, and

[31] The mutual dependence of textual construction and oral communication in early medieval culture has been extensively studied, among others, by Paul Zumthor who, regarding the category of time, sensibly distinguishes 'temps intégré' and 'temps d'intégration': see Paul Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix: De la 'littérature' médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), pp. 283–84. The former refers to the time involved in the performance or oral delivery of the text and was possibly longer than mere textual duration by comprising rhythmical effects, silences and accelerations or decelerations on the part of the interpreter, who normally expanded the textual material at his/her disposal. The latter deals with the situation of the utterance at a given point in the cosmic, ritual or social cycle or at a given moment of human experience and existence. As a result, it provides contextual information that utterly conditions the interpretation of medieval texts.

[32] Uspensky, *Poetics of Composition*, pp. 57–79.

therefore seems to lose control of the latter's experience of time, allowing him to unfold it fictionally and to place the temporal axis of his monologue in the present, the past, or the future (lines 8–87, 92–110). The examination of the poem at both the level of enunciation and the level of the enounced evinces a design in which the character's speech is twice placed in a non-specified past by the speaker-narrator's use of the preterite (*cwæð*) in lines 6a and 111a. The synthesis of this position with the expected location of the narrator in the present implies the adoption by the speaker-narrator of a retrospective view, looking from the present back into the past, as the following figure reflects:

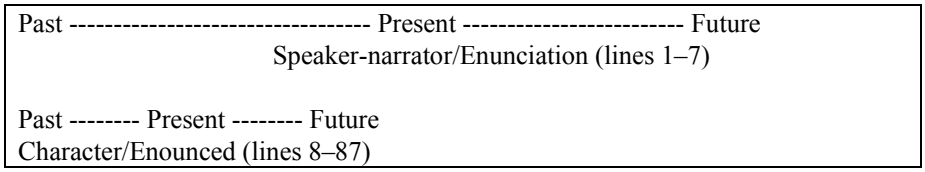


Figure 2: Time of enunciation and time of enounced in 'The Wanderer' (lines 1–87)

However, the narrator situates the words of the character in the present of enunciation by shifting to *acwið*, the present of *cweðan*, in line 91. The graphic representation of this stretch of text (ll. 92-110) should, accordingly, be modified as follows:

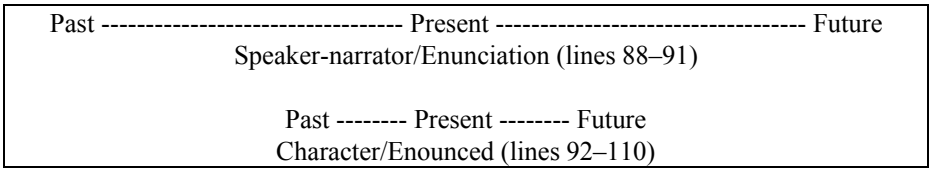


Figure 3: Time of enunciation and time of enounced in 'The Wanderer' (lines 88–110)

The alternation of present and preterite in the narrative framework has often been understood as an illogically constructed sequence. However, the observation that *acwið* is a mere introductory remark to the *snottor on mode*'s speech, which is closed by a retrospective *swa* and preterite *cwæð* in line 111, implies that the monologue of the internal character in lines 92–110 is completely enfolded by the narrator's own words. Rather than an illogical construction, I believe that this alternation of present and preterite in the narrative framework has the discursive function of delineating the textual foreground and background, marking clear boundaries within the text and allowing what Paul Zumthor has called 'jeux de

masque ou de perspective'.[33]

The apparent autonomy conferred on the internal character implies that he is free to displace his thoughts along the expanse of time of the enounced, creating, as Janet Bately has remarked, 'a shifting reference point against which the passing of time is measured' and 'exploring the motif of transience against the backcloth of present, past and future time in this world'.[34] Nevertheless, the arrangement of tenses in these sections (lines 8–87 and 92–110) is still conditioned by the narrative framework (lines 6–7, 88–91 and 111). As a result, the preterite *cwæð* used by the speaker-narrator in line 6a implies, provided that *swa* has a prospective reference, that the fluctuation between present and preterite tenses in this part of the character's monologue must be understood as a contrast between 'present in preterite' and 'preterite in preterite'. The former is used in the statements embodying general reflections on the consequences of exile (lines 29b–31, 37–38, 45–57), in the gnomic remarks on the behaviour of the Anglo-Saxon warrior, whether they stick to the expected heroic norms (lines 11b–18) or are contradictory with them (lines 64–72), and in the lines which represent the advancement of the character's knowledge and envisage the general decay of the surrounding world (lines 62–63, 73–79a). Both tenses alternate when reference is made in the first person to the *eardstapa*'s past experience of exile and its psychological effects: his present feelings of loneliness and desolation (lines 8–11a, 58–60, 23b–29). Finally, the preterite alone is used when the character indulges in the reminiscence of past joys associated with heroic society and their vanishing magnificence (lines 19–23a, 34–36, 43b–44). In this case, the preterite tense is accompanied by adverbial phrases which locate the event in a remote past—*geara iu* (line 23a),[35] *on geoguðe* (line 35a), *ær/in geardagum* (lines 43b–44a)—or is framed by verbs in the present or nouns which insist on the process of recollection or dream of bygone incidents—*gemunan* (line 34a), *slæp* (line 39a)—or even by further remarks on the final disappearance of the circumstances they portray: 'Wyn eal gedreas!' ('Happiness has perished utterly!', line 36b).

I believe that by looking at the contrast between 'present in preterite' and 'preterite in preterite' in this way clear-cut patterns may be noticed in the

[33] *La lettre*, p. 233.

[34] Janet Bately, 'Time and the Passing of Time in "The Wanderer" and Related Old English Texts', *Essays and Studies*, 37 (1984), 1–15.

[35] There is no complete agreement on the interpretation of the time adverb phrase *geara iu* (line 23a). Leslie, 'The Wanderer', p. 6, believes that it denotes that the events portrayed happened a long time ago, which would indicate that the character is ripe in years and experience. On the contrary, Bruce Mitchell proposes that the use of the phrase is conventional and does not necessarily imply that a long time has elapsed: see 'More Musings on Old English Syntax', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 69 (1968), p. 55. Our reading of the poem obviously adopts the first perspective. More information can be found in Richardson's 'Two notes', pp. 158–59.

organization of tenses in the poem, which furnish this verbal category with different discursive functions. Following the terminology proposed by Fleischmann,[36] the use of the present in impersonal gnomic and universal statements and the recourse to the preterite in personal narrative sections can be endowed with a 'metalinguistic' function, which may have helped the audience to situate each piece of text within a well-known typology of discursive forms. The mixture of present and preterite, in the sections describing the experiences and feelings of the *eardstapa*, has an 'expressive' function, indicating a vivid subjective perspective on distressing events which took place in the past. It could be possible to make sense of this fusion of tenses by adopting the contemporary appreciation of time in spatial terms. In this sense, the present would denote that the distressing consequences were still felt at the moment of the utterance (lines 9b–11a, 58–60), while the preterite would be adequate for the expression of the earliest effects: solitude (lines 8–9a) and the impending necessity to travel alone in search of a new lord (lines 23b–29). However, this may lead to the imposition of a clear-cut sense of linearity and progression that possibly did not prevail in Old English textual construction.

Another effect of this recourse to alternative tenses (present–preterite) is the possibility of transferring the past directly into the present, which, according to Bately, blurs the divisions of both points in the time expanse. This 'thematic' exploitation of tenses may be understood as a sign of the capacity of human beings to move beyond their actual position in time.[37] Finally, in agreement with the blurring of time sequences, indicative of an anxious mind, the expressive contrast may also help to demarcate the continuum between the real and the imaginary. If the current view that utterances which are claimed to be certain are normally constructed in the present, while events constructed in the preterite are experienced as being less real holds true for Old English,[38] then the events portrayed in the preterite, the recollection of the early consequences of exile, are represented in the poem as more subjective than the events situated in the present—the destruction of the surrounding world. This clash between reminiscences of the past, near the imaginary, and experiences of the present, whose reality is more impending, announces the progress in the acquisition of wisdom and is also reflected on the textual surface by means of the subjective mental processes mentioned above: recollection—*gemunan* (line 34a)—dreaming—*sorg and slæp* (line 39a), *þincan on mode* (line 41a)—or delusion—'maga gemynd mod geondhweorfeð' (line 51). References to the past in the last lines of the character's monologue are more detached and generalized than

[36] Suzanne Fleischmann, 'Philology, Linguistics and the Discourse of the Medieval Text', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 19–73.

[37] Bately, 'Time and the Passing of Time', pp. 14–15.

[38] See: Ruqaiya Hasan, *Linguistics, Language and Verbal Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 66; Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Language as Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 91.

those in the first, in conformity with the speaker's effort to contextualize his personal experience within the eschatological view of the world. In this sense, as Hait has observed, most verbal forms in the past are accompanied by a reference to the wise disposition of the character, or alternate with sections containing gnomic and eschatological remarks in the present tense, contributing to temper the wanderer's reactions to his own recollections of the past.[39] For instance, in lines 64–69, the *eardstapa* reinforces his strength of mind by means of a gnomic remark on the effects of a long life over the acquisition of wisdom and by reviewing the catalogue of expected characteristics of a wiseman, who should avoid a sentimental longing for the past:

> Forþon ne mæg wearþan wis wer, ær he age
> wintra dæl in woruldrice. Wita sceal geþyldig;
> ne sceal no to hatheort, ne to hrædwyrde,
> ne to wac wiga, ne to wanhydig,
> ne to forht, ne to fægen, ne to feohgifre,
> ne næfre gielpes to georn ær he geare cunne. (lines 64–69)

(A man may not become wise, therefore, before he has a deal of years in the world. A wiseman must be patient; he must not be too passionate nor too impulsive of speech, nor too weak a warrior, nor too reckless, nor too timorous, nor too eager, nor too ready for riches, and never too desirous of making a boast before he is fully aware.)

Curiously, this seems to have the contrary effect. Not only because the particular illustrations of surrounding world in decadence are drawn from the heroic world (lines 78–84), but also because of the recourse to the 'ubi sunt'*?* formula (lines 92–96) which, accompanied by preterite verbal forms, reinforces the character's yearning for a vanished heroic past. The alternation of present and preterite tenses is maintained throughout the last lines of the character's monologue and can also be endowed with 'thematic' significance. However, in contrast to previous sections, when the distinctions between present and preterite were blurred, the patterning of tenses in these lines is transparent. Present tenses systematically apply in the sentences which remark on the decay of the surrounding world (lines 97–98, 101–05), while preterite forms refer to heroic circumstances of the past (lines 99–100), selected to illustrate the imminent destruction of the world. Similarly, the wise disposition of the character's mind allows him to transfer his thought—still framed by the preterite of enunciation—into the future, thus providing the audience with the announcement of an apocalyptic time:

> Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle hu gæstlic bið
> þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,

[39] Hait, '"The Wanderer"'s Lingering Regret', p. 280.

swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard,
winde biwaune, weallas stondaþ
hrime bihrorene, hryðge þa ederas. (lines 73–78)

(A prudent man must recognize how appalling it will be when all the wealth in this world stands waste—as even now randomly throughout this middle-earth walls are standing, wind-blown, rime-covered, the ramparts storm-beaten.)

The Christian coda (lines 112–15), which has been assigned to the external narrator, employs third person singular present forms of the existential verb *beon*. The context makes it difficult to locate the message of these lines in time. On the contrary, the text presents religious experience as an atemporal one, whose beginning and ending are unknown and impossible to apprehend. Furthermore, if the connection of the present tense with the expression of reality and the preterite with less real or subjective experiences is accepted, then these Christian remarks may have been uttered so that the audience understood the universal validity of their message, opposed to the uncertainty of the recollected values of the heroic past. As a result, the poem closes with the Christian solution to the transience of the human world and imposes the narrator's religious ideology over the character's.

In summary, the organization of tenses in the character's monologue agrees with the general patterning of point of view in the poem. Although the speaker-narrator situates the enounced in the preterite and, therefore, determines the reception of the quoted-monologue as part of a past, subjective experience, the careful handling of present and preterite tenses in the sections allotted to the character are consonant with his apparent freedom from the former's perspective, and reflect the tensions in his mind due to the contrast between his sad past experiences and the necessity to find the kind of Christian consolation offered by the narrator. It is as if the wanderer feels within him an unreconciled tension between his past and his present, between the world of heroic deeds and pleasures and the Christian announcement of the next. As Hait has remarked, 'he can appreciate the comfort offered by thoughts of future life [. . .] [but] is unable to embrace that vision fully and turn his thought away from the losses he has experienced'.[40] His memories awake a nostalgic feeling, which neutralizes the complete acceptance of the religious message, in spite of the reassuring and unquestionable terms used by the speaker-narrator to convey it.

Conclusion: Time and Eternity

In previous sections, the aseptic treatment of time in some contemporary approaches to literature has been criticized as a mere reduction of this category to a question of

[40] Hait, '"The Wanderer"'s Lingering Regret', p. 278.

narrative technique or tense usage. On the contrary, it has been assumed from the beginning that a critical linguistic analysis of time in literature should move beyond textual realizations and explore the discursive context of tense usage, correlating it with aspects of literary composition situated at the level of enunciation like, among others, point of view. In fact, as stated above, a critical linguist should not be content with the exploration of literary time at the crossroads of enunciation and enounced, but should endeavour to observe the subjective experience(s) of time and the related world-view(s), in an attempt to unveil the constraints that affected the individuals who created and received the text. In this final section I undertake to explore how the configuration of time in 'The Wanderer'—the handling of artistic techniques and conventions previously analysed—results from the transference of a prefigured experience of time (*vécu temporel* or *Zeiterlebnis*, to use the labels proposed by Ricoeur), and that its final aim was to produce a given effect on the addressees who captured or 'refigured' the (personal) experience transmitted through the manipulation of this category.[41]

The particular organization of point of view in 'The Wanderer' and especially the recourse to a narrative technique that permits the alternation of the voices of character and speaker-narrator and eventually exposes their contradictory perspectives, allows the audience to discern different ways of perceiving time prevalent in the early Middle Ages. In general, the displacement of the character's thought along the whole expanse of time, using present and preterite tenses, yields a dynamic conception of time. This thematic exploitation of tenses should be 'refigured'—and it could have been so—as a view of time as an agent of change, which imbues poetic narration with a painful awareness of a fleeting time that never returns. There is no doubt that, on the whole, 'The Wanderer' reflects a one-dimensional, linear, and irreversible experience of the temporal flow which completely agrees with the dominant Christian ideology. I believe, however, that the poem does not simply explore the inexorable course of linear time, but its composition was certainly impelled by the human quest for permanence behind the changeable experience of events. In this respect, the solutions foreseen by the narrative instances involved in the poem are different and contradictory. As has been pointed out, the internal character's point of view is endowed with a kind of apparent autonomy from the speaker-narrator's. In the first section of his monologue the *eardstapa* indulges in the subjective remembrance of the past joys of the hall that contrast with both the abject reality of the present and the uncertainty of the future. The arrangement of tenses in this part of the poem, in relation to the patterning of imagery and the sequencing of the character's feelings, conveys the impression of a man trapped in a sad present, trying to unfetter from it by recovering a bright and cheerful past. Thus, he affords as solution to the fleeting course of time the belief in the return of past events: the desire to recover an archetypal heroic past in order to

[41] Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, I, 86; Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, II, 232–34.

stop the perception of changes. The psychological growth of the speaker into a *snottor on mode* reproduces, within an eschatological awareness of the fleeting movement of the world towards dissolution, his realization that the return does not afford permanence and, while he still cannot conceal the recollection of a splendorous past, he is convinced of the truth of its dissolution, of the idea that the present necessarily obliterates the past and invariably heads for an apocalyptic conclusion.[42] Finally, the dominant point of view of the speaker-narrator imposes in the closing lines the solution provided by Christian ideology: the belief in eternity. This is rendered by the exclusive use of present tenses of the existential verb *beon* and directs the audience in refiguring a static conception of time, with neither becoming, nor change, as the solution to the crisis.

In section two, the conflicting interpretations of 'The Wanderer' were explored. After the critical linguistic analysis of the treatment of time in the poem it seems impossible to offer here a definitive view, reconciling them. Some scholars may be right in reading the whole poem in the light of the Christian coda as a didactic piece aiming to show that consolation for the deterioration of the human world can only be granted by God's mercy in the form of eternal salvation. Similarly, the proposal that this is the work of a Christian poet using conventional Christian forms to lament the death of the Germanic heroic past is also grounded on the poem's images and structure, particularly in view of the recurrent repetition of a sad yearning for the vanishing magnificence of the hall and the pleasures associated with the *comitatus*. This analysis of the text allows us to conclude that 'The Wanderer' evinces a plural ideological structure which agrees with the fact that Anglo-Saxon society did not exhibit a 'monolithic' conception of time. In the poem, at least two value-systems are articulated in a conflicting relationship: the religious ideology represented by the belief in eternity and the heroic one embodied in the conviction that a magnificent past would return. Obviously, at the time this text was written the linear conception of time had imposed itself, but both attempts at suppressing the anxiety produced by its inexorable course were still prevalent. It is clear that the Christian belief in eternity is offered in the poem as the dominant solution: as social time of the religious intelligentsia it prevails over the other perspective and was the official, ideologically dominant conception in late Anglo-Saxon society. However, the narrative construction of point of view in the poem and the organization of tenses still allowed the audience to trace a residual belief in cyclical time, in the return of past realities as an ideological revaluation of a social view of time constructed in the past but still active in the cultural present.

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[42] Martin Green, 'Man, Time and Apocalypse in "The Wanderer", "The Seafarer" and *Beowulf*', in *Old English Shorter Poems: Basic Readings*, ed. by K. O'Brien O'Keeffe (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 281–302 (p. 285). See also: Clemoes, *Interactions*, p. 407.

Body and Soul: *Pearl* and Apocalyptic Literature

CYNTHIA KRAMAN

The late-fourteenth-century poem *Pearl* is extant in only one manuscript—MS Cotton Nero A.x, Art. 3—found in the British Library with three other poems generally thought of as works of a single author, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Patience* and *Cleanness. Pearl* is widely recognized as an example of high literary achievement, part of the alliterative revival that took place in the west and north of England. This beautifully crafted poem is the first-person narrative of a man who owns a pearl of great price. Having taken her about to be admired, he mysteriously loses her in a garden where she rolls away and disappears. A dream-vision ensues, during which the dreamer has a visionary experience. He finds his pearl has been transformed into a Pearl-maiden, now one of the elect, a virgin among the 144,000 who walk with the Lamb. Overwrought with love he attempts to cross the river that separates them, but the dream vanishes. *Pearl* has always proved popular with specialists and students alike, who enjoy its poignant elegiac language as well as its elegance and formal beauty, and it has always been assured a central position in late English medieval studies. However, to what genre it belongs, and how it ought to be read in light of that genre, is still a matter of debate.

Pearl has been viewed as an elegy,[1] a *consolatio*,[2] a contra-*consolatio*,[3] a dream

[1] John Conley, '*Pearl* and a Lost Tradition', in *The Middle English* Pearl: *Critical Essays*, ed. by John Conley (Notre Dame*:* Notre Dame University Press, 1970), pp. 50–72; and John Finlayson, '*Pearl*: Landscape and Vision', *Studies in Philology*, 71 (1974), 314–43.

[2] Ian Bishop, Pearl *in Its Setting: A Critical Study of the Structure and Meaning of the Middle English Poem* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), pp. 8–13.

[3] See W. A. Davenport, 'Desolation Not Consolation: *Pearl* 19–22', *English Studies*, 55 (1974), 421–23.

vision,[4] a *disputatio*,[5] and a spiritual quest.[6] It has also been seen as having shifting rhetorical structures.[7] It is perhaps all these things but the last—it does not shift, rather it includes. What appears to be a collection of shifting intentions results from a misidentification of the poem. The following discussion seeks to include *Pearl* as part of apocalyptic literature.[8]

Such literature, in both the Jewish tradition beginning with the book of Daniel, and the Christian one ending with the last book of the New Testament, is hard to define even in terms of subject matter, although it always includes revelation and a triumph of the ways of God over those of man. John's Revelation is most famous for its influence on eschaton.[9] While *Pearl* does not lay out the precise timing and character of last days, it does present a peaceful vision of the 144,000 who will walk with the Lord, and other details from Revelation. The author's emphasis reflects the late medieval understanding of Apocalypse as something rather different from John's searing grotesqueries.

By the twelfth century the nature of the Apocalypse had already radically altered. E. Randolph Daniel and Robert E. Lerner find the Calabrian monk Joachim of Fiore most responsible for this change.[10] Joachim sought to make a concord between the Old and New Testament in his *Liber de concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* and to alter expectations about Last Days in his *Expositio in Apocalypsim*. For Joachim the Apocalypse is 'the key of things past, the knowledge of things to come, the opening of what is sealed, the uncovering of what is hidden'.[11] Joachim saw the

[4] Finlayson, '*Pearl*: Landscape', pp. 315ff.

[5] Bishop, Pearl *in Its Setting*, pp. 2–3.

[6] See M. Madeleva, Pearl: *A Study in Spiritual Dryness* (New York: Appleton, 1925), *passim*.

[7] Johnson, 'Imagery', p. 29.

[8] Bishop, Pearl *and Its Setting*, p. 88, reads the vision as apocalyptic but not the entire poem. Cary Nelson, *The Incarnate Word* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1973) uses the word apocalypse in her chapter on *Pearl*, pp. 25–52. Michael Cherniss, *Boethian Apocalypse: Studies in Middle English Vision Poetry* (Norman: Pilgrim, 1987) treats *Pearl* as a 'Boethian Apocalypse'. Because it is so difficult to define what an 'Apocalypse' is, I use the adjective rather than the noun. Sandra Pierson Prior, '*Patience*—Beyond Apocalypse', *Modern Philology*, 24 (1986), 337–48 provides guidance on the subject of apocalyptic literature.

[9] Prior, '*Patience*', p. 338.

[10] E. Randolph Daniel, 'Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp.72–88; and Robert E. Lerner, 'The Medieval Return to the Thousand Year Sabbath', in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 50–71.

[11] Trans. from Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527; repr. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964): McGinn in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, p. 19.

coming events as possibly pleasant. This was most likely since history was the working out of God's will in time and space, and things were naturally improving towards a millennial sabbath[12] that often seems to echo his contemporary, Maimonides's, eschatology.[13] Joachim felt he was living in the time of the opening of the sixth seal.[14] Rosalind Field notes that by the late medieval period the Apocalypse had been transformed by commentators and artists into a subject 'of romance and beauty with a spiritual message of hope and joy',[15] and that is very much reflected in *Pearl*.

Formally, apocalyptic literature is characterized by inventiveness and inconsistency (time and place are not unified), mixed sensibilities (heroic, lyric, romantic, grotesque) and modes of rhetoric (exhortation, debate, historical reportage, visionary moment, anecdote, description, interior monologue). One sees many of these characteristics in John's Revelation and in *Pearl* as well. What sets this work apart is that it takes into account the late medieval situation of living long after the promise or threat of last days, and uses the double frame of Romance time (repetition and cycles) and Apocalyptic time (eternity). *Pearl* is not an eschatology but a vision of both time and eternity, personalized into a literary work.

I would propose that for the *Pearl*-poet's strategy of presenting cyclic time as a foil to eternity, the *Song of Songs* is a source for Romance pattern, as John's Revelations is a source for many of the apocalyptic formulae. The texts were commonly linked in the late Middle Ages.[16] The most important connective figure is the Virgin. Of course, Mary is not named in either text, as should surprise no medievalist. However, verse 4. 12—'My sister my spouse is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up'—of *Song of Songs* came to be understood as Mary herself, the enclosed garden, the church on earth; her absence from John's Revelation was ameliorated by reading the 'Woman Clothed in the Sun' of Revelation 12. 1 as the Virgin. While this may seem an unlikely reading because of

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[12] Joachim was attempting to re-establish the 'chiliast' view (Gk. chilliamos, chillioi—'a thousand') of an intervening millennial rule of Christ followed by a three and one-half year rule of the Antichrist, after which bodily resurrection of the just occurred. This view was rejected by the church in the fifth century. Cf. Augustine, *City of God*, book 10, chap. 7.

[13] Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, chap. 12.

[14] Daniel, in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, p. 85.

[15] Rosalind Field, 'The Heavenly Jerusalem in *Pearl*', *Modern Language Review*, 81 (1986), 7–17 (p. 7).

[16] The general link according to E. Ann Matter, 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 38–50, is that all mystery texts are 'really about the Church on earth' (chap. 3, 46) and Matter elaborates in *The Voice of My Beloved* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 37–38, 103–08, on their intertwined history. Derk Visser, *Apocalypse as Utopian Expectation (800–1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) supplies readings of Rev. 12. 1, and churchmen from the ninth through sixteenth centuries who interrelate the texts.

the latter's travails in childbirth in Revelation 12. 2,[17] medieval writers embraced rich possibilities rather than focusing on inconsistencies. The stage had been set by early commentaries playing creatively with the equation of these two female figures. E. Ann Matter[18] traces the reading back to Primasius although Visser[19] quotes Bede[20] as reluctant to make this equation, and cites Haimo as using Primasius to equivocate over the identification of the Virgin with the 'Woman Clothed in the Sun'. Ambrosius Autpertus[21] was most clear in his equation of Mary with the 'Woman Clothed with the Sun'. It is true that the tradition of Mary's painless childbirth persisted, showing up in Nicolas Love's 1410 translation of pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi* called The *Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ.* The modern Catholic Church, which made Mary's bodily Assumption dogma in 1950, again linked the two female figures in the *Apostolic Constitution.* Moreover, the Scholastic doctors saw the Assumption of the Virgin Mother of God signified not only in the various figures of the Old Testament, but also in the Woman clothed in the sun, whom the Apostle John contemplated on the island of Patmos.[22]

The equation of the two women made the *Song* garden resonate with the apocalyptic one. The layering makes it quite natural for a fourteenth-century lyric petitioning the Virgin, attributed to William Shoreham, to reference Mary both in *Song* language as the Old Testament 'temple salomon' (line 31) and in the Revelation language as the 'Woman Clothed in the Sun' of Rev. 12. 1. The female figure of Pearl also participates in both frames, and allows the *Pearl*-poet to involve her in debate over time and eternity via her exposition of the vineyard parable.

The *Pearl*-poet creates not only characters who debate time and eternity, but embeds the poem in a language world which participates in both Romance and apocalyptic patterns. An example of the author's rhetorical strategies, so unlike anything found in John or other biblical writers, is his careful use of the apostrophe. There are only two apostrophes in the poem, 'O perle!' and 'O moule!', and their

[17] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) supplies medieval views of the birth as painless and not (pp. 124 and 131).

[18] Matter, 'Apocalypse', p. 44.

[19] Visser, *Apocalypse*, pp. 51, 74.

[20] Bede, *In cantica canticorum allegorica expositio*, PL (Paris: Migne, 1844-1865), vol. 91, p. 1085.

[21] *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. by Robertus Weber and others, 2nd rev. edn (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975), pp. 443, 449ff.

[22] *Apostolic Constitution ('Munificentissimus Deus') of Pius Xll*, § 27, from the URL: http://www.ewtn.com/library/PAPALDOC/P12MUNIF.HTM): quoted in C. G. Jung, *Answer to Job*, trans. by R. F. C. Hull (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 96.

rhetorical equivalence suggests an equation.

However, the first apostrophe, 'O moule!' (stanza 2, line 23), seems to suggest that the pearl is most emphatically not grave mould, but only 'marred' by it, and appears to immediately negate the equation. But the *Pearl*-poet will suggest here and elsewhere that what is true in Romance time is transformed in apocalyptic time—that the body that becomes 'muck and mould' in an earthly garden becomes the resurrected supernal body in the New Jerusalem. As analogues, the earthly rose of lines 269–72 is one that 'flowred and fayled' while in the frame of eternity she becomes 'so rich a reken rose' (905). Jerusalem itself is presented as doubles linked by language. The Pearl tells the dreamer 'Of motez two to carpe clene | And Jerusalem hyȝt boþe nawþeles' (949–50).[23] In the first 'spot' (the original Jerusalem) our flesh is laid to rot (958), but the grave mould we become experiences increasing 'glory and blysse' until it becomes the resurrected pearl of eternity (950–60) in the New Jerusalem.

In *Pearl* the dreamer's use of *Song* language provides, as in the case of the apostrophes discussed here, a vocabulary that itself highlights the difference between time and eternity. The Pearl herself does not speak this language—her sure-footed debate can stand the test of eternity. But the dreamer addresses her in traditional 'qui amore langueo' *Song* language as both beloved present and beloved absent—the now here but all too terribly about to disappear. His addresses to her from an Old Testament text do not show that he is stuck in time, but that the double time frame is operating throughout the poem. He speaks the language of the past to capture the longing of the present for an eternity as elusive as dream.

It might be said that as long as the narrator remains in *Song* language world his perspective is that of the old law, but it is not as simple as that. He is living in the world of the old law with knowledge and some limited experience of the new—an experience that will be deepened at the end of the poem by his participation in eucharistic devotion. Nonetheless, his experience of death and loss in the *erber* seems to contradict the new law's extravagant claims. He knows about resurrection, but lives in a world of disease and death. His situation is not unlike that of twentieth-century man, knowing full well that after the discoveries of Einstein and Bohr, he is still living in a Newtonian universe as a sort of intellectual anachronism: stuck in a world of linearity and gravity which the universe at other times and places sloughs off like mortal coil. The narrator is tied to the literal body, longing for the supernal one, but unsure of the ultimate transference of self that will happen when he surrenders to the comfort of Christ. This possibility of Christ's comfort, and the wilful dismissal of it, is captured in a couplet: 'Þaz kynde of Kryst me comfort kenned, | My wreched wylle in wo ay wraȝte' (lines 55–56). The narrator is caught between knowing Christ as an idea, and feeling Him as a presence.

The second apostrophe, 'O perle', initiates the first of the several retellings of

[23] All quotations from *Pearl* are taken from *Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron, rev. edn (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1989).

the scene of loss—stanzas 21(lines 241–51), 24 (lines 277–88), 28 (lines 325–36), 32 (lines 373–84)—and the dreamer in these scenes locates his former suffering at night. He has not mentioned night during the first telling of the incident that occurs emphatically in daytime, since everything is shining and glimmering. However, the theme of searching and suffering over the Beloved at night occurs in *Song*, 3. 1–3:

> In my bed at night I sought him whom my soul loveth; I sought him, and found him not.
> I will rise and will go abroad in the city. In the streets and the broad ways I will seek him whom my soul loveth. I sought him, and I found him not.
> The watchmen who keep the city found me: Have you seen him whom my soul loveth?

This ties in very closely to the dreamer's night-time longing: 'Art þou my perle þat I haf payned? | Regretted by my one on ny3te? | Much longeyng haf I for þe layned.' (lines 242–44). The dreamer is caught in Romance cycles of loss and longing even as he addresses the emblem of eternity, now and finally elusive in a time-bound world of revolving night and day.

When the dreamer finds the Pearl in Paradise he is not immediately overjoyed—the memory of his suffering overcomes his present joy. This is the *Song* world, where the much mourned, joyfully recovered, and ecstatically embraced Beloved of *Song*, 3 is refused in *Song*, 7, and then again searched for, suffered for, and in the end, hoped for yet again. The poem uses *Song* language to move between cyclic time and final days. In a more personal strategy, the Pearl-author uses poetic device, here apostrophe, as the link between mould and pearl, *Song* garden and Paradise, promise and comfort, unending longing and final rest in resurrected glory for both body and soul. The coherence of device and *sentence* is exquisite.

For critics who do not notice the highly literary and personal quality of Pearl, the genre discussion of *Pearl* is rather overwrought,[24] heightened by expectations that it will conform to a single type of literature, unaware that a new and original literature is being created before their eyes. They also do not take into account the fact that biblical literature itself has no true purity of style, which gave medieval authors licence to be much more inventive and inconsistent than authors coming from the classical world with its rules and conventions. Erich Auerbach seems completely accurate when he observes, 'The true heart of the Christian doctrine—Incarnation and Passion—was [. . .] totally incompatible with the principle of separation of styles'.[25] According to Auerbach the fact that Christ is from the lower social classes would make him a character fit only for comedy in the classical

[24] See Bishop, Pearl *in Its Setting*, p. 3; John R. Gatta, 'Transformation of the Liturgy of the Mass in *Pearl*', *Modern Philology*, 71 (1974), 243–56.

[25] Eric Auerbach, *Mimesis*, trans. by Willard Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953; repr. 1968), p. 72.

tradition; moreover, the Passion is not truly a tragedy since the slain hero returns. The new Romance situation leads to diction that would wound a classical writer's sensibilities; Christ's language for instance is of the elevated style, even when he speaks to prostitutes and workmen. In *Pearl* the situation is compounded by the themes of time and eternity, so that a mute gem that is lost in Romance time becomes, from the perspective of eternity, a Pearl-girl capable of debating fine points of Christian doctrine. That an admixture of genres as well as rhetorical conventions occurs is to be expected.

That *Pearl* is part of an apocalyptic genre seems hardly to need proving, since one third of the poem is based directly on descriptions from Revelation, but *Pearl* continues the development of the genre. From this work it takes the promise of the renovation of all of creation:

> And I saw a new heaven and a new earth. For the first heaven and the first earth was gone: and the sea is now no more.
> And I, John, saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. (21. 1, 2).

The *Song*'s nuptial concerns as a route to this renovation are heard here and elsewhere, and provide another layer for the discussion of time and eternity. The little Pearl, with whom the dreamer enjoys a daughterly relationship in earthly time, is also a virgin married to the Lamb. The marriage of the soul to God was a centrepiece of *Song* commentary so there is nothing new in that. But marriage was not the only union a soul could enjoy with God—along with mixed sensibilities came polymorphous forms of attachment. That the soul could enjoy many relationships at once is first heard in the Song's 'my sister, my spouse'. Multiple familial relationships of the soul to Christ became commonplace in late medieval English writing, as seen in Julian of Norwich's formulation of Christ as mother, father, brother, saviour.

Far more elusive to the medieval mind was the enterprise of sustaining belief in the resurrection of body and the soul that John's Revelation promised: 'And after three days and a half, the spirit of life from God entered into them. And they stood upon their feet' (Rev. 11. 11). The vision of John is part of a very special category: the literature of the absolute and absolutely impossible transmutation and elevation of bodily matter into spirit even as it somehow retains the characteristics of matter (form, extension, even sensory capability). This focus on the body whilst speaking of the highest spiritual occurrence is a paradox inherent in much mystical writing because the mystic wants to directly experience God, but such experience for humans comes through the senses. However, in apocalyptic literature, the impulse would seem to accomplish the impossible. The redeemer is seen as a lamb or a light, sometimes even smelled as a fragrance or heard as music. The experience of the divine is a great victory. He who has done it has come in contact with the ineffable.

The author of a work describing such an experience is describing not merely

longing, but capture, even if the image once caught immediately wavers and disappears before his eyes. The narrator of *Pearl* actually sees Christ and the new city. He lives the apocalyptic moment. It comes to him as Paul said it would, 'in puncto, in ictu oculi' (I Cor. 15. 52)—'in a moment, the twinkling of an eye'. But he must awaken, in the poem as in life, to an only partially renovated world.

The apocalyptically-minded mystic, who tries to put the hunt for the impossible into practice, directs himself not as Madeleva feels, toward faith, but proof. He desires a taste of the reward to be enjoyed by the clean, healthy, rarefied body of the post-Apocalypse Christian (so different from the disease-ridden one of the fourteenth-century Christian) in the clean, healthy and rarefied New Jerusalem. It is possible to see how as a genre apocalyptic literature overreaches Romance with its once and future delights, and beyond an individual's mystical longing with its state of continuous desire. There is no cycle of loss and return and loss, no eternal longing for the impossible and ineffable—the future is here, and the end of the world is upon one. In that sense it is the most radical literature in the world, which explains in part the power of this light and pleasing poem. Once it gets to the New Jerusalem, the reader is seeing what only the saved will ever see.

Pearl exists both in *Song (*Romance) and apocalyptic time; once the vision fades, one is back in the *Song* garden with its suggestion of possibility, but possibility caught in Romance cycles of hope and disappointment. Only eucharistic devotion brings the dreamer into contact with a contradictory 'moment' of eternal joy. This double frame gives the poem power, derived from its insistent dualism of body and soul in time rubbing against the world of unity: images without substance delineate essence, time and place are suggested for a time beyond time, a place beyond place. For the apocalyptist John, this problematic is written out in searing grotesqueries; Revelation is replete with a pregnant woman wearing the sun and a beast with the number 666. For the fourteenth-century author of *Pearl* the cynosure of tension is a round smooth pearl. It/she is the completed world that cannot be entered or known although it is so very small and smooth and girlish in its outward show. The physical world and the spiritual world, the old law and the new, and time and eternity itself, are conflated, in a gesture to the impossible made by the poet, through this maiden gem. Identifying the type of literature in which *Pearl* participates both simplifies the genre discussion and permits the reader to recognize the author's originality and skill.

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The Significance of Time Referents in Lydgate's Work

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A diverse, versatile and changing range of time markings can be found in the works of the fifteenth-century English poet, John Lydgate. Time consciousness in the medieval period is often regarded—by medieval and modern scholars alike—to be predicated upon the Christian conceptions of timelessness (eternity) and the ending of time (apocalyptism). Such a view subordinates considerations of fluctuating, progressive and complex aspects of temporal consciousness. The medieval narrative of time is defined as a prescriptive pattern of the episodic, cyclical and static rhythms of salvational history. As a result, as Ricardo Quinones asserts, time is perceived to have been 'largely non-existent' in the literature of the period.[1] I wish to challenge such assumptions by showing that the dominant social narrative of time (the Christian narrative) had ambiguities, caused by moments when an acute sense of temporality heightens awareness of time. Time consciousness in the Middle Ages was not a prescriptive but a diverse, versatile and changing phenomenon, for society, within society and for individuals.

This essay addresses the fact that time referents are employed not just in an acutely conscious and individual manner by Lydgate in his writings, but that there are variations in the choices and usages of these referents in his works. His two longest poems, the *Troy Book* and the *Fall of Princes* will be the texts focused on in this comparative study. What is of significance in such a study is to determine whether the choice and usage of time referents are governed by the literary context: do time referents have influential roles in shaping different types of historical narratives, demonstrating awareness of different historical perspectives? Alternatively, are the

[1] R. J. Quinones, 'Four Phases of Time and Literary Movements', in *The Study of Time II: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the International Society for the Study of Time*, ed. by J. T. Fraser and N. Lawrence (Berlin: Springer, 1975), pp. 122–35 (p. 122).

differences a product of the cultural moment, the result of changes in social time consciousness; or are they the result of a changing time consciousness in Lydgate himself?

Lydgate's long verse on historical topics has attracted hardly any critical attention to date, partly because of the relentlessly didactic nature of the works. Their formulaic and verbose style appear to offer little to the literary critic, and while Lydgate's verse has, in recent time, been reassessed for its literary merits, these texts have been omitted on the grounds that Spearing cites: 'discussion of poems of such enormous length would inevitably be unwieldy', adding that 'the overall large-scale effect is of more importance than the shaping of the individual line'.[2] A study of Lydgate's usage of time referents permits us to question the inevitability of such an argument. As I will show, time references have great significance in shaping narrative coherence and development, and there is a keen literary consciousness on Lydgate's part in his choice and usage of time markings.

The exemplary form of narration seems to present little of interest to a modern historian because these texts are not an exploration of the perceived causal factors within a past era that brought about its demise. As Derek Pearsall notes, 'the ultimate purpose is to destroy history in the interests of truth, so that Hector, Achilles and the rest may take their place in the universal diagram'.[3] The rhetorical devices of amplification that Lydgate uses in the *Troy Book* provide not an historical account of Trojan history, but of the prevalent modes of medieval thought, of the medieval perceptions of 'universal truths'. In his list of amplification devices, Pearsall includes astronomical periphrasis, and notes that the descriptions of dawn and dusk, and spring and autumn are 'the richest material from non-narrative sources' (p. 136). Thus time is not neglected by Lydgate, but indeed forms the most original addition to his narration of Trojan history. Pearsall asserts that such time indicators 'may do more in their context than Lydgate was aware of, and it is interesting again that at the very point where he appears to retreat from the narrative Lydgate should come close to grounding it in his own proper concerns' (p. 137). In other words, Lydgate creates a culturally specific (a time bound) construction of the moral universal plan for Christian living. The recognition by Lydgate elsewhere in his writings 'that thynges al [. . .] be transitory of condicioun'[4] indicates not a negation of time, but a keen consciousness of its temporal form.

The time markings which act as amplification devices in the *Troy Book* and in

[2] A. C. Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 66.

[3] Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 129.

[4] John Lydgate, *Lydgate's Fall Of Princes*, ed. by Henry Bergen, Early English Text Society, extra series 121 (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), 'Prologue', line 108, 4. Further references to this edition, EETS, e.s. 121, 122, 123 (published 1924) and 124 (published 1927), are given after quotations in the text. All spellings have been modernized.

the *Fall of Princes* are not confined solely to astronomical compilations and seasonal descriptions, which are generally considered to be traditional co-ordinates of the recurring and episodic Christian time pattern. A close reading of Lydgate's texts reveals a variety of time referents: the minute, hours indicated by dials as well as liturgical hours, nature (such as bird songs), durations (mornings/evenings, days/months/years), specific moments in time (dawn and dusk), and age scheme reckonings, in addition to solar, lunar and seasonal referents. A number of these referents will be examined in this essay. Although each time marking can be classified as a particular 'type', such a list is not intended to suggest a schematic construction or perception of time. Analysis of selected passages from the *Fall of Princes* and the *Troy Book* will reveal that similar time indicators sometimes operate in different ways, revealing how time indicators play active, integral and occasionally dynamic roles in the construction of the narrative.

The prologues of each of the two texts demonstrate much about the nature of the roles time referents will play in each. In the prologue of the *Fall of Princes* emphasis is placed on treating time historically and on a negative perception of the nature of time; while in the *Troy Book* the wide variety of descriptive and structural roles that time referents can play in the narrative are highlighted. The *Troy Book* opens with an elaborate astronomical calculation by Lydgate to indicate the precise time (4 p.m. on Monday, 31 October, 1412) when he began his work:

And of the tyme to make mencio*un*,	
Whan I be-gan of this translacio*un*,	
It was the yere, sothely for to seyne,	**regnal**
Fourtene complete of his fadris regne,	
The tyme of yere, schortly to conclude,	
Whan twenty grees was Pheb*us* altitude,	**solar**
The hour whan he made his stedis drawe	**poetic**
His rosen chariet lowe vnder the wawe	
To bathe his bemys in the wawy see,	
Tressed lyche gold, as men myght[e] see,	
Passyng the bordure of oure occian;	
And Lucyna, of colour pale and wan,	**lunar**
Hir cold arysyng in Octobre gan to dyght,	**seasonal**
Tenchace the dirknesse of the frosty nyght,	
In the myddes of the scorpion;	**zodiac**
And Esperus gan to wester dovn,	
To haste hir cours ageyn the morwe graye;	
And Lucifer, the nyght to voyde a-waye,	
Is callyd than, messanger of day,	
Our emysperye to put out of affraye	
Wyth bright kalendis of Phebus vpryst schene	**gods**
Out of the boundis Proserpina the quene,	

> Wher Pluto dwelleth, the dirk[e] regiou*n*,
> And the furies haue her mansiou*n*;
> Til after sone Appollo lyst nat tarie
> To take soiour in the Sagittarie
> Whyche tyme I gan the prolog to beholde.[5]

Time referents used range from secular computations to the rhythms of nature, from the objective to the subjective. Such a diversity of indicators immediately establishes three significances of time markings that prevail in the rest of the narrative: the importance of locating action in time; the desire to employ multiple types of measurements, observations and expressions of time; and the significance of the order in which time referents are used.

The significance of the first time indicator being a regnal year—'It was the yere, sothely for to seyne, | fourtene complete of his fadris regne'(lines 123–24)—should not be overlooked. This type of time referent creates a precise timescale, not for the narrative action, but for the activities of the author. The completion date of the translation given at the end of the *Troy Book* is also a regnal year:

> 'the eyghte yere, by computaciou*n*,
> Suynge after the coronaciou*n*
> Of hym that is most gracious i*n* werkyng,
> Herry the Fyfthe' (Book V, lines 3373–76, 869).

For the late medieval writer such precision was a form of historical 'truth:' an effective historical account required a time co-ordinate that would verify the project. The *Troy Book* is unlike Cornelius' Roman history of the fall of Troy, which Lydgate points out suffered from lack of precision and detail—'Nor of her dethe he dateth nat the yere' (Prologue, line 349, 10), thereby making it an unreliable account. The importance of precision—though not economy—in expression indicates a heightened consciousness of the significance time indicators have in acting as essential authoritative detail.

It is, however, more than just precision and accuracy that the regnal year in the *Troy Book* denotes. The effect of locating the action of writing in the time of contemporary society separates the act of recording from the events being recorded. Regnal years are not counted at any other point in the narrative; this 'type' is only used to locate the actions of the author in contemporary time. The effect is to highlight the difference in time between that of the author/readers and the time of the narrative, between the present and the past. Yet, in the *Troy Book* direct speech is also often employed—a traditional approach for medieval writers of history—which

[5] John Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. by Henry Bergen, EETS, e.s. 97 (London: Kegan Paul Trench Trubner, 1906), Prologue, lines 121–47, 4–5. All future references from the *Troy Book* are taken from this edition, EETS, e.s. 97, 103, 106 (published 1906) and 126 (published 1935), and are cited within the text. All spellings have been modernized.

negates any kind of separation: the reader is incorporated into the time of the narrative action. However, at other points in the narrative the separation of the author/readers and the narrative that has been established by the regnal year marking is reinforced, by another type of time indicator. The phrases 'in his tyme' and 'as I rede' are often used to indicate the time of the narrative events. For instance, when describing how Francus founded France Lydgate remarks: 'tencressen his renou*n*, | Bilt in his tyme a ful royal tovn' (Book 1, lines 839–40, 36) and Lydgate in this passage also refers to himself: 'So as I fynde' (line 951). The effect is to draw attention to the different context (or historical reality) of the particular character being referred to. Attention is drawn to the fact that the events are not in 'our time' but in 'his tyme'. Hence, the reader is involved in multiple, even paradoxical, frameworks (past and present) in Lydgate's narration.

The regnal time marking in this passage of the prologue is followed with a computation of a solar position. Work has been done on Lydgate's astronomical references where both the skills and mistakes of Lydgate in this form of time calculation are considered.[6] However, what is of interest to me is the precedence that is clearly being given to calculated, objective, measurable time referents, over the subjective and traditional types that follow. Interest in quantifiable measurement of time is a marked feature in the *Troy Book*. It is worth noting that it was Lydgate—not the astrologers—who, in the *Troy Book*, introduced the word 'computacioun' into the English vernacular.[7] Many forms of time calculations could be cited from the text. For instance, the calculation of the sun in the zodiac prior to Jason's dishonesty to Lamedon: 'the somer sonne | the sodiak hath thries gon aboute' (Book 1, lines 1082–83, 43). Medea calculates the lunar hour: 'Whan the mone was equat and stood | In the fifthe or the seuenthe hous' (Book1, line 1632, 60) and when she awaits Jason she calculates that 'quart*er* was passid after pryme' (Book 1, line 2768, 94). It is not just Cethe and his guests who 'by the dyal the hour thei gan to marke', (Book 1, line 1517, 57) but many of the other characters as well, time quantification is a prevalent feature throughout the narrative.

However, what is of even more interest than simply marking Lydgate's usage of quantitative time units, is the evidence that can be found of Lydgate's awareness of the significance of the precision that such types of time indicators offer, evidence

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[6] See especially Johnstone Parr's articles 'Astronomical Dating for Some of Lydgate's Poems', *PMLA*, 67 (1952), 251–328; and 'The Astronomical Date of Lydgate's Life of Our Lady', *Philological Quarterly*, 50 (1971), 120–25.

[7] Lydgate is listed in the *Middle English Dictionary* as using the vernacular form of the Latin 'computare', in his 1420 *Troy Book*, Book I, line 2774, 94: *MED C-D*, ed. by Hans Kurath (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 478. Pearsall does not discuss the word 'computacioun', but does highlight how introducing new words into English is a marked feature of Lydgate's work. In addition, and more importantly, Pearsall points out Lydgate 'used new and rare words over and over embedding them forever in the language'; 'Lydgate as Innovator', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 53 (1992), 5–22 (p. 5).

of a keen literary consciousness on the part of Lydgate in the art of time narration. For instance, when Jason embarks on his quest to obtain the Golden Fleece the time is noted using a quantified unit: 'Vpon the hour whan the clok is nyne' (Book 1, line 3204, 107). By contrast, the time referent given just before the quest is embarked upon in the narrative of the fourteenth-century text *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is much more vague: 'Bi vch kok that crue he knew wel the steuen'.[8] In this instance the choice by Lydgate of a precise time marking, rather than the traditional time marker of the cock's crow, indicates a consciousness of the effect of precision in expression. With the development of a wider range of time expressions to choose from Lydgate has an enhanced ability, over his fourteenth-century counterpart, to manage and convey the stages and suspense in the passage of the quest.

The fact that in the prologue of the *Troy Book* regnal dating and solar computation do not suffice as an indication of when the translation was begun is significant. A recurrent feature throughout the *Troy Book*, unlike the *Fall of Princes*, is that multiple types of referents are often used in a single episode of narrative action. It is as if a traditional, a natural, rhythm of time is used as a form of back up, or insurance, after a quantified time referent is used: there may be evidence of temporal consciousness, but it is an uneasy temporal consciousness. That time was perceived as measurable did not diminish the perception of time's direction as a natural rhythm determined by divine providence: the linear indicators of time's rhythm (the calculated measurements discussed above) exist simultaneously with abstract and cyclical indicators. One such example of this combination of multiple markings—in addition to the selected passage from the prologue—is when Priam sets sail after his decision to plunder Venus's temple in revenge for the loss of his sister.[9] An elaborate time framework is created which emphasizes the movement of time: a clear indication that the pace of narrative events is to change from one of indecision and discussion to waging war. Spring is introduced—'the tyme ap*ro*cheth whan the son*n*e schene' (Book 2, line 3319, 239), and much poetic imagery of the sun and stars immediately establishes this as a time of rebirth—a very traditional allusion to the natural forces in nature. Then Lydgate introduces computations of 'the zodyak spere' (line 3336, 240) to indicate that it is indeed not just spring, but 'the tyme of Ioly grene May' (line 3339). However, the computation of the exact month does not suffice and another traditional type of time marking is used, the subjective type, that is the traditional associations of spring, the adjective of 'sweet' and the evoking of the aural sound of the bird songs: again indicators that the previous tone of negativity in the narrative is to change to one of a positive tone (for the Trojans).

[8] 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight', fit IV, line 2008, 280. *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron, rev. edn (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987), pp. 207–300.

[9] The lines referred to are in Book 2, lines 3319–55, 239–40.

If we return to line seven of the prologue passage, one has only to recall the opening lines of *The Canterbury Tales* where spring is described: 'bathed every veyne in swich licour'[10] to note the parallel in style of Lydgate's passage: 'To bathe his bemys in the wawy see, | tressed lyche gold' (lines 129–30). The seasonal cycle, the turnings of day and night, cycles of animal and plant life all mark time and affect the pace of the narrative. A consciousness of these temporal natural cycles has two contrary but not contradictory effects. On the one hand temporal cycles develop the narrative by creating alternations in settings (such as the transition from day to night, summer to winter and in this prologue passage spring to autumn). On the other hand, such indicators can convey time as being static—they mark time in states that are themselves changeless. This effect greatly influences the historical perspective but perhaps more so in the *Fall of Princes*, which is a point I will return to later.

The harmonious image in this prologue passage is quickly dissipated as the seasonal referent comes to the fore: 'cold arysyng in Octobre gan to dyght, | tenchace the dirknesse of the frosty nyght' (lines 133–34). The effect is to highlight that 'thynges all be transitory of condicioun': just as the seasonal change will come, as will the fortune of the Trojan War. The time referent acts as an indicator of the direction of narrative development. It is not, however, simply poetic and seasonal allusions that suggest such a framework for the narrative action. Another type of time referent that will be used throughout the text is introduced. The use of figures of the underworld—Lucifer, Proserpina and Pluto—indicate that not all time referents can be classified as traditional Christian co-ordinates or objective secular computations, the pagan gods also have a role, indeed a very subjective role. J. D. North, in his book *Chaucer's Universe*, unravels the many symbolic significances of such time indicators: knowledge that the educated readers of Lydgate would have shared. The introduction of the gods of the underworld and of the night provides an immediate indication—just as the seasonal referent did—of the negative outcome for the Trojans. It is interesting that Apollo should be introduced at this end of this passage, the god of prophecy: the rhythm of this passage of time markings predicts those of the narrative that is to follow.

Throughout the *Troy Book* time referents acting as prefixes to the narrative action are a major device used to develop the narrative. For example, when in book three the Greeks resolve that Hector must die, the ominous battle that follows is preceded with an elaborate lunar computation of the position of Esperus, which repeatedly emphasizes how dark a night it is.[11] Ill deeds in the *Troy Book* are usually preceded with allusions to the darkness of the night: the nature of the narrative action is framed and indicated by the subjective nature of the time referent.

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[10] Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The General Prologue', from *The Canterbury Tales*, line 3, 23, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 23–26.

[11] This passage is in Book 3, line 2667–77, 471.

In the *Fall of Princes* time references function more often as descriptive tools than as structural devices. One such example is when the position of the sun is referred to in the story of Adam and Eve, when the sun 'mor cleer dede shyne | Than it doth now in his midday lyne' (Book I, lines 599–600, 17). The solar position is not indicated in order to progress the narrative, to create an alternation in narrative setting or effect a change in narrative pace. Instead an abstract solar position is employed to aide as a point of comparison in the description of the brilliance and intensity of clarity of vision in Eden: it is used as a descriptive tool. This is not to say that there are some instances of time referents acting as indicators or frameworks for the narrative action. For instance, in book three, a number of time markings are used in close succession (in the space of 741 lines) as structural devices. When Alcibades goes to Sparta an abstract reference—'Vpon a certeyn day' (line 3365, 422) indicates the start of a new period (specific within the context) of narrative action. The time marking becomes even more precise with the duration of time taken to recapture the town being marked: 'the space off half a day' (line 3537, 427). The effect is to create a precise framework for a particular period of narrative action. There is also a descriptive effect of this time referent, for the shortness of duration is emphasized, highlighting the great ability of the character Alcibade. The next time referent preserves Alcibade's prowess through the act of memorial: 'Thus certeyn daies thei halwed' (line 3571, 428) and finally 'the tyme approchid and the date' of Alcibade's death. The precise end of time (of Alcibade's duration in time) brings this narrative sequence to an end. Numerous passages such as this one could be examined in both the *Troy Book* and the *Fall of Princes* to signify the active role time referents have in creating narrative coherence and continuity. There is nevertheless a greater impression of time referents acting as descriptive aides in the *Fall of Princes*, primarily due to the frequency of the adjectival role (as illustrated in the Adam and Eve story) that time referents have in the narrative.

As illustrated, the time references in the *Troy Book* create a framework and indicate the nature of forthcoming narrative action. By contrast, there is no such passage of time markings in the prologue of the *Fall of Princes*. Instead time is treated historically. While there is some comment in the *Troy Book* (immediately following the passage discussed earlier, lines 149–225, 5–7) about the importance of the written document as a permanent record of universal truths for all ages; in the *Fall of Princes* the whole prologue is dedicated to a commentary on the importance of historians and poets in the process of creation, as well as preservation, of notable examples from the past. It is not simply the act of writing, to 'putte in remembrau*n*ce | Therin to shewe Fortunyns variau*n*ce' (lines 53–54, 2), that is noted, but also a detailed discussion is made of how history is shaped by the process of translation, how:

> Artificeres hauyng exercise
> May chau*n*ge and turne bi good discreciou*n*
> Shappis, formyss, and newli hem deuyse,

> Make and vnmake in many sundry wyse,
> As potteres, which to that craft entende,
> Breke and renewe ther vesselis to a-mende (lines 9–14, 1).

In the prologue there are a number of references to the compilation of—to the processes involved in the shaping and forming—of a 'chronicle or history'. What is significant is the way by which the processes of compilation are defined. Descriptions of annals are not included: annals simply list, configure events, whereas chronicles are subjective in that events are selected to be narrated and histories reconfigure time in recounting narrative events. The effect of the prologue is to highlight the temporal nature, by highlighting the subjective process of selection in narration, of historical accounts.

The prologue, in addition to highlighting the temporal nature of history, also highlights the desire for permanence, 'to putte in remembrau*n*ce' (line 53, 2). The tensions between time and eternity, the temporal and permanent, are a marked feature in the *Fall of Princes* and perhaps are most in the frustrations of narrative caused by the interruptions of the envoys, a point I will comment on later in this essay. It is significant that in the *Troy Book* only two references are made to an eternal sphere and time, whereas numerous references to eternity are to be found in the *Fall of Princes*. Lydgate in the prologue instructs us:

> men sholde enclyne,
> Sette ther hertis, void off vnstabilnesse,
> Vpon thynges which that been deuyne,
> Where-as ioie perpetueli doth shyne
> Withoute eclipsyng in that heuenli see,
> Void off all cloudis off mutabilite (Prologue, lines 115–19, 4).

Thus it is unsurprising that time references are not given as dynamic a role in shaping the narrative and that one type of indicator usually suffices in any one episode.

The *Fall of Princes*, like the *Troy Book*, opens with a calculation of the regnal year, there is however a notable difference. In the *Fall of Princes* the regnal year is indicated by an event, rather than by the date of the king's reign:

> The tyme trewli remembrid and the date,
> The yere whan kyng Iohn thoruh his mortal fate
> Was prisoner brought to this regiou*n*,
> Whan he first gan on this translaciou*n* (lines 4–7, 1).

This difference marks the essential difference in both the choice and usage of time referents between the two texts: the *Fall of Princes* generally uses time indicators in comparison to other events, whereas time markings are used in the *Troy Book* for the effect that they themselves impart (determined by the narrative context).

It is significant that regnal (and also biblical) dating is used throughout the *Fall of Princes*. On close reading it becomes obvious that dating is much more significant in this history, which can be attributed to its identification as a different type of historical narrative. The *Fall of Princes* can be described, in Donald Wilcox's terms, as a reciprocal narrative, where events are used to illustrate virtues or vices, or the rewards or just punishments of God.[12] What is of importance is not the sequence or progression of action, but the selection of episodes. As many modern commentators would recognize, this is the interpretation of St Augustine's view of history as being a selection of the significant moments of the past that are related to the paramount moment in human experience of time, the Incarnation.

I have sketched this outline of historical perspective to demonstrate how the *Fall of Princes* differs from the *Troy Book*. As noted above, the *Fall of Princes* places great precedence on the fact that it is 'a chronycle or histoire', to justify the selection of significant moments that have been narrated. The commonest effect that time references have in the *Fall of Princes* is to periodize each narrative episode on a timescale, in contrast to the *Troy Book*'s usage of time references to create structural frameworks for the narrative to proceed. The *Troy Book* can be described as a 'chronological' narrative, where the creation to apocalypse narrative model is used. By contrast, the envoys in the *Fall of Princes* continually interrupt any chronological narration. It is not surprising that the richness in variety of expression, especially the more modern quantitative units, should be absent in this narration, which is concerned with presenting a cross-section of a moment, not a sequence.

Time references obviously have significant roles in shaping the narrative and in indicating the purpose for which the narrative was written. Lydgate is conscious of the diverse and versatile roles of time markings. I wish now to return to the three questions I raised at the start of this essay. To fully answer whether time referents play active roles in shaping Middle English historical narratives—as they do in Lydgate's works—future research will have to look at other types of late medieval writings. A study of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*, which is based on the same narrative model as the *Fall of Princes*, will reveal if the same type of roles for time referents exist in a similar narrative. Such a study will also address whether Lydgate's variations are part of a wider social consciousness or are individual creations by him. Finally, an examination of whether time in the supposedly pre-modern *Fall* is treated similarly in its early modern continuation, the *Mirror for Magistrates,* could reveal much about the state of time consciousness (the extent to which modernizing elements are integrated and/or rejected) in fifteenth-century and later writings. Undertaking such work should enable us to judge whether any boundaries should be seen to exist between so-called modern and medieval time perceptions.

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[12] See Wilcox for a detailed discussion of reciprocal and chronological narrative models; Donald J. Wilcox, *The Development of Florentine Humanist Historiography in the Fifteenth-Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

In Zeit und im Angesicht der Ewigkeit. Lavinia und Aeneas: eine dauernde Liebe mit weitreichenden Folgen

MARIA E. DORNINGER

Vorbemerkungen zum mittelalterlichen Zeitverständnis

> Oft habe ich lange hin und her gesonnen über den Wandel und die Unbeständigkeit der irdischen Dinge [. . .] Denn es gibt ja zwei Staaten, einen zeitlichen und einen ewigen, einen irdischen und einen himmlischen, einen des Teufels und einen Christi [. . .] Da nun aber viele Heiden, um der Nachwelt die Taten ihrer Vorfahren zu überliefern, über den einen dieser Staaten ausführlich berichten, haben sie uns viele Zeugnisse [. . .] von Elend und Jammer hinterlassen [. . .] Das ist fürwahr, so glauben wir, nach einem sinnvollen, vorausschauenden Plan des Schöpfers geschehen.[1]

Mit diesen Worten leitet der Bischof von Freising, Otto, seine ‚Chronica sive historia duabus civitatibus' ein, die sich in ihrer konzeptionellen Struktur an Augustins *De civitate Dei* orientiert und die Geschichtsauffassung des Kirchenvaters übernimmt. Bereits im Vorwort Ottos

[1] Sepe multumque volvendo mecum de rerum temporalium motu ancipitique statu [. . .] Cum enim duae sint civitates, una temporalis, alia eterna, una mundialis, alia caelestis, una diaboli, alia Christi [. . .] Sed quia plerique gentilium ad commendanda posteris gesta priorum de una earum plura scripserunt, multa documenta virtutum [. . .], prosecutiones vero miseriarum nostrorum [. . .] reliquerunt [. . .] Congrua sane ac provida dispensatione creatoris id factum esse credimus.

Otto von Freising, 'Prologus libri primi', S. 10; in Otto von Freising, *Chronik oder die Geschichte der zwei Staaten*, hrsg. von Adolf Hofmeister, verbessert von Walther Lammers, übersetzt von Adolf Schmidt (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961).

werden so seine theologisch-philosophischen Grundprinzipien sichtbar gemacht, in denen er seine Geschichtsphilosophie preisgibt, die gleichzeitig sein Verhältnis und seine Auffassung zur Zeit reflektieren und repräsentativ für mittelalterliche Denkformen sind. Bereits die Opposition zeitlich und ewig weist auf die entsprechenden unterschiedliche Zeitebenen hin, wobei jedoch nach Augustinus die Bürger der entsprechenden Staaten, zu denen auch Engel gehören, in den überzeitlichen Bereich hineinreichen.[2] Dem Hineinreichen des Überzeitlichen in das Irdische entspricht die von Aaron J. Gurjewitsch diagnostizierte Dualität der Zeitauffassung des mittelalterlichen Menschen, der sich nicht aus einem sakralen Bewusstsein lösen kann. Parallel zum Kampf zwischen Gottesstaat und irdischem Staat erfolgt die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Gut und Böse im Menschen, im Gläubigen selbst, während sich der Mensch auf zwei Ebenen gleichzeitig sieht: auf der Ebene des vergänglichen Lebens und auf der Ebene der Heilsgeschichte, die sein Sein im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte integriert, das nur dadurch einen eigenen Sinn erhält. Gleichzeitig wird jedoch die Bedeutung der Gegenwart durch die Orientierung der Heilsgeschichte an den Zeitstufen der Vergangenheit und Zukunft gemindert.[3] Nichtchristliche Geschichte jedoch erhält ebenso ihre Bedeutung und ihren Sinn *sub specie aeternitatis*, wobei tugendhaftes Verhalten nicht unbelohnt bleiben muss. So ist auch die Größe des Römischen Reiches nach Augustinus der Lohn Gottes für die Tugenden der Römer (*Civ*, 5. 15).

Die Bewegung der irdische Zeit verläuft nach christlicher Auffassung linear[4] und dennoch zyklisch, da sie wieder zu Gott zurückkehrt. Diese Zeit kann in unterschiedlichen Systeme und Schemata eingeteilt werden, die parallel nebeneinander verlaufen können wie die Einteilung der irdischen Zeit in Weltreiche, von der auch Otto von Freising spricht.[5] Verbreitet war ebenso die Gliederung der irdischen Zeit in Weltalter, deren Anzahl sich oftmals an der bei Augustinus verwendeten Sechszahl orientierte.[6]

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[2] Siehe dazu vor allem die Abschnitte ab Buch XI bei Augustinus, Aurelius Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*, übersetzt von Carl Johann Perl, 2 Bde (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1979). Die Abkürzung erfolgt ferner mit: civ.—Da nach A. J. Gurjewitsch die Ewigkeit ein Attribut (des christlichen) Gottes ist, möchte ich bei anderen überzeitlichen, d. h. ausserhalb der irdischen Zeit stehenden Wesen und Phänomen diesen Begriff nach Möglichkeit vermeiden. Zur Ewigkeit als Attribut Gottes, Aaron J. Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild des mittelalterlichen Menschen* (München: Beck, 1989), S. 114.

[3] Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 167, 116.

[4] Der Gedanke des Fortschritts, der sich bei einer linearen Zeitvorstellung aufdrängt, bezieht sich im Mittelalter jedoch nur auf den geistigen, indem sich die Menschen im Verlauf der Geschichte der Erkenntnis Gottes nähern, Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 154.

[5] Otto von Freising, *Chronica*, S. 16 und zu der Theorie der vier Weltreiche: Otto von Freising, *Chronica*, S. 12, Anm. 3 wie auch Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 158.

[6] Zu der Einteilung in sechs Weltalter, die bereits vor Augustinus vorhanden war, siehe auch, Roderich Schmidt, ‘Aetates mundi. Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der

Ähnlich können oder müssen auch welthistorische Ereignisse in einen heilsgeschichtlichen Rahmen gebracht werden, um von dort her ihren eigentlichen Sinn im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte zu erhalten, die auch in ihrer erzieherischen Funktion dem Rezipienten exempla bereitstellt.[7]

Vor dieser Folie müssen auch die mittelalterlichen Romane betrachtet werden, die sich mit Aeneas und mit der Liebe zwischen Aeneas und Lavinia beschäftigen.

Lavinia und Aeneas bei Vergil und in Beispielen ausgewählter mittelalterlicher historiographischer Literatur

Bereits bei Vergil wird das Geschehen der Erringung Latiums durch Aeneas und seine Vermählung mit Lavinia, der Tochter des Latinerkönigs, integriert in die Geschichte des Imperiums. Ein deutlicher Hinweis darauf ist die Reihe der Nachkommen von Aeneas,[8] die ihm von seinem Vater Anchises in der Unterwelt prophezeit wird. Mit dieser differenzierten Darstellung hier des Zukünftigen wird durch die genealogischen Zeitstruktur oder die Zählung der Zeit nach Generationen das Gefühl einer ‚lebendigen Kontinuität' erweckt, in die das Individuum Aeneas eingebunden ist. Gleichzeitig wird durch diese Form der Zeitdarstellung, vor allem wenn sie sich auf die Vergangenheit richtet, das Ansehen einer Person oder einer Familie bekräftigt.[9]

Bei Vergil selbst wird jedoch keine direkte Begegnung zwischen Aeneas und Lavinia dargestellt, während die Dido-Episode großen Raum einnimmt. Vielmehr endet die ‚Aeneis', die zum römischen Staatsepos wurde, mit dem Sieg von Aeneas über seinen Rivalen Turnus. Dieser übergibt dem Sieger seine Verlobte[10] und damit auch deren Erbbesitz. Die Kategorien des Unsterblichen, Überirdischen sind hier vor allem in dem Eingreifen der antiken Götterwelt präsent. Das *fatum*, das Aeneas nach Latium geführt hat, hat sich vollendet.

In den größeren Zusammenhang der vier Weltreiche ordnet Otto von Freising auch dieses Geschehen ein, wobei er den Krieg zwischen Aeneas und Turnus als charakteristisch für das Eiserne Zeitalter der Menschheit zeigt, die das Goldene

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Geschichte', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 67 (1955/56), 288–317 (S. 305).

[7] Vergleiche dazu auch Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 114, 153.

[8] *Aeneis*, VI, 752–892; Publius Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, hrsg. und übersetzt von Johannes Götte, 4. verbesserte Auflage (München: Heimeran, 1979).

[9] Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 103, 112 und siehe dazu auch Wolfgang Speyer, 'Genealogie', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, begründet von Franz J. Dölger, hrsg. von Ernst Dassmann, H. Brakmann, C. Colpe, A. Dihle, J. Engemann, K. Hoheisel, W. Speyer, K. Thraede, 18 Bde (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–2001), IX (1976), hrsg. von Theodor Klauser, Sp. 1145–1269.

[10] *Aen*., XII, 936–37: 'vicisti [. . .] tua est Lavinia coniunx'.

hinter sich gelassen hat. Diese Einordnung der Ereignisse in ein qualitativ schlechteres Zeitalter konnte er bereits aus Vergil übernehmen. Die Beziehung zwischen Aeneas und der Tochter von König Latinus, die Aeneas schließlich einen Sohn gebiert, ist ihm nur eine kurze Erwähnung wert, wie er denn überhaupt der genaueren Ausführung der bei Vergil präsentierten Fakten skeptisch gegenübersteht und mit seiner Vergilkritik nach seiner eigenen historiographischen Ansicht die Spreu vom Weizen trennt, die historischen *facta* von den verführerisch dargestellten *figmenta*.[11]

In den Zusammenhang mit dem Römischen Reich bringt auch die ‚Kaiserchronik' den knappen Hinweis auf die Eroberung Latiums, jedoch wird hier in erstaunlich veränderter Form die Erwerbung der römischen Länder dargestellt. Aeneas habe diese erkämpft, als er eine wilde Sau mit dreißig weißen Jungen fand, so heißt es zeichenhaft von ihm, jedoch die Tochter von König Latinus wird hier überhaupt nicht erwähnt.[12]

Rudolf von Ems, der sich in seiner ‚Weltchronik' (Mitte 13. Jahrhundert) deutlich an dem Schema der sechs Weltalter wie auch an der Opposition von civitas Dei und civitas terrena orientiert, berichtet etwas ausführlicher über dieses Paar. So habe Aeneas im Reiche von König Latinus *hohin pris bejagt*,[13] so dass er Lavinia erringen konnte. Nach Rudolf die schönste junge Dame, die jemals gelebt habe.[14]

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[11] *Aen*., VIII, 319, 324, 341–42. 'Eneas enim in Italiam navibus ex Frigia transvectus Latini regis filiam accepit, gravique inter ipsum et Turnum ob hoc bellorum orto discrimine humano cruore aurea secula in ferrum commutari docuit. Quod Virgilius, utrum veraciter vel adulationis fuco fallaciter, pulcherrimo versuum ordine prosequitur'. Von Freising**,** *Chronik*, I, 26, S. 92–93. Lavinia wird bei Otto nie namentlich, sondern nur als Tochter von König Latinus erwähnt. In Otto von Freising**,** *Chronik*, I, 28 erfolgt der für die weiteren Genealogien (vergleiche dazu von Freising**,** *Chronik*, VII) wichtige Hinweis, dass Aeneas von Lavinia einen Sohn Silvius habe. Bereits im Vorwort zum ersten Buch wird auf die Verbindung von irdischer und ewiger Geschichte, der Verbindung des Römerreiches mit den Franken und damit auf die aktuelle Gegenwart im Sinne einer translatio des Römischen Reiches wie auch auf die Theorie der Weltreiche hingewiesen (von Freising, *Chronica*, I, 11–12, 16).

[12] *Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, hrsg. von Edward Schröder, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Deutsche Chroniken 1, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1892; Nachdr. Berlin: Weidmann, 1964), Vv. 371–72. Zum Nicht-Staufischen der Kaiserchronik siehe in der genannten Ausgabe die Einleitung von E. Schröder: *Kaiserchronik*, I, 1–78 (S. 13). Die Kaiserchronik kann auch als eines der Werke gesehen werden, das den Anspruch der 'German kings to be the true heirs of Caesar' unterstützt: Frank Shaw, 'Kaiserchronik and Eneide', *German Life and Letters*, 24 (1970/71), 295–303 (S. 296).

[13] Rudolf von Ems, *Weltchronik: Aus der Wernigeroder Handschrift*, hrsg. von Gustav Ehrismann (Zürich: Weidmann, 1967), V. 26418.

[14] 'Dú hate den schonesten lip | den magt, jungfrouwe odir wip, | der man in wibis lobe gewuog, | iender bi dén zitin truog', Vv. 26422–26426. Der konstante Preis der Schönheit Lavinias gehört auch zum Topos des Fürstinnenlobes, siehe dazu: Ernst R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1969), S. 189.

Mit ihr erwirbt Aeneas auch das Reich von Latinus, das ihm nach dessen Tode zufällt. Nach dieser seiner schönen Frau benennt Aeneas auch die Feste Lavinium (Vv. 26528–529). Mit dem Sohn beider, der Aeneas postum geboren wird,[15] lebt die trojanische Dynastie im italischen Gebiet weiter (Vv. 26554–57, 26576). Damit erfolgt ein deutlicher Hinweis auf die Kontinuität des Geschlechtes.

Doch noch vor Rudolf wurde das in den Chroniken eher spärlich vermittelte Bild dieser Beziehung und Ehe vor allem in der volkssprachlichen Romanliteratur des 12. Jahrhunderts weiter ausgebaut.

Die Lavinia–Aeneas-Geschichte eignete sich besonders dazu, da hier kaum Vorgaben von Vergil gemacht worden waren, und einem Dichter ein weites Feld für die Konstruktion einer Fabel eröffnet war, die sich den geglaubten historischen Fakten anpassen konnte. Damit kam man auch den Publikumsinteressen besser entgegen, auf die der Problemkreis Liebe und Leid, zwei Grundkonstanten des menschlichen Lebens, große Faszination ausübte.

Diese Ehe und die Ereignisse zuvor reichen jedoch über die private Sphäre hinaus, da sie in ein machtpolitisches, bzw. welthistorisches Geschehen eingebettet sind—wie es bereits durch Vergil vorgegeben war—und können damit nicht von politischen Konnotationen getrennt werden, wie denn auch die Themen: politische Ehekonstellationen, Exil und Landnahme[16] immer präsent sind, auf die auch die Chroniken naturgemäß eingehen.

Nach dem Interesse der Zeit des 12. Jahrhunderts wird vor allem die Entstehung der Beziehung zwischen Aeneas und Lavinia geschildert, deren Beschreibung und ihr Interesse daran auch unter den Vorzeichen der mittelalterlichen Ovid-Rezeption (hinsichtlich Liebespsychologie und Minnekasuistik)[17] zu sehen sind. Auch ein Ausblick auf die darauf folgende Ehe bzw. ihre genealogischen Folgen, die die Geschichte Roms beeinflussen, wird in den

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[15] Aeneas wird bei Rudolf von Ems nach der Hochzeit mit Lavinia eher negativ als Landesherr geschildert. Er ist ein Mann ‘in hertem muote: im wonten mite | herte und grimmecliche site’ (Vv. 26512–13), so dass: ‘in sinir vrevillichir gir | was sin unguot geverte | so grimme und also herte | das Got an im die geschicht | virtragin wollte langir niht’, (Vv. 26530–34). Aeneas wird als Strafe Gottes vom Blitz getötet, Vv. 26536–37.

[16] I. Kasten fasst die Handlungsstruktur in dem Schema ‘Vertreibung und Eroberung einer neuen Herrschaft’, siehe Ingrid Kasten, ‘Herrschaft und Liebe: Zur Rolle und Darstellung des “Helden” im Roman d’Eneas und in Veldekes Eneasroman’, *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 62 (1988), 227–45 (S. 230). Für Aeneas scheint mir jedoch auch der Terminus Heimkehr gemäß, da Aeneas, wiewohl dies durchaus als politischer Vorwand gesehen werden kann, von einer Rückkehr in das Land seiner Ahnen spricht.

[17] Siehe dazu ausführlich am Beispiel von Heinrich von Veldeke: Renate Kistler, *Heinrich von Veldeke und Ovid* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), und Alfred Ebenbauer, ‘Antike Stoffe’, in *Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Volker Mertens und Ulrich Müller (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1984), 247–89, (S. 249).

Antikenromanen gegeben oder zumindest angedeutet.[18]

Die Basis für die weiteren Erörterungen wird vor allem der *Eneasroman* Heinrichs von Veldeke sein, die *Eneide*.[19] Der vor 1174 begonnene und nach 1184 vollendete Roman stützt sich vor allem auf zwei Quellen. So beruft sich Veldeke im ersten Abschnitt mehrmals auf Vergil, bei der Darstellung der Lavinia-Geschichte, vor allem bei der Entstehung ihrer Beziehung zu Aeneas, auf eine französische Quelle. Daher werden auch bisweilen als Vergleichsbasis der zwischen 1150 und 1160 anonym entstandene *Roman d'Énéas* wie auch Vergils *Aeneis* beigezogen werden.

Mit Hilfe einer Textanalyse wird auf die sich entwickelnde Liebesbeziehung zwischen Lavinia und Aeneas eingegangen. Dabei wird vor allem die Frage nach der Qualität ihrer Liebe gestellt werden und inwiefern sich in der Darstellung bereits Anzeichen auf eine zukünftige, dauerhafte Beziehung finden lassen, die Lavinia und Aeneas vor allem als ein ideales romantisches Liebespaar präsentieren. Dabei wird gegebenenfalls auf die Verwobenheit von irdischem mit metaphysischem Geschehen hingewiesen, das auch als Hinweis auf die Dualität der Zeitauffassung des mittelalterlichen Menschen gesehen werden kann. Liegen auch die metaphysischen Eingriffe, wenn welche angenommen werden können, im Bereich der civitas terrena, bzw. innerhalb der civitas diaboli, da es sich hier um ein gewissermaßen heidnisches Volk handelt, so müssen dennoch die Ereignisse nach der Aussage von Otto von Freising innerhalb des *vorausschauenden Plan*[es] *des Schöpfers* gesehen werden.

In weiterer Folge wird das dargestellte Ende dieser Beziehung betrachtet, die wie bereits bei Vergil und damit im Stoff angelegt, kein Ende sondern nur der Anfang zu einem Neuen, Größeren ist, wie es in der Prophezeiung von Anchises eröffnet wird. Mit der Darstellung des Spezifischen dieser Beziehung wird ebenso ihre Bedeutung im welthistorischen Kontext und für die in ihm möglichen Zeitstrukturen unterstrichen.

Die Darstellung der Lavinia-Aeneas-Handlung

Wenn Heinrich von Veldeke auch Vergil häufig zitiert, orientiert sich Heinrich in

[18] Zum Gattungsproblem der 'antiken' oder 'antikisierenden' Romane, für die es keine klare Definition hinsichtlich ihres Genus gibt wie auch der Unklarheit hinsichtlich des diese Gattung konstituierenden corpus, siehe: Udo Schöning, *Thebenroman-Eneasroman-Trojaroman: Studien zur Rezeption der Antike in der französischen Literatur des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), S. 1–5; und Kasten, 'Herrschaft und Liebe', S. 228.

[19] Die Zitate der Eneide im Originaltext und in der Übersetzung richten sich nach folgender Ausgabe; Heinrich von Veldeke, *Eneasroman*, Mhd./ Nhd., nach dem Text von Ludwig Etmüller, übersetzt und mit einem Stellenkommentar von Dieter Kartschoke (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1989).

seiner Darstellung der Landnahme Aeneas' in Latium vor allem an seiner anglo-normannischen Quelle,[20] die die Beziehung zwischen der Erbtochter von König Latinus und Aneas weiter ausgestaltet und im Hinblick auf eine romantische Liebeskonzeption interpretiert.[21]

Der Begriff der romantischen Liebe, vor allem verbreitet zur Bezeichnung einer bestimmten Liebesdarstellung in der Epoche der Romantik, kann jedoch auch für spezifische Ausformungen der Liebe im Mittelalter verwendet werden. Grundprinzipien der romantischen Liebe, die immer auch mit Leidenschaft verbunden ist, sind nach E. Baruch, die den Beginn der romantischen Liebe (skonzeption) in der höfischen Literatur des Mittelalters dargestellt sieht, die ‚Idealisierung des Liebesobjektes', des Objektes der Sehnsucht, wie ein ‚Desinteresse an einer zielgerichteten Absicht', und damit ein Fehlen utilitaristischer Züge.[22] Durch die ‚Idealisierung des Liebesobjektes' zielt diese Form der Liebe auch über den Bereich des Irdischen hinaus auf unvergängliche Strukturen und damit auf den Bereich des Metaphysischen.

Wiewohl die romantische Liebe oft nach der Gleichheit der beiden Partner strebt, existiert sie doch auch innerhalb eines irdischen Systems von Herrschaft und Unterordnung. So ist es nach A. M. Rasmussen möglich, den Diskurs der romantischen Liebe in der mittelalterlichen Rezeption vor allem in den Vulgärsprachen als einen zu deuten, der den Männern politische Gewalt zusichert und vorbehält, indem er auf eine Hierarchie von gender relations aufbaut. Dabei kann sich gerade der Aeneasroman auch als ein Werk darstellen, in dem sich die Unmöglichkeit einer Einheit von Liebe und Macht für eine Frau zeigt.[23]

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[20] Beispiele für die zahlreichen Quellenberufungen auf Vergil sind: *Eneide*, Vv. 336–37, 2706 oder 4581. Die romanische Quelle wird etwa in *Eneide*, Vv. 5199 oder 10392 angesprochen.

[21] Zum Roman d'Énéas, der den Eneasroman maßgeblich beeinflusste, und Heinrich von Veldeke siehe Marie-Luise Dittrich, *Die 'Eneide' Heinrichs von Veldeke* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1966); und Rodney Fisher, *Heinrich von Veldeke: 'Eneas': A Comparison with the 'Roman d'Eneas', and a Translation into English* (Bern: Lang, 1992).

[22] 'Wherever it is found, romantic love involves the idealization of the love object and a disinterest in utilitarian ends. Though it is always fueled by passion, in earlier periods romantic love often seperated love and sex, for consummation was sometimes impossible for the lovers. [. . .] Though it has often aimed for equality and a transcendence of gender polarization, it may exist within a framework of domination | subordination, sometimes overturning the traditional allocation of power': Elaine Hoffmann Baruch, *Women, Love, and Power: Literary and Psychoanalytic Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), S. 2. Zu der unmöglichen Einheit von Liebe und Macht für eine Frau im Aenasroman siehe Ann Marie Rasmussen, *Mothers and Daughters in Medieval German Literature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), S. 34.

[23] Rasmussen, *Mothers and Daughters*, S. 34. Zur Verkörperung der Königin als politisch gefährlicher Frau, die die Macht symbolisiert im Gegensatz zu Lavinia als Verkörperung der Liebe, siehe ebenso Rasmussen, S. 64.

Eine Liebesgeschichte zwischen Aeneas und Lavinia war bei Vergil nicht angelegt, vielmehr scheint es, dass Lavinia dem einheimischen Königssohn Turnus innerlich verbunden ist und die Ehe mit Aeneas nur auf ‚Götter'- und Vaterbefehl—wobei der Vater zum Exponenten des überirdischen Bereiches wird—und schließlich nach dem Recht des Stärkeren mit Aeneas eingeht.[24] Dies eine Konzeption, die sich auch an römisch-patrizischer Heiratspolitik orientierte[25] und der Würde des Hauses der Julier und ihren Nachkommen keinen Abbruch tat. Wie denn für Vergil auch ein Aeneas, der gleichsam als Prinzgemahl an der Spitze des Landes steht bzw. sich ein Land ohne Bewährung nur durch eine Eheschließung erwirbt, nicht in die römisch ideologische Konzeption gepasst hätte.

Mit dem Sieg über den Rivalen Turnus erlangt Aeneas Land und Frau, deren Zuneigung jedoch für das politische Geschehen unbedeutend ist. Die große und tragisch Liebende war indes Dido gewesen, die damit zur großen Bedrohung für die Sendung von Aeneas wird.

Bei Vergil wurde diese Liebe von Dido durch Venus, der Mutter von Aeneas bewirkt,[26] um ihrem Sohn das Wohlwollen der Landesfürstin zu sichern. Bei Lavinia jedoch war anscheinend, da vom fatum verhängt und damit als gesicherte Zukunft

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[24] Vergleiche dazu auch die Verse bei Vergil, in denen Lavinia in Gegenwart von Turnus und ihrer Mutter weint, als sich diese mit dem Schicksal von Turnus, der Lavinia liebt, identifiziert. Eine Liebe Lavinias zu Turnus wird nicht direkt angesprochen. Auffällig ist jedoch bei Vergil die stumme Harmonie zwischen Mutter und Tochter, die auch auf das Einverständnis der Tochter mit der Wahl der Mutter hinsichtlich ihres zukünftigen Gemahles hinweist. Zusätzlich wird bei Vergil der Unterschied zwischen dem älteren Aeneas und dem iuvenis Turnus nicht verwischt. Die Mutter wird ungleich den späteren vulgärsprachlichen Versionen bei Vergil als Person fassbar und mit einem Namen versehen. Ihre Argumentation gegenüber ihrem Gemahl Latinus zielt auf die Verantwortung gegenüber seiner Tochter, auf die Zuverlässigkeit des von Latinus gegebenen Treuwortes und auf die Opposition: fremdes und eigenes Volk, die sich in Aeneas und Turnus verkörpern: *Aen*., VII, 359–72. Als Turnus unterliegt, übergibt er Aeneas, dem Stärkeren, Lavinia: *Aen*., XII, 936–37. Eine Zuneigung zwischen Lavinia und Turnus scheint auch dem Kaplan Gottfried von Viterbo plausibel gewesen zu sein. Bei seiner Version, die sich hier mehr an Vergil orientiert, ist Lavinia zuerst schon über die Wahl ihres Vaters betrübt und zuletzt zutiefst unglücklich, als Turnus im Zweikampf mit Aeneas fällt: Gottfried von Viterbo, *Speculum regum*, ed. by G. Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores in folio, 22 (Hannover: Hahn, 1872; repr. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963), S. 21–93, Vv. 388, 403. Weiterhin wird das Werk zitiert mit *Spec. reg*. Die Angaben beziehen sich, wenn nicht näher angegeben, auf die Verse.

[25] Zur römischen Heiratspraxis in augusteischer Zeit siehe Elaine Fantham, Helene Peet Foley, Natalie Boymel Kampen, Sarah B. Pomeroy und H. A. Shapiro, *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), S. 305 wie auch zum Arrangement von Hochzeiten: Thomas Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), S. 149.

[26] *Aen.*, I, 657–59. Zum näheren Vergleich Vergils mit Heinrich von Veldeke, siehe auch die zahlreichen Ausführungen bei Dittrich, *Die 'Eneide'*.

gegeben, kein weiteres Eingreifen von Venus nötig. So endet mit dem Sieg von Aeneas auch Vergils Epos. Alles Weitere war für den Hörer/Leser vorstellbar. Hier gibt es nur ein sichtbar glückliches Ende für das zukünftige Imperium, jedoch kein sichtbares menschliches Glück.

Dieser Umstand forderte ein poetisches Eingreifen geradezu heraus. Durch die Einführung einer zweiten Liebesgeschichte und damit der Struktur einer Doppelung durch den anglo-normannischen Dichter wurde eine thematische Balance im Epos bewirkt.[27]

Nur ein kleiner Schritt war weiter notwendig, um das Eingreifen der Venus bei Dido zu duplizieren und die Liebesthematik auch im zweiten Teil der Aeneis zwischen Lavinia und Aeneas zu etablieren und damit ein Gegengewicht zu den zahlreichen Kampfhandlungen zu schaffen. Denn warum sollte in einer vom *fatum*, oder von *li dieu* bestimmten Ehe nicht auch Venus ihre Hand im Spiel haben.

Zudem lag es gerade im Hinblick auf die von den ‚Göttern' gelenkte Bestimmung von Lavinia und Aeneas nahe, diese Beziehung auch als eine überlegene gegenüber der von Dido–Aeneas darzustellen.[28]

Da sich in der Dido-Episode eine in gewissem Sinne unerfüllte Liebe zeigt,[29] deren Gegenstück die erfüllte Liebe Lavinias bildet, ist es schwierig, beide Darstellungen unabhängig voneinander zu betrachten.

Dido Versus Lavinia

Gegen Deutungen der Darstellung Heinrichs von Veldeke, welche die Liebe Didos negativer qualifizieren, hatte sich schon Werner Schröder (1957) gewandt, indem er nachwies, dass bei allen drei Minnenden (Aeneas, Dido, Lavinia) die Minne als ein der Krankheit ähnlicher Zustand erfahren wird, der jenseits von *maze* und *zuht* liegt und durch den Willen nicht beeinflusst werden kann.[30] Das Verhalten der verliebten

[27] Von einer Handlungsdoppelung spricht Hans Fromm, 'Doppelweg', in *Werk-Typ-Situation: Studien zu poetologischen Bedingungen in der Älteren deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1969), 64–79 (S. 69).

[28] Vergleiche dazu die Dido-Darstellung im *RdE* mit der Thematik des 'verligens', Vv. 1515–1642, damit verliert Dido auch ihre êre, *Le Roman d'Énéas*, mit dem Text der Ausgabe von J. Salverda de Grave, übers. und eingeleitet von Monica Schöler-Beinhauer (München: Fink 1972). Die Abkürzung erfolgt mit: *RdE*.

[29] Die Liebe Didos muss unerfüllt bleiben, da die Tiefe der Liebe Aeneas' nicht der Tiefe derjenigen Didos entspricht, die Liebe Didos somit zu einer einseitigen Liebe wird, die sie in ihrer Verzweiflung über die geplante Abreise von Aeneas als solche erkennt: *Eneide*, Vv. 2220–21.

[30] Werner Schröder, 'Dido und Lavine', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 88 (1957/58), 161–95 (S. 174–76). W. Schröder schließt sich auch Hans Fromm an und betont: 'Es geht nicht um die rechte Minne, sondern um die rechte Frau'; Fromm, 'Doppelweg', S. 70. Zur Verbindung von Minne und Krankheit und der eigentlichen Minnekrankheit, dem 'Amor

Lavinia unterscheidet sich somit kaum von dem Didos, doch gibt das *fatum* den Auschlag. Die Beziehung wird durch übernatürliches Eingreifen hergestellt, durch den Kuss der Venus bei Dido und durch den Pfeil der Venus bei Lavinia. Beide Damen fühlen die *unmâze* (*Eneide*, Dido, 2365; *Eneide*, Lav., 10149) ihrer Liebe, beide, wie Schröder gezeigt hat, sind zum Äußersten bereit, mit dem Unterschied, dass sich Dido Aeneas hingegeben hat, Lavinia jedoch ihre Bereitschaft signalisiert, indem sie wünscht, dass sie Aeneas vor seinem Zweikampf mit Turnus auch Ring und Gürtel zum Geschenk gegeben hätte, um seine Kräfte zu stärken. Im Unterschied zu Dido jedoch, äußert Lavinia ihre Bereitschaft in der Gewissheit einer gegenseitigen Liebe und vor einer Situation, in der Lavinia Aeneas in Lebensgefahr glaubt, ja im schlimmsten Fall mit seinem Tode rechnen muss. Zudem fehlt es Lavinia trotz aller liebenden Kreativität zur Gelegenheit zu einem näheren tête-à-tête. Dido jedoch gibt sich Aeneas hin, in der Hoffnung, auf eine qualitativ gleiche Liebe bei Aeneas zu treffen.[31] Auch Lavinia wäre bereit, ähnlich wie Dido, den Freitod zu wählen, wenn Aeneas im Kampf besiegt würde und sie einen anderen, nämlich Turnus, ehelichen müsste. Sie will sich vom Turm stürzen, sollte Aeneas im Kampf fallen. Doch gilt es zu bedenken: Für den Erzähler zählt nicht so sehr die Bereitschaft, ihm geht es um die Ausführung, so erwähnt er, dass die Liebe Lavinias bis zur Vermählung, ohne Fehl‘ ist (*Eneide*, 13130–32), während Dido sich Vorwürfe über ihr Verhalten macht (*Eneide*, 1881–84).[32]

Die gesellschaftliche Ausgangsbasis von beiden ist unterschiedlich. Dido ist eine reife, erfahrene Frau, eine zuerst innerhalb ihrer êre frei agierende verwitwete Landesherrin,[33] während Lavinia eine in ihren Handlungsmöglichkeiten

hereos’, die jedoch längere Zeit währt, da keine Erfüllung der Liebe erhofft wird, siehe Bernhard D. Haage, ‘“Amor hereos” als medizinischer Terminus technicus in der Antike und im Mittelalter’, in *Liebe als Krankheit: 3. Kolloquium der Forschungsstelle für Europäische Lyrik des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Theo Stemmler (Tübingen: Narr, 1990), 31–74 (S. 36–38). Diese Krankheit kann heute zu den Psychopathien gerechnet werden. Vermutlich handelt es sich dabei um eine ‘reaktive Depression’, die ‘ein Mißverhältnis zwischen Erlebnis und Reaktion bezüglich Dauer und Intensität’ zeigt, Haage, ‘Amor hereos’, S. 54–55.

[31] Vergleiche *Eneide*, 12216–84. Zur Liebe von Lavinia und Aeneas siehe *Eneide*, 11588–604. Dido scheint es im Gegensatz dazu jedoch sehr lange zu dauern, bis Aeneas ihre Liebe überhaupt bemerkt, *Eneide*, 846–48, 1594–1606.

[32] *Eneide*, 12279–88; und de Grave-Schöler-Beinhauer, *RdE*, 9319–24, schildern die überlegten Selbstmordpläne Lavinias.—Dido bekämpft zunächst ihre Gefühle für Aeneas und fühlt sich zudem zuerst noch an ihr Gelübde gebunden, ihrem toten Gatten Sicheus die Treue zu halten. *Eneide*, 1485–92. Zu ihren Selbstvorwürfen siehe *Eneide*, 1881–86, 2034–35, 2198–200.

[33] *Eneide*, 1303–05. Liebe und êre Didos geraten jedoch in Konflikt und werden zuletzt auch offiziell unvereinbar, als Aeneas Dido verlässt. Zum diesem Konflikt und Problemkreis siehe auch Kasten, ‘Herrschaft und Liebe’, S. 240–41; und Anette Syndicus, ‘Dido zwischen Herrschaft und Minne: Zur Umakzentuierung der Vorlagen bei Heinrich von Veldeke’, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 114 (1992), 53–107 (S. 53–54

eingeschränkte und den Eltern unterstellte junge Königstochter ist. Ähnlich wie Schröder betont auch Rodney Fisher die Parallelen im Verhalten der von der Liebe Ergriffenen, die bis zu intendiertem bzw. ausgeführtem Selbstmord reichen.[34] Auf einen grundlegenden Unterschied in der Darstellung der Minne beider Frauengestalten weist Arthur Groos hin, indem er einen vermeintlichen Fehler Veldekes als mythographischen Gemeinplatz der klassischen und mittelalterlich-lateinischen Literatur nachweist. So liegt kein Missverständnis von Veldekes Seite vor, wenn er in der Dido-Aeneas Liebesgeschichte nur Venus und Cupido agieren, jedoch die Lavinia–Aeneas-Handlung von der Dreiheit Venus, Amor und Cupido bestimmen lässt,[35] die letztlich auf die bereits bei Plato vorgeformte Unterscheidung zwischen zwei Venuserscheinungen mit unterschiedlichen Genealogien zurückgeht, die über Ovid, Lukrez, Cicero, Laktanz schließlich auch bei Apuleius mit Amor als weiser Liebe und mit Cupido als fleischlicher Liebe verbunden werden. Über Martianus Capella[36] gelangt der Topos in das lateinische Mittelalter und findet durch Remigius von Auxerre weite Verbreitung, der diese beiden Liebesarten auf ethische Komponenten reduziert, so dass *Amor* bzw. *Venus casta* der Liebe *in bono* und *Cupido* bzw. *Venus voluptaria* der Liebe *in malo* entsprechen.[37]

Ähnlich interpretiert Bernhard Silvestris tropologisch (gest. nach 1159) in seinem Aeneis-Kommentar[38] die Liebe Didos als *voluptas carnis* und sieht hier gleichsam die *Venus voluptaria*, das wolllüstige Verlangen, im Gegensatz zur Venus caelestis.[39]

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und S. 90). Nach Oonk kommentiert der Erzähler bei Veldeke nur das Verhalten Didos wertend, nicht jedoch das Lavinias, Gerrit J. Oonk, ‘Eneas, Tristan, Parzival und die Minne’, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 95 (1976), 19–39 (S. 34).

[34] Auch hier wird auf die Bereitschaft Lavinias hingewiesen, sich Aeneas vor der Verehelichung hinzugeben. Vor allem jedoch wird versucht, die êre der carthagischen Königin, im Hinblick auf ein ‘verligen’ und damit auf eine Vernachlässigung der herrscherlichen Pflichten mit Hilfe einer Textinterpretation zu rehabilitieren, indem die Schwierigkeiten einer Übersetzung gezeigt werden. Zusätzlich weist Fisher auf die Macht der Liebe hin, der auch eine Königin unterworfen ist: Rodney W. Fisher, ‘Didos êre unde gemach. Zu Veldekes Eneas 66. 4–6’, *Archiv*, 228 (1991), 11–25 (S. 17–19, 20, 25).

[35] Arthur Groos, ‘Amor and His Brother Cupid: The “Two Loves” in Heinrich von Veldeke’s Eneit’, *Traditio*, 32 (1976), 239–55 (S. 240).

[36] Groos, ‘Amor’, S. 240, 243–45.

[37] Groos, ‘Amor’, S. 245–46.

[38] A. Vernet, ‘Bernardus Silvestris’, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Robert Auty, Robert-Henri Bautier, Norbert Angermann et al., 10 Bde (München: Artemis, 1980–1999), I (1980), hrsg. von Robert Auty, Sp. 1978–79 (Sp. 1978).

[39] Groos, ‘Amor’, S. 246. Zu B. Silvestris, siehe auch, Marilyn Desmond, ‘Bernard Silvestris and the Aeneid’, in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin (Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, SUNY, 1990), 129–36 (S. 135).

Zu einem ähnlichen Schluss kommt indirekt Rosemarie Deist, die als Auslöser der Liebe Didos zu Aeneas die Erotik des Kusses des jungen Ascanius sieht, während bei Vergil das Kind Ascanius in Dido mütterliche Gefühle auslöst.[40] Nach R. Kistler geht es in den beiden Minneepisoden nicht um persönliche Unschuld oder Schuld ungleich dem *Roman d'Énéas*, sondern die Wirkungsweise der Minne zeigt sich an Dido und Lavinia als exempla. So kann Dido auch als Opfer der Venus gesehen werden.[41]

Diese Unterscheidung der beiden Erscheinungsformen von Venus musste Heinrich von Veldeke geläufig sein, der eine geistliche Ausbildung hatte, wie seine ‚Servatius-Legende' zeigt[42] und macht daher den gezielten Einsatz von Venus, Cupido und Amor bei den beiden Liebesepisoden wahrscheinlich. Diese Verwendung lässt jedoch auf eine überlegene Lavinia-Handlung und Lavinia-Liebe schließen.

Die Überlegenheit der Lavinia-Handlung sieht Rusinek auch in der bei Veldeke verwendeten Farbsymbolik gegeben. Das Gold als Zeichen der sozialen Geltung von Macht und Reichtum wird nach der Jagdszene bei Dido nicht mehr verwendet, während es bei der Hochzeit Lavinias reichlichst sichtbar ist.[43]

Gleichzeitig kann jedoch die goldene Farbe, das Gold, zusätzliche Konnotationen bewirken. Das Gold kann nach A. Hermann die Göttlichkeit sowie auch den egoistischen Luxus symbolisieren[44] und durch diese Ambivalenz ganz allgemein im Hinblick auf Dido und Lavinia auch auf den Gegensatz zwischen Venus casta und Venus voluptaria verweisen. Das reichliche Auftreten des Goldes könnte einerseits bei Dido gedeutet werden als Zeichen, dass sie im Willen von

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[40] 'In the three Dido versions, the key to the queen's personal character is to be found in the kiss of Ascanius': Rosemarie Deist, 'The Kiss of Ascanius in Vergil's Aeneid, the Roman d'Eneas and Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneide', *German Quarterly*, 67 (1994), 463–67 (S. 467)

[41] Zum Selbstmord Didos und seiner Einschätzung bei Veldeke, siehe: Dirk Matejovski, 'Selbstmord: Rezeptionstypen eines tabuisierten Motivs', in *An den Grenzen höfischer Kultur: Anfechtungen der Lebensordnung in der deutschen Erzähldichtung des hohen Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Gert Kaiser (München: Fink, 1991), 237–64 (S. 254–55). Zu Amor als kosmischer Kraft bei Veldeke siehe auch Groos, 'Amor', S. 250 und im Hinblick auf Didos Schuld vergleiche Kistler, *Heinrich von Veldeke*, S. 236.

[42] Joachim Bumke, *Mäzene im Mittelalter: Die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland 1150–1300* (München: Beck, 1979), S. 116.

[43] Bernd A. Rusinek, 'Die Einschreibung der Herrschaft in das Liebesbegehren als Unterscheidungsmerkmal der beiden Minne-Handlungen', *Monatshefte*, 78 (1986), 11–24 (S. 14–15). Zudem schreibt Lavinia mit einem goldenen Griffel den Namen Aeneas (Vv. 110618–20).

[44] Siehe dazu A. Hermann, 'Farbe', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, begründet von Franz J. Dölger, hrsg. von Ernst Dassmann, H. Brakmann, C. Colpe, A. Dihle, J. Engemann, K. Hoheisel, W. Speyer, K. Thraede, 18 Bde (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–2001), VII (1969), hrsg. von Theodor Klausner, Sp. 358–447 (Sp. 434).

Venus handelt, da sie Aeneas gute Aufnahme gewähren soll, wobei eine dauernde Liebe nicht vorgesehen war. Insofern verschwindet auch konsequent nach der Vereinigung von Dido und Aenas das Gold in der Didohandlung. Jedoch kann dieses bei Dido verwendete Gold auch als Scheingold gedeutet werden, das nachdem sein Ziel: die Erfüllung der voluptas erreicht ist, ebenso nicht mehr präsent sein muss. Damit würde indirekt wieder der Gegensatz zwischen *civitas Dei* und *civitas terrena* aufgegriffen werden.

Doch finden sich noch weitere Ansatzpunkte in der Darstellung der Liebe Lavinias, welche ihre Liebe noch über diejenige von Dido, der eigentlich großen Liebenden, hinausgehen lässt. So scheut sich Dido zunächst, Aeneas ihre Liebe zu gestehen (*Eneide*, 1650–51) Jedoch Lavinia, die durch ihre gesellschaftliche Stellung in ihrer Handlungsfreiheit eingeengter ist, will ihre Liebe Aeneas auf ‚schickliche' Weise offenbaren (*Eneide*, 10740), nachdem sie ihre Liebe zu ihm erkannt und sich dafür entschlossen hat. Sie schreitet zur Tat, indem sie einen Brief, an einem Pfeil befestigt (*Eneide*, 10785–935), mit Hilfe eines engagierten Junkers, Aeneas vor die Füße schießen lässt. Dabei kann der Pfeil hier auch analog zum Pfeil Cupidos gesehen werden, bzw. Lavinia, der Rolle von Venus als movens vorgreifend, betritt damit gleichsam mythologischen Raum. So ist es der Brief von Lavinia, der Aeneas Liebe zuerst zum Glühen bringt. Zusätzlich beinhaltet der Liebesbrief nach der Ansicht Rusineks zugleich eine gesellschaftliche Dimension, damit ist die Ehre der Liebenden nicht gefährdet.[45]

Im Gegensatz zu Dido, die als Landesherrin zwar auf ihre êre, ihr gesellschaftliches Ansehen, achten muss, ist Lavinia ohne eine zustimmende und beratende Vertraute massiven Widerständen gegen ihre Liebe von der Seite ihrer Mutter ausgesetzt.[46] Ihre Liebe muss sich in gewissem Sinne gegen diesen Widerstand behaupten und bewähren und sich damit als *staete* erweisen. Eine gewisse Beständigkeit hatte auch Dido in ihrer Liebe zu Aeneas gezeigt, indem sie den Selbstmord wählte. Dennoch wird ihre Liebe, die schließlich in den Tod geht, vom Erzähler zuerst als *rehte minne* (*Eneide*, 1890), dann jedoch als *unrehte minne* bezeichnet (*Eneide*, 2430). In den vulgärsprachlichen Versionen wird die Beständigkeit der Liebe Lavinias noch durch die raffinierte Darstellung einer Scheinisolation von Lavinia betont. Durch die Darstellung der Auseinandersetzung mit der Mutter, das Nicht-Vorhanden-Sein eines direkten Gespräches mit dem Vater oder auch in ihren Minnemonologen wird der Eindruck einer beinahe totalen Isoliertheit Lavinias in ihrem Entschluss suggeriert, die jedoch nicht so ganz gegeben sein kann, da Lavinia vom Willen ihres Vaters für sie weiß und sich dadurch von ihm unterstützt wissen muss.

Wie Lavinia wird auch Dido ohnmächtig. Die Ohnmacht bemächtigt sich Dido

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[45] Rusinek, 'Die Einschreibung der Herrschaft', S. 21.

[46] Vergleiche dazu die Gespräche Lavinias mit ihrer Mutter, *Eneide*, 9743–990, 10506–718, 13012–88.

während des Abschiedsgespräches mit Aeneas, das der faktischen Trennung vorausgeht (*Eneide*, 2160). Bei Lavinia tritt sie auf nach der eigentlichen, unwiderruflichen Entscheidung für Aeneas nach dem zweiten Gespräch mit der Mutter (*Eneide*, 10718–85).

Während Dido vor allem als *diu mare* oder *diu rîche* ihrer gesellschaftlichen Position entsprechend bezeichnet wird, überwiegt bei Lavinia das Epitheton die *schône* bzw. *lussam* (*Eneide*, 11026, 13018),[47] sie ist jedoch auch für Veldeke die *maget reine* (*Eneide*, 10785), eine Charakterisierung, die sie in die Nähe der Venus casta bringt und Verbindungen zum immer bedeutender werdenden Marienkult herstellt.[48] Lavinia erscheint so in ihrem Handeln, jedoch auch durch die Trias: Venus, Cupido, Amor als Antitypos von Dido. Sie bezeichnet auf dem Hintergrund der Darstellung von Aeneas entscheidendem Weg zu seiner eigentlichen Bestimmung, die durch das Metaphysische veranlasst ist, die erfüllte Liebe und richtige Frau. Dennoch begegnet der Erzähler auch Dido mit einer gewissen Sympathie. Zwischen der Darstellung von Typos und Antitypos steht als deutlicher Vermittler der ‚göttlichen Bestimmung' Anchises in der Unterwelt, der bereits auf Lavinia als zukünftige Frau von Aeneas hinweist (*Eneide*, 3640–49). Betrachtet man Aeneas in der Unterwelt nicht als der irdischen Zeit entrissen, da er sein irdisches Sein in den Bereich des Überzeitlichen mitnimmt, so begegnen sich hier synchron die drei Zeitstufen der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft.

Lavinia und Aeneas

Der wohl größte Unterschied, der in den Beziehungen Dido–Aeneas und Lavinia–Aeneas zum Tragen kommt und der auch bei Heinrich von Veldeke deutlich gemacht wird, ist jedoch das Maß der gegenseitigen Liebe, die diese Konstellationen verbindet und differenziert. Im Kontrast zur Dido-Handlung präsentiert sich die Zuneigung von Aenas deutlich in dem auch ihm zugestandenen Liebesmonolog, in dem er seine Gefühle zu Lavinia zeigt. Beim Abschied von Dido hatte Aeneas noch erklärt: ‚ichn wart nieman sô holt, | sô ich û bin unde was.' und damit eine Neigung seinerseits zu Dido bekundet, eine Neigung, deren geringe Tiefe jedoch von Dido durchschaut wird.[49]

[47] '[L]ussam' ist vor allem durch das Reimwort 'quam' bedingt, z.B. 'diu junkvrouwe lussam | daz her (Aenas) dar zû geriten quam': *Eneide*, 11495–96.

[48] Zur verstärkt aufkommenden Marienverehrung im 12. und dann auch im 13. Jahrhundert, die durch über die Kreuzzüge und das Mönchtum vermittelte Einflüsse verursacht wurde, siehe Walter Delius, *Geschichte der Marienverehrung* (München: Reinhardt, 1963), S. 162. Nach Delius hatte im hohen Mittelalter der Frauendienst wie auch das Zölibat einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Steigerung der Marienverehrung geleistet: Delius, *Geschichte*, S. 162.

[49] 'Ir (Aeneas) habet die barmecheit verloren, | ûr herze is âne minne.', so Dido in *Eneide*,

Die Liebesbeziehung zu Lavinia wird jedoch grundsätzlich anders gestaltet. Die Entwicklung der Liebe beider läuft mit einer kleinen Verzögerung parallel. Bei beiden sind die Augen das Einfallstor für die Liebe,[50] und so macht sie der Anblick des anderen bereit, von der Macht der Minne getroffen zu werden. Zuerst ist es Lavinia, die, als sie vom Fenster des Palas (*Eneide*, 10015–17) Aeneas erblickt, von seiner Schönheit ergriffen (*Eneide*, 10025) und vom Pfeil der Venus getroffen wird (*Eneide*, 10040). Damit wird ihre Liebe ‚von oben' sozusagen verordnet und unausweichlich (*Eneide*, 10089). Ähnlich verhält es sich bei Aeneas, der durch den Brief Lavinias bewegt wird und dann, indem er näher reitet, Lavinia besser betrachten kann. Dabei wird er von Amors Pfeil getroffen (*Eneide*, 10979–81), der durch das Auge das Herz trifft (*Eneide*, 11199).

Anderer Ansicht ist Groos, der nicht so sehr Amor and Venus als Auslöser für die Liebe betrachtet, sondern die vorangehende Betrachtung der Person, die schließlich geliebt wird: ‚Eneas's alternating invocations of Minne and its mythological representations even carries the internalization of his emotional state to the point of reducing his mother Venus to an allegory of love'. Ähnlich sieht auch R. Schnell als Ursache der Liebe die mündlich erhaltenen Informationen über die später

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2220–21, oder 2111–13. Diese Einschätzung von Aeneas' Liebe wird jedoch bei Veldeke von Aeneas' späterem Eingeständnis im Angesicht seiner Liebe zu Lavinia in gewissem Sinne bestätigt, siehe *Eneide*, 11180–88. Zur kritischen Sichtweise des Verhaltens von Aeneas Dido gegenüber vergleiche auch die Beschreibung von Aeneas hinsichtlich seiner Handlungsweise gegenüber Dido bei Hartmann von Aue als 'vil listige(n) man | [. . . der sie] vil ungeselleclîchen liez | und enleiste ir nicht des er gehiez: | sus wart diu vrouwe betrogen.', Vv. 7554, 7560–62. Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, hrsg. von Albert Leitzmann, fortgeführt von Ludwig Wolff, besorgt von Christoph Cormeau und Kurt Gärtner, 6. Aufl. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985). Zur êre von Aeneas siehe auch Kasten, 'Herrschaft und Liebe', S. 238–39; Kasten, 'Herrschaft und Liebe', S. 242 auch kurz zur Hartmann-Stelle.

[50] Vergleiche dazu auch Andreas Capellanus Kapitel I von *De Amore*: 'Est igitur illa passio (amor) innata ex visione et cogitatione': Andreas Capellanus Regii Francorum, *De amore*: *Libri tres*, recensuit E. Trojel (München: Fink, 1972), S. 6. Dieser Vorgang wird bei Heinrich von Veldeke sowohl an Lavinia als auch an Aeneas bestens gezeigt. Siehe zum Vorgang der cogitatio, in der auch die Furcht der beiden sichtbar wird, falls ihre Liebe nicht erwidert werden sollte, *Eneide*, 10217–23 (Lav.), und 11240–50 (Aen.). Zur Blindheit, die die Liebe verhindert, vergleiche Capellanus, *De amore*: *Libri tres*, S. 11. Zu Andreas Capellanus siehe auch Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), S. 285, und im Zusammenhang mit der höfischen Liebe, Ingrid Kasten, 'Der amour courtois als "überregionales" Kulturmuster', in *Interregionalität der deutschen Literatur im europäischen Mittelalter*, hrsg. von Hartmut Kugler (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 161–74 (S. 165). Zur Verbindung von Ovid und A. Capellanus siehe auch Ursula Liebertz-Grün**,** 'Minne-Utopie im Mittelalter', in *Literarische Utopie-Entwürfe*, hrsg. von Hiltrud Gnüg (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1982), 80–90 (S. 86). Zur Minnekonzeption bei Heinrich von Veldeke auch Kistler, *Heinrich von Veldeke*, S. 121.

geliebte Person, ihren Anblick oder den Inhalt des Briefes, so dass Venus, Cupido und Amor auch als Entlastung der menschlichen libido gesehen werden können.[51]

Dem gegenüber gilt es jedoch zu bemerken, dass Lavinia in demselben Moment, in dem sie Aeneas erblickt, vom Pfeil der Venus getroffen wird (*Eneide*, 10031–37). Ähnliches gilt auch für Aeneas, der als er den Pfeil von der zuerst die Stelle von Venus vertretenden Lavinia in die Hand nimmt, eine erste gefühlsmäßige Erschütterung erfährt (*Eneide*, 10920), doch wiederum im selben Moment, als er Lavinia erblickt, wird er durch den Pfeil Amors verwundet (*Eneide*, 10978–84), so dass Venus und Amor hier als die eigentlichen Verursacher der Liebe gesehen werden können. Bei Aeneas wird noch zusätzlich zur Qualität seiner Liebe bemerkt: ‚*und Vênûs diu mûder sîn | geschûf daz im daz magedîn | lieb wart als sîn eigen lîb, | daz im nie weder maget noch wîb | dâ vor nie sô lieb ne wart*‘: *Eneide*, 10985–89. Für Ingeborg Glier zeigt sich bei Veldeke eine ‚Tendenz zum Personifizieren‘[52] Dennoch scheint mir mehr die Nebenbemerkung Gliers im Hinblick auf eine Untersuchung Dittrichs den Kern zu treffen: ‚In der „Eneide“ [. . .] wahren, wenn auch unter verschiedenen Voraussetzungen Venus und die Minne noch gelehrte Spuren ihrer antiken göttlichen Abkunft‘.[53]

Wiewohl der Götterapparat in den Antikenromanen erheblich reduziert ist und an Einfluss verliert, die Götter selbst auch psychologisch gedeutet und in Charaktere des Personals der Romane integriert werden (z.B. Allekto, die zum charakterlichen Bestandteil der in den Vulgärsprachen ohne Namen bleibenden Mutter Lavinias wird), so werden dennoch etwa Venus oder Cupido von den handelnden Personen entsprechend dem antiken Kolorit der Romane als mythologische Gestalten wahrgenommen, (*Eneide*, Lav. 10110) wiewohl gleichzeitig am Beispiel von Amor die allegorische Deutung desselben als kosmische Macht der Minne sichtbar wird (*Eneide*, Mutter, 9910–15). Ganz ähnlich sieht auch R. Kistler den Sachverhalt:

> Trotz der Personifikation der Minne bei Veldeke werden die Liebesgötter weder völlig aufgegeben noch verlieren sie ihre konkrete mythologische Vorstellung. Eine Reduktion auf eine rein ornamentale Funktion wird auch durch den antiken Kontext verhindert. [. . .] Eine von den Liebesgöttern verursachte Minne schafft aber nicht nur rhetorischen Glanz, sondern sie wird auch als Macht außerhalb der Psyche verstanden.[54]

Dabei bricht das Überirdische, Ausserzeitliche in die irdische Zeit ein.

Wichtiger ist R. Kistler im Gegensatz zu R. Schnell die Minneauffassung, die

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[51] Groos, ‘Amor’, S. 254. Rüdiger Schnell, *Causa amoris: Liebeskonzeption und Liebesdarstellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur* (München: Francke, 1985), S. 218.

[52] Ingeborg Glier, *Artes amandi: Untersuchung zu Geschichte, Überlieferung und Typologie der deutschen Minnereden* (München: Beck, 1971), S. 29.

[53] Glier, *Artes amandi*, S. 29 Anm.27.

[54] Kistler, *Heinrich von Veldeke*, S. 206.

aus den Texten erschließbar ist, von der persönlichen Ansicht der Interpreten, Dichter und des Publikums zu trennen.[55] Gerade die Antike als Schauplatz der Eneide lässt eine Remythisierung der in ihr präsentierten antiken göttlichen Gestalten nicht als unbedingt notwendig erscheinen.[56]

Gleich zu Beginn ihrer Liebe ist sich Lavinia, durch die Minnelehre ihrer Mutter vorbereitet, gewiss,[57] dass bei einer Liebesbeziehung die Liebe eine gegenseitige sein muss (*Eneide*, 10222–23). Daher ängstigt sie sich zuerst wie Aeneas, dass ihre Liebe nicht auf eine Gegenliebe stoßen könnte (*Eneide*, 11239–41). Die Liebe der beiden muss zuerst gewissermaßen auf Brief- und vor allem Augenkontakt beschränkt bleiben, was ihrer beider Unsicherheit, vom anderen geliebt zu werden, fördert. Erst kurz vor der Vermählungszeremonie findet das erste und letzte dem Leser/Hörer vorgeführte gemeinsame Gespräch statt, in dem sich beide ihrer Liebe versichern und in dem auch zugefügte Schmerzen vergeben werden (*Eneide*, 12894–916). Aneas und Lavinia werden so als ideales ‚christliches' Liebespaar und damit auch als exemplum präsentiert, das auch mit dem Warten auf die von beiden ersehnte Vereinigung mehr oder weniger gut umgehen kann, jedoch zuletzt die Situation meistert. Die weitere liebende Beziehung der beiden in der auf die Vermählung folgende Zeit wird nur mehr durch den Erzähler geschildert (etwa *Eneide*, 13255,85).

Die Symptome der Minnekrankheit zeigen sich an beiden. Nicht bei Veldeke, jedoch im *Roman d'Énéas* wird sogar Aeneas ohnmächtig (*RdE*, 8932–33).[58]

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[55] Kistler, *Heinrich von Veldeke*, S. 207 Anm. 363.

[56] Zur Remythisierung siehe Schnell, *Causa amoris*, S. 373–78.

[57] Im ersten Gespräch mit der Mutter wird Lavinia über die Minne aufgeklärt. Sie erfährt, dass man jemandem ein Herz schenken kann, wie mächtig die Minne ist, die über die Welt herrscht, und welcher Art diese sei. Auch die Zusammengehörigkeit von Liebe und Leid wird ihr gezeigt, wie auch die Symptome der Liebe. Am Beispiel Amors im Tempel erfährt Lavinia von den Arten der Liebe, die durch den goldenen bzw. bleiernen Pfeil ausgelöst werden. (*Eneide*, S. 549–51,Vv. 9790–953). Huschenbett sieht in der Lavinia-Episode zudem im allgemeinen die 'ausführlichste und auch vollständigste Minnelehre' bis zu Konrad Fleck: Dieter Huschenbett, 'Minne als Lehre', in *Liebe in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Jeffrey Ashcroft, Dietrich Huschenbett und William Henry Jackson (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987), S. 50–60 (S. 55). Zur Tradition des goldenen und bleiernen Pfeils, deren Quelle E. Faral in den 'Metamorphosen' Ovids ermittelte, und zu der Salbenbüchse Cupidos siehe Kistler, *Heinrich von Veldeke*, S. 117–18.

[58] Diese Gleichheit der Liebenden in ihren gefühlsmäßigen Zuständen scheint auf den consens-Gedanken der Kanonisten hinzuweisen. Mann und Frau sind in sexueller Hinsicht einander gleich, auch ist die Intensität ihres Verlangens gleich stark ausgeprägt. Diese Anschauung legitimierte, nach Brundage, die weibliche Sexualität innerhalb der Ehe und trug nicht unwesentlich dazu bei, die Ehe als eine Verbindung von gegenseitiger Zuneigung ('marital affection') zu sehen, James A. Brundage, 'Sexual Equality in Medieval Canon Law', in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. by Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 66–79 (S. 71).

Allerdings ist die Ohnmacht keine Spezialität von Aeneas im *Roman d'Énéas*. Turnus fällt vor der Bahre mit der toten Camilla sogar dreißigmal in Ohnmacht (*RdE*, 7509–11) und übertrifft damit der Dramatik der Situation gemäß Aeneas. Gleichzeitig wird eine geheime Verbindung zwischen Camilla und Turnus suggeriert.

Aeneas wie Lavinia beklagen die Macht der Minne, die ihnen Schmerzen durch die Trennung zufügt hat, und glauben, die Rache von Cupido, Amor und Venus zu fühlen (*Eneide*, Lav., 10155–63; *Eneide*, Aen., 11060–65), weil sie sich bisher nicht um *minne* gekümmert bzw. sogar dagegen gesprochen haben.

Dabei fällt die Stilisierung dieser Minne zu einer romantischen jugendlichen Liebe besonders auf. Aeneas und Lavinia werden einander ebenbürtig gemacht. Die Unkenntnis der Liebe hat nun auch Aeneas ergriffen, der in dieser Hinsicht als Minne-Neuling und dadurch beinahe *reine* erscheint, ungeachtet dessen, dass er bereits einmal glücklich verheiratet war und aus der Ehe mit Kreusa einen—nach Veldeke—erwachsenen Sohn hat. Die Begegnung mit Dido in Karthago wie in der Unterwelt ist wie weggewischt.[59] Zusätzlich zur inneren Verjüngung wird Aeneas auch äußerlich zum jungen Mann, *jungelinc*, stilisiert und das eigentliche Alter von Aeneas verwischt, der damit auch von Lavinia als der *minnesâlige*[60] und als *lussam* (schön)[61] wahrgenommen wird. Als Jüngling *(jungelink*) tritt Aeneas bereits bei Dido in Erscheinung (*Eneide*, 1764). Damit wird eine romantische Liebe unter scheinbar Gleichaltrigen oder eher dem Alter Entsprechenden evoziert,[62] die jedoch nicht so bei Vergil angelegt ist, bei dem die politische Praxis offener zu Wort kommt.[63]

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[59] Dazu passt allerdings Aeneas Schuldbekenntnis und Selbstanklage hinsichtlich Dido nicht, die etwas aufgesetzt klingt, jedoch Aeneas entlasten soll (*Eneide*, 11180–88). Zur Reinheit von Aeneas siehe die Stelle bei A. Capellanus, *De Amore*, Cap. IV, S. 10 über den Liebenden:

> O, quam mira res est amor, qui tantis facit hominem fulgere virtutibus tantisque docet quemlibet bonis moribus abundare! Est et aliud quiddam in amore non brevi sermone laudandum, quia amor reddit hominem castitatis quasi virtute decoratum, quia vix posset de alterius etiam formosae cogitare amplexu, qui unius radio fulget amoris.

[60] *Eneide*, 10023.

[61] *Eneide*, 10097.

[62] Zur Verbindung von romantischer Liebe und Partnern gleichen Alters, siehe John H. Mundy, *Europe in the High Middle Ages (1150–1309)* (London: Longman, 1991), S. 148. Die beständige Jugend des Helden im Epos sieht Gurjewitsch auch als ein Charakteristikum bzw. als Spur des Mythos in der Romanliteratur: Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 162.

[63] Siehe dazu die Prophezeiung von Anchises in der Unterwelt über die Zukunft von Aeneas: *Aeneis*, VI, 763–64. Aeneas wird hier als 'longaev[us]' bezeichnet: 'Silvius, Albanum nomen tua postuma proles | quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx | educet'.

Nicht nur Lavinia will Aeneas ihre Liebe offenbaren und tut es auch, sondern auch Aeneas wünscht ihr seine starken, ja maßlosen Gefühle zu eröffnen. Nur männliche Verhaltensnormen halten ihn davor zurück:

> die man soln den wîben
> sus unmâzer minne
> niht bringen innen,
> wand ez ne wâre nie gût,
> si worden alze hôch gemût
> und alze stolz wider die man.
> der is wîse der sich bewaren kann,
> swenne es ime nôt geschiht.[64]

Die gegenwärtige und zukünftige *staete* (Beständigkeit) der beiden wird auch in ihren Minnemonologen durch ihren Willen zum Verzicht angedeutet. Beiden bedeutet die Liebe mehr als zehn Königreiche[65] oder die ganze Welt selbst,[66] beide glauben nicht leben zu können, ohne den anderen, jeder liebt den anderen mehr als sich.[67]

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[64] *Eneide*, 11296–301. Zu den unterschiedlichen Verhaltensnormen, die die Frau als die schwächere hinsichtlich ihrer Gefühle sehen, siehe auch die Ausführungen von Anna, der Schwester Didos: *Eneide*, 1599–600.

[65] Vergleiche Andreas Capellanus: zu den Minnesymptomen und der Verzichtsbereitschaft, die aus der Liebe entwächst mit dem Ziel damit den geliebten Menschen zu erlangen, siehe auch die Beschreibung der inneren Haltung eines Liebenden in Kapitel II:

> In amantis ergo conspectu nil valet amoris actui comparari, potiusque verus amans cunctis exspoliari divitiis vel omni eo, quod humano posset excogitari ingenio, sine quo quis vivere non potest, penitus provari eligeret quam sperato vel acquisito amore carere. [. . .] Videmus enim ipsos mortem contemnere nullasque timere minas, divitias spargere

Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, S. 6. Überhaupt erscheint die Darstellung der Liebe von Lavinia und Aeneas und ihrer Effekte bei Heinrich von Veldeke von Ovid geprägt und als genauere Illustration der Ausführungen von A. Capellanus, insbesondere der ersten Kapitel von *De amore*. Zu Ovid und Veldeke siehe Kistler, *Heinrich von Veldeke*, S. 121.

[66] Vergleiche dazu auch ähnliche Aussagen in der Minnelyrik wie etwa: ‘Waere die werlt alle mîn’ (Minnesangs Frühling, IX), das bereits von K. Lachmann auf Eleonore von Poitou bezogen worden ist, in *Des Minnesangs Frühling: Kommentare 1. Untersuchungen*, von C. von Kraus, durch Register erschlossen und um einen Literaturschlüssel ergänzt, hrsg. von H. Tervooren und H. Moser (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1981), S. 8 und *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, unter Benutzung der Ausgaben von Karl Lachmann und Moriz Haupt, Friedrich Vogt und Carl von Kraus, bearbeitet von Hugo Moser und Helmut Tervooren, 36. Aufl. (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1977), S. 21.

[67] *Eneide*, 12641, 13277.

So wird auch Aeneas durch Lavinia zum Minneritter. Nicht allein besiegt er Turnus durch seine bessere militärisch-technische Ausrüstung, sondern er bekommt Kräfte durch den Anblick Lavinias, die sich ihrer Macht durch die Minne bewusst ist.[68] Die erzieherische Macht der Minne zeigt sich auch in der *milte*, die Aeneas Lavinia zuliebe ausübt,[69] und ihre zeitensprengende Macht, indem dem liebenden Aeneas die vierzehn Nächte bis zur Vermählung wie ein Jahr erscheinen (*Eneide*, 12736–37). Dabei wird die Dauer von üblichen Maßeinheiten der irdischen Zeit durch die Relativität der Zeitauffassung, die der Liebende wahrnimmt, aufgelöst. Der Wechsel von Tag und Nacht verliert damit seine Gültigkeit als Maß. Ähnlich wie für Gott tausend Jahre ein Tag sein können (Psalm 90. 4), da er außerhalb der irdischen Zeit steht, durchdringt den Liebenden die kosmische Macht der Liebe, lässt ihn teilhaben am Überirdischen und verändert seine Zeitwahrnehmung.[70]

Die romantische Darstellung dieser Liebesbeziehung und der Widerstand der politisch aktiven Mutter verschleiern jedoch das ursprüngliche Arrangement dieser Beziehung durch den Vater Latinus, der die Zustimmung zu dieser Verbindung schon vor der Liebe der Tochter zu Aeneas gegeben hatte. So wäre auch nach realpolitischer Praxis und der Vorlage von Vergil Aeneas auf alle Fälle zum Schwiegersohn und Beherrscher Latiums geworden. Die romantische Darstellung kann als Auswirkung des von der Kirche verstärkt eingeforderten consens-Gedankens beider Ehe-Partner gesehen werden,[71] jedoch auch als Milderung der realpolitischen Handlung des Stoffes, indem sie die Möglichkeit einer tiefen Liebe innerhalb einer aus politischen Gründen geschlossenen Ehe zeigt. Dadurch wird

[68] *Eneide*, 12718. Bei Vergil ist es Turnus, der durch den Anblick Lavinias noch mehr zum Kampf um seine Geliebte angespornt wird: *Aen*., XII, 69–71. Zum Liebenden, der ein *miles amoris* ist und auch außerhalb einer Kampfsituation um der Geliebten und der Zusammenkunft willen, Mühen auf sich nimmt, siehe Publius Ovidius Naso, *Amorum libri tres*, übers. und hrsg. von Michael von Albrecht (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1997), I. 9 und II. 12.

[69] *Eneide*, 12995.

[70] Durch das Aufgreifen der Relativität der Zeitauffassung wird nach Gurjewitsch auch die Problematik von relativer und objektiver Zeit angesprochen. Die Relativität der Zeit war bereits Augustinus bekannt: Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 164. Zur Liebe, der Minne, die hier geradezu als kosmische Kraft geschildert wird, siehe besonders das erste Gespräch Lavinias mit ihrer Mutter (*Eneide*, 9799–807). Die Mutter beschreibt die Minne als diejenige, die von Anbeginn herrscht und bis zum jüngsten Tag über die Welt. Die Einschränkung ‘über die Welt’ bezieht sich nicht auf ihre Existenz, sondern auf die Dauer ihrer Herrschaft.

[71] Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts (Alexander III.) wurde der ‘consensus’ als einzig konstitutiver Kern der Eheschließung betrachtet. Das Verlobungsrecht der familienrechtlichen Gewalthaber bildete sich zurück und wurde zu einem Eigenbewilligungsrecht: P. Mikat, ‘Ehe’, in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, hrsg. von Adalbert Erler und Ekkehard Kaufmann, mitbegründet von Wolfgang Stammler, 5 Bde (Berlin: Schmidt, 1971–98), I (1971), Sp. 807–33 (Sp. 819). Siehe dazu auch Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität*, S. 275–76.

auch die menschliche Tragik der oft aus ebendiesen politischen Gründen erzwungenen Ehen erträglicher und hoffnungsvoller gemacht, Ehen, die auch für Männer doch vor allem für die Frauen häufig nicht nur eine seelische Vergewaltigung bedeuten, aus der es oft kein Entrinnen und keine Abhilfe gibt. So konnte als glückliche Ehe diejenige Friedrich Barbarossas mit Beatrix von Burgund gelten, als weniger gute die des vierundsechzigjährigen byzantinischen Kaisers Andronikus mit seiner zwölfjährigen Verwandten (Agnes von Frankreich, 1183), deren Gemahl er vorher hatte ermorden lassen. Eher unglücklich wurde der siebzehnjährige Welf V. mit der etwa fünfundzwanzig Jahre älteren Mathilde von Tuscien verheiratet. [72]

So waren in den meisten Fällen die drei augustinischen Ehegüter, *fides*, *proles* und *sacramentum* bzw. auch Verfügungsgewalt über Land, das,[73] was man von einer Ehe erwartete und erwarten konnte; wobei nach Augustinus zumindest im Falle ‚einer gegenseitigen Liebe die treue Liebe der Gatten als Hinweiszeichen (‚sacramentum signum') auf das Mysterium (‚sacramentum') des Liebesbundes Christi mit der Kirche' interpretiert werden konnte.[74]

Die Folgen

Heinrich von Veldeke lässt seine Eneide beinahe märchenhaft enden. Vereinfacht kann der Ausgang des Romans folgendermaßen aufgefasst werden: die guten Protagonisten (Latinus, Aeneas, Lavinia) siegen über die bösen (die Mutter, Turnus),

[72] Gunther Wolf, 'Die byzantinisch-abendländischen Heirats- und Verlobungspläne zwischen 750 und 1250', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 37 (1991), 15–32 (S. 26); und George Ostrogorski, *History of the Byzantine State* (Rutgers: Rutgers University Press, 1999), S. 396–98. Bei Ostrogorski werden Andronikus und Agnes um jeweils ein Jahr älter angegeben. Als sehr glücklich galt die Ehe von Philipp von Schwaben mit Maria/Irene: Wolf, 'Die byzantinisch-abendländischen Heirats- und Verlobungspläne', S. 27. Zu Mathilde von Tuscien, deren Ehe mit Welf V. nach wenigen Jahren aus machtpolitischen Gründen (sie war im Hinblick auf Gebietsanwartschaft geschlossen worden) getrennt wurde, siehe auch Karl Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe: Eine Biographie* (München: Beck 1979; dtv 1993), S. 6.

[73] Vergleiche dazu auch sämtliche politische Verlobungen wie Eheschließungen, z.B. auch im 13. Jahrhundert die Verlobung und schließlich Ehe Elisabeths von Ungarn mit Ludwig von Thüringen: Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität*, S. 278. Siehe auch Brundage, 'Sexual Equality', S. 71. Die Ehegüter, die Fortpflanzung, Lebensgemeinschaft und heilige Verpflichtung einschließen, legt Augustinus in seiner Schrift 'Über das Gut der Ehe' dar. 'sacramentum' umfasst dabei eine 'heilige' unwiderrufliche Verpflichtung [. . .] gegenüber Gott': Urs Baumann, 'Ehe: VI. Historisch theologisch', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, begründet von Michael Buchberger, hrsg. von Walter Kasper mit Konrad Baumgartner, Horst Bürkle, Klaus Ganser, Karl Kertelge, Wilhelm Korff und Peter Walter, 11 Bde (Freiburg: Herder, 1993–2001), III (1995), Sp. 471–74 (Sp. 472).

[74] Baumann, 'Ehe', III, Sp. 472.

die gegen den Willen der *gote* (*Eneide*, 3959–60) bzw. *tuit li deu* (*RdE*, 3240) kämpfen. Die Bösen werden nicht nur im Kampf beseitigt, sie sterben auch ohne äußeren Anstoß wie im Falle der Mutter Lavinias, so dass keine Opponenten mehr am Leben bleiben. In der Darstellung kann dadurch auch der dramatische Charakter der irdischen Zeit als Auseinandersetzung zwischen Gut und Böse gesehen werden.[75] Bei Veldeke wird dieses Ende des Romans gegenüber der französischen Vorlage noch etwas mehr in das Positive gehoben, indem das dauernde Glück der beiden deutlicher beschrieben wird, das sich auf die Gegenseitigkeit ihrer Liebe gründet, wobei sich gute Regentschaft und andauernde glückliche Ehe verbinden. Als gesellschaftlich erforderlich, wird allerdings nur bei Lavinia die *triuwe*, Treue, hervorgehoben:

> dô heter (Aeneas) willich sîne man
> unde sîn vil schônez wîb:
> diu was im lieb sô der lîb,
> wande sie braht in wol innen
> gûter trouwen unde minnen
> als gût wîb ir lieben man.
> Einen sun er bî ir gewan. (*Eneide*, 13324–30)

In dieser Aussage werden zugleich auch die Ehegüter präsentiert und durch die Betonung der gegenseitigen Liebe die Qualität dieser Ehe hervorgehoben.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Treue Lavinias wird auch ihre Treue, die sie *âne hûte* (*Eneide*, 13286) hatte, betont. Damit erfüllt sie auch das Ideal einer treuen Frau (*âne huote*) wie es auch bei Thomasin von Zerclaere und bei Gottfried von Straßburg sichtbar wird.[76]

Lavinia verkörpert das adelige Ideal, so sind mit ihr die Qualitäten von adeliger Abstammung, Stärke (hier im Sinne von ethischer Stärke), Schönheit und Reichtum

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[75] Zur Dramatik der Zeit siehe auch Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 116.

[76] Thomasin von Zerclaere, *Der Welsche Gast*, 4 Bde (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984–85), I: *Einleitung, Überlieferung, Text, die Varianten des Prosavorwortes* (1984), hrsg. von F. W. von Kries, Vv. 1813–19, 4672–87. Zur ehelichen Treue vergleiche auch Gyburc, die Willehalm bittet, er möge, wenn er Hilfe in Munleon hole, nicht die Minnedienste eines anderen Mädchens in Anspruch nehmen; Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, kritisch hrsg. nach der gesamten Überlieferung von Werner Schröder (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 104, 1–18. Würde man nach Kries im ersten Buch den Namen ‘Botinia’ (V. 1650) mit den Lesarten ‘Sucinia’ (A) und ‘lucinia’ mit ‘Lavinia’ passender emendieren, so würde Lavinia hier als Vorbild und damit Orientierungsbild für die Frauen gezeigt: Kries, *Thomasin*, S. 16. Ein kleines Plädoyer dafür, eine Frau âne huote zu belassen, findet sich auch bei Gottfried von Straßburg, *Tristan*, Mhd./ Nhdt, nach dem Text von Friedrich Ranke neu herausgegeben, übersetzt, mit einem Stellenkommentar und einem Nachwort versehen von Rüdiger Krohn, 3 Bde (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1985), II, V. 11985, Vv. 17875–78.

verbunden[77] und wird damit geradezu zum *exemplum*.

Als Krönung und Frucht dieses Glückes von Aeneas und Lavinia ist die Geburt eines Erben zu sehen, der die genealogische Linie des von *den goten* abstammenden Aeneas neben Ascanius weiterführen wird. Dieser Erbe, Silvius, hat keine Konkurrenz von einer karthagischen Aeneas-Linie zu fürchten. Im Gegensatz zu Lavinia wird jedoch Dido beim Abschied von Aeneas schmerzlich bewusst, dass sie nicht einmal ein Kind von ihm empfangen bzw. ihm keines geboren hat. Ein Kind von Aeneas, so fühlt Dido, hätte die Tragik ihrer Situation gemildert (*Eneide*, 2192–96). Ähnlich wie Dido und Aeneas bleiben auch andere tragische Liebespaare der Weltliteratur wie Tristan und Isolde kinderlos. Sie hinterlassen somit keine genealogischen Spuren in der Weltgeschichte.

So wird als Ziel der Eneide und dieser romantischen Darstellung der Liebe der Anfang eines imperialen Herrschergeschlechtes sichtbar,[78] das patrilinear orientiert ist. Wird bei Vergil noch die vornehme Abstammung Lavinias von ihrer Mutterseite angeführt, so entfällt diese bei Heinrich wie auch im *Roman d'Énéas*. Jedoch wird die vornehme Abkunft von Aeneas mehrfach betont, ja von ihm selbst noch einmal deutlich vor König Latinus ausgesprochen, bevor es zu einem Zweikampf mit Turnus kommt, wobei Aeneas seine Abkunft von Dardanus, der eigentlich aus Latium stammt, hervorhebt und dadurch seinen legitimen Anspruch auf das Land, in dem sein Vorfahr geherrscht hatte,[79] noch einmal unterstreicht (*Eneide*, 11665–704).

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[77] Siehe dazu Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, S. 189. Die Natur als Verursacher dieser *virtutes* wird jedoch hier nicht erwähnt.

[78] Siehe dazu auch die Schlussfolgerung von Rusinek, der ungleich W. Schröder, in 'Dido und Lavine', von einer gemäßigten Liebe zwischen Aeneas und Lavinia spricht: 'Das Handlungstelos der Eneide ist die Begründung eines imperialen Herrschergeschlechtes. Als Ideal gilt in dem Epos eine Form der Herrschaft, die mit der höfisch gemäßigten Beziehung zwischen Mann und Frau enggeführt ist': Rusinek, 'Die Einschreibung der Herrschaft', S. 23. Zur Bedeutung des genealogischen Denkens im Eneasromans, das dem 'Selbstverständnis des hochmittelalterlichen Geblütsadels' angenähert wird, siehe auch Kasten, 'Herrschaft und Liebe', S. 230.

[79] *Fortûnâ* (*Eneide*, 11684) hatte Dardanus nach Troja geschickt. Das Rad der Fortuna, das das unbeständige Glück symbolisiert, war dem mittelalterlichen Menschen ein Begriff. Die Idee der Fortuna war aus dem Altertum übernommen worden und wurde christianisiert. Dennoch wurde nach Gurjewitsch 'die Idee des Schicksals, welche man oft bei Dichtern und Philosophen des Mittelalters antrifft [. . .] nicht völlig von dem christlichen Glauben assimiliert': Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 170. Jedoch konnte der *fortuna*-Gedanke auch christlich umgedeutet werden als 'unvorhersehbare[r] Verlauf eines Geschehens, das jedoch innerhalb der göttlichen Vorsehung bleibt': Maria E. Dorninger, *Gottfried von Viterbo: Ein Autor in der Umgebung der frühen Staufer* (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1997), S. 160. Im *Roman d'Énéas* wird der fortuna-Gedanke im Zusammenhang mit Dardanus nicht aufgegriffen, siehe dazu auch Grave-Schöler-Beinhauer, *RdE*, 9347–53. Bei Vergil hingegen wird der fortuna-Gedanke nicht mit Dardanus, doch mit Aeneas verbunden, z.B. *Aen*., VIII, 126–28, *fortuna* entspricht dabei nach Johannes Götte der 'Göttin des von außen kommenden, an keine Regel

Aeneas selbst weiß sich in dieser Aussage mit den *goten* verwandt.[80] Latium bezeichnet Aeneas dabei als *mîn rehtez erbe*. Götterbefehl und (damit auch) Rechtsanspruch stehen in der Argumentation von Aeneas gegenüber Turnus an vorrangiger Stelle. Mit dieser Argumentation präsentiert sich Aeneas gleichsam als durch *gratia Dei* Auserwählter. Erst dann erwähnt Aeneas den Schwur von König Latinus, ihm Lavinia als seine Gemahlin und damit das Land zu geben. Mit der Verbindung von Aeneas und Lavinia wird jedoch kein Endpunkt gesetzt, sondern diese Verbindung wird als Anfang einer neuen Dynastie gezeigt, deren Realität durch die Aufzählung der Nachkommen mit einer kurzen Charakteristik dokumentiert wird an deren Spitze Silvius steht und deren Ende Oktavian Augustus beschließt.[81] Gleichzeitig wiederum gliedert die genealogische Abfolge, in die auch die Nachkommen von Ascanius integriert werden, die irdische Zeit und macht sie fassbar in ihrer Kontinuität.[82] Die dabei genannte Anzahl der genealogischen Persönlichkeiten bzw. der dadurch vertretenen Generationen entspricht nach Friedrich Ohly der Anzahl von fünf Weltaltern,[83] wobei diese ‚Weltalter' jedoch nur innerhalb der römischen Geschichte gesehen werden können. Während die Ausführungen zu Julius Caesar dem Rezipienten die Möglichkeit bieten, das von Caesar regierte Imperium in die Weltreichetheorie zu integrieren, erfolgt mit der Nennung von Augustus und den Ereignissen während seiner Herrschaft, die

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und keine tiefere Sinngebung gebundenen Zufalls, ist also jene irrationale Macht, deren Einfluß der Mensch hinnehmen und überwinden muß': Publius Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, S. 749.

[80] Latinus betont Aeneas' Abstammung von den 'goten' (*Eneide*, 4325, 8471) wie auch Lavinia (*Eneide*, 10677).

[81] Genannt werden: Silvius, Silvius Aeneas, Romulus und Remus, Julius Caesar und Augustus, *Eneide*, 13333–411. Nach Augustus wird ein Ausblick auf die Geburt Christi gegeben.—Der französische Roman bringt mit einem Verweis auf Anchises eine kurze Übersicht über die Nachkommen Aeneas', die jedoch hier nur bis Romulus und Remus, den Gründern Roms, angegeben werden (Grave-Schöler-Beinhauer, *RdE*, 10142–56), während die Schau des Anchises bis zu Augustus, der als Weltenherrscher gesehen wird, reicht: Grave-Schöler-Beinhauer, *RdE*, 2923–967. Treffend bemerkt M. Tanner: 'Prophecy was the handmaiden of genealogical mythmaking in its mixture of pagan and Hebraic elements and in its importance for imperial imagery'; siehe Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), S. 2. Übersichtliche Tafeln zur Genealogie bis Augustus bei Vergil und Heinrich von Veldeke präsentiert Wolfgang Brandt, *Die Erzählkonzeption Heinrichs von Veldeke in der 'Eneide': Ein Vergleich mit Vergils 'Aeneis'* (Marburg: Elwert, 1969), S. 224–26.

[82] Zur genealogischen Zeit siehe auch Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 103, 112.

[83] Friedrich Ohly, 'Ein Admonter Liebesgruß', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 87 (1956/57), 13–23 (S. 22) und Heinz Thomas, 'Matière de Rome–Matière de Bretagne: Zu den politischen Implikationen von Veldekes "Eneide" und Harmanns "Erec"', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 108 (1989), 65–104 (S. 72).

Integrierung der Ereignisse in die christliche Heilsgeschichte, denn unter Augustus wird *der gotes sun | geboren ze Bethlehêm* (*Eneide*, 13412–13).[84] Mit der Erwähnung von Christus kann noch im Sinne der Weltaltertheorie ein sechstes Weltalter dazugerechnet werden.[85] Damit bietet jedoch für Karen Opitz die genealogische Präsentation mit dem Ausblick auf Christus nicht nur einen historischen Bezugsrahmen für den Roman, sondern sie gibt den Rezipienten auch eine ‚Orientierungshilfe für den Umgang mit „Geschichte" im allgemeinen'.[86] An das Ende der eigentlichen Aeneasgeschichte wird diese Genealogie gesetzt, die Garant für die Fortdauer dieser liebenden und zugleich doch politischen Verbindung in ihren Nachkommen ist. In gleicher Weise ist diese zweite Genealogie Zeichen für die Erfüllung und damit Wahrhaftigkeit der Prophezeiung von Anchises.[87] Damit wird die Minnehandlung aus dem Geschehen des Romans in ein diachrones Umfeld gebracht, und bewusst in Verbindung mit dem Römischen Reich und den antiken Kaisern bzw. dem heilsgeschichtlichen Ereignis der Geburt Christi gesehen.

Vergil hatte die Geschlechterreihe auch mit der Nennung von Augustus bis in seine eigene Gegenwart geführt. Ebenfalls bis zu Augustus jedoch nicht analog zu Vergil bis in ihre eigene Gegenwart führen sowohl der *Roman d' Énéas* wie auch Heinrich von Veldeke die Reihe der Nachkommen von Aeneas.[88] Dennoch gibt es bei Veldeke wenn auch nicht eine direkt ausgesprochene, so doch eine assoziative Verbindung zur Gegenwart. So wird in dem nach 1183 verfertigten Teil seines Werkes das Herrschergeschlecht der Staufer in Beziehung zu den Ereignissen bzw. zu Aeneas gesetzt. So soll ausgerechnet im Jahre der Kaiserkrönung Friedrich Barbarossas (1155), des *lobebâre[n] vorste[n] rîch* (*Eneide*, 8397), das Grab des jungen Pallas aufgefunden worden sein.[89] Der Vater des Pallas und Fürst der Arkader, Euander, der sich mit Aeneas verbündete, hatte die Stadt Pallanteum auf

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[84] Nach Opitz ist die Verbindung der Friedensherrschaft von Augustus mit der Geburt Christi in der mittelalterlichen Historiographie Tradition: Karen Opitz, *Geschichte im höfischen Roman: Historiographisches Erzählen im 'Eneas' Heinrichs von Veldeke* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1998), S. 140–41.

[85] Ohly, 'Ein Admonter Liebesgruß', S. 22.

[86] Karen Opitz, *Geschichte im höfischen Roman*, S. 212. Ähnlich äußert sich auch Fromm, für den die Aeneasgestalt Veldekes ein 'Bestandteil des großen Heilsplan(es) ist': Fromm, 'Doppelweg', S. 73.

[87] Siehe dazu auch besonders die Stellen in der Prophezeiung von Anchises, die über die Nachkommen von Aeneas sprechen und deren Weltmacht. Namentlich genannt werden nur Silvius, Silvius Aeneas und Romulus: *Eneide*, 3657–90.

[88] Bei Otto von Freising jedoch wird bereits im Vorwort des ersten Buches durch die Schilderung der Folge *der translationes Romani imperii* die Beziehung zur Gegenwart hergestellt, wobei er die Weltgeschichte bis Konrad III., den Onkel Friedrich Barbarossas weiterführt: von Freising, *Chronica*, I. 1, S. 16.

[89] *Eneide*, 8374–408.

dem Palatin gegründet. Durch dieses Ereignis zeigt sich die direkte Beziehung Barbarossas zu Aeneas, der gleichsam typologisch als ein alter Aeneas betrachtet werden kann, wie es in einer weiteren Schilderung sichtbar wird, nämlich bei der Darstellung der Vermählung von Aeneas mit Lavinia, die wie ein mittelalterliches Fest erscheint, bei dem vornehmste Gäste, höfische Unterhaltung, Prunk und *milte*, wie auch das Lob der Dichter von Bedeutung sind (*Eneide*, 13099–220). Ähnlich kommt auch die Schwertleite der Söhne Friedrich Barbarossas (Mainz, 1184) in der Entfaltung der höfischen Pracht wie auch in der Erwartung des Nachruhms dem Feste von Aeneas gleich,[90] jedoch übertrifft die von dem Erzähler erlebte Gegenwart nicht die Vergangenheit. Die Hyperbel: *ich wâne alle die nû leben | deheine grôzer* [Fest] *haben gesehen* bleibt innerhalb der Gegenwart und erfährt sogar eine leichte Einschränkung. Diese Vorgangsweise erscheint begründet in der mittelalterlichen Auffassung, der zufolge der Vergangenheit (bzw. auch der Zukunft) gegenüber der Gegenwart der Vorzug zu geben ist, wie denn auch die Gegenwart selbst keine selbständige Bedeutung erlangt, erst durch Einbeziehung in das ‚welthistorische Drama'. A. J. Gurjewitsch spricht in diesem Zusammenhang auch von dem ‚Fehlen einer einheitlichen Vorstellung von der Zeit im Mittelalter'.[91] Dennoch erscheint hier in dieser Stelle die Herrscherpanegyrik gedämpft. Die Verbindung zwischen Friedrich I. und Aeneas wird nur verdeckt in Analogie dargestellt, jedoch nicht offen in einer genealogischen Konstruktion gezeigt, wie es Gottfried von Viterbo, der Kaplan und Notar Friedrich Barbarossas, für Friedrich bzw. Heinrich VI. getan hatte. Dieser hatte unverhohlen auf Heinrich VI. als Nachfahren von Aeneas und Lavinia hingewiesen. In der Darstellung der Aeneas–Lavinia-Episode hatte er keine romantische Konzeption gezeigt, sondern nur wie ein wesentlich älterer Aeneas in Liebe entflammt, jedoch mit ausgezeichnetem Stammbaum, eine junge, schöne, zutiefst unglückliche Lavinia erringt und ehelicht.[92] Bei Gottfried ist das Mythologische ebenso reduziert und vor allem in den Versteilen seines Werkes ausgeblendet. Die Aeneashandlung reduziert sich hier auf ein rein menschliches Geschehen. Lavinia ist auch hier eine junge schöne Frau, in die sich jedoch der *senex* (*Spec. reg.*, V. 378) Aeneas verliebt, ein hochbetagter, berühmter Mann. Lavinia bevorzugt dagegen den eher gleichaltrigen Turnus. Daher befürwortet auch Lavinias Mutter Amata—hier wieder im Gegensatz zu den vulgärsprachlichen Versionen mit Namen genannt—vor dem König und Gemahl Latinus die Verbindung Lavinias mit Turnus. Als Turnus im Zweikampf unterliegt, bleibt Lavinia nur die Klage, denn eine Vermählung mit jemandem, der ihr als Feind erscheint, ist für sie unvermeidlich.[93] Für Latinus jedoch ist die erlesene Abstammung von Aeneas

[90] *Eneide*, 13221–50.

[91] Siehe dazu Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild*, S. 116, 171.

[92] Gottfried von Viterbo, *Spec. reg*., Vv. 421–23.

[93] Siehe dazu besonders das Kapitel 'De rege Latino in Ytalia', in Gottfried von Viterbo, *Spec. Reg*., Vv. 346–411.

ausschlaggebend, die etwaige Nachteile, wie fehlende Jugend und die damit verbundenen Befürchtungen, auf einen Nachkommen vielleicht verzichten zu müssen, überwindet und wettmacht (*Spec. reg.*, Vv. 382–87).

Diese Version Gottfrieds spiegelt einerseits die Bedeutung der Abstammung wider, die einer Dynastie infolge der Zeit, innerhalb der sie besteht, großes Ansehen verleihen und damit Ansprüche legitimieren kann, andererseits gibt dieser Abschnitt auch indirekt wohl auch Einblick in die konkreten politisch orientierten Gegebenheiten, denn die Konzessionen an politische Erfordernisse wie auch die Erweiterung des machtpolitischen Einflusses durch die Eroberung von Land oder durch die Heirat einer reichen Erbin, war ein durchaus gebräuchlicher usus. Von Herrscherfamilien geplant und arrangiert, waren diese Heiraten probates und gesellschaftlich akzeptiertes Mittel für Machtkalkulationen, in denen Überlegungen für eine romantische Ehe keine Rolle spielten. Für eine tiefe Liebesbeziehung bzw. für eine romantische Liebe scheint in diesem Rahmen kein oder nur wenig Platz zu sein. Dennoch schafft sich die vulgärsprachliche Literatur in den Eneasromanen einen Raum, in der in der zumindest partiell dargestellten Alterität einer anderen Zeit die utopischen Ideale der Gegenwart verwirklicht werden können. Das genealogische Kalkül, das in der Aeneas–Lavinia-Handlung bei Veldeke weitgehend zurückgedrängt wird, erweist sich bei Gottfried von Viterbo als das Überlegene und damit Wichtigere. Ein Argument, dem sich vermutlich der Adel und auch der staufertreue Ludwig III. von Thüringen (gest. 1190),[94] der als einer der Mäzene von Heinrich in Betracht kommt, nicht verschließen konnte noch wollte, war doch seine Mutter die Halbschwester Friedrich Barbarossas (Judith Claricia) und er damit selbst dem Kaiserhaus verbunden, das um 1184 in der Blüte seiner Macht stand und das seine Abkunft wie alle späteren Kaisergeschlechter, wie Habsburger und Luxemburger,[95] von Aeneas abzuleiten suchte. Dennoch wird die politisch-dynastische Konzeption durch das Konzept Heinrichs von Veldeke gelockert. Demgemäss erscheint der Erfolg von Aeneas in der Eneide vor allem in dem Willen

[94] Manfred Lemmer, *'der Dürngebluome schînet dur den snê': Thüringen und die deutsche Literatur des hohen Mittelalters* (Eisenach: Wartburg-Stiftung, 1981), S. 6, 120. Zur Bewährung des Helden, der auch Unterstützung von metaphysischen Mächten erfährt, die auch zum Verständnis des Geblütsadels gehört, siehe Kasten, 'Herrschaft und Liebe', S. 231. Ludwig III. war vermählt mit Margarete von Kleve. Die Grafschaft von Kleve wurde zumindest bis 1190 zu den staufischen Herzogtümern und Grafschaften gezählt, vergleiche dazu auch *Westermanns Atlas zur Weltgeschichte: Mittelalter*, bearbeitet von Heinz Quirin und Werner Trillmich, 3 Bde (Berlin: Westermann, 1956), II, 66.

[95] Eine negative Zeichnung von Aeneas als Vaterlandsverräter oder eine Betonung der untriuwe von Aeneas gegenüber Dido eignet sich nicht für ein Geschlecht, das in Aeneas einen repräsentativen Vorfahren sieht. Zu den Luxemburgern siehe vor allem Tanner, *The Last Descendant*, S. 91–98. Im Triumphbogen von A. Dürer werden auch die trojanischen Vorfahren von Maximilian I. abgebildet, der sich noch an seinem Totenbett seine Ahnen vortragen lässt: Tanner, *The Last Descendant*, S. 118.

der *gote* begründet zu sein, wie denn auch die vielfachen Hinweise auf ihren Willen zeigen, während der genealogische Aspekt dem göttlichen und dem damit außerhalb der menschlichen Zeit liegenden nachgeordnet ist. Analog dazu gründet sich die Herrschaft der Staufer nicht so sehr auf ihren prunkvollen Stammbaum, sondern vielmehr auf ihre von Gott gegebene Bestimmung innerhalb der Weltgeschichte bzw. Heilsgeschichte. Zusätzlich kommt das Konzept eines Liebespaares, dessen Liebe sich auch innerhalb der Dauer ihres irdischen Lebens bewährt hat, als Stammeltern einer kaiserlichen oder fürstlichen Geschlechterfolge mehr dem Interesse und den Wunschvorstellungen der hochmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft entgegen. Insofern steht das Liebes- und Ehepaar Lavinia und Aeneas an der Spitze einer Dynastie, deren Nachfahren bis ins einundzwanzigste Jahrhundert reichen. Auf diese Auffassung, dass diese Ehe jedoch glücklich verlaufen konnte und sollte, scheint auch die Rezeption des Aeneasstoffes im ‚Erec' Hartmanns von Aue hinzuweisen. So zeigt der aus kostbaren Materialien kunstvoll verfertigte Sattel Enites in seiner Intarsienarbeit auf der einen Seite das Lied von Troja, auf der anderen Seite, die Geschichte von Aeneas und Dido. Auf dem hinteren Sattelbogen jedoch wird gezeigt:

> wie er [Aeneas] vrouwen Lavîniam
> ze êlîchem wîbe nam,
> und wie er dâ ze lande was
> gewaltic herre Ênêas
> âne alle missewende
> unz an sînes lîbes ende. (Erec, 7576–81).

Gerade die Wendung *âne alle missewende*, weist auf ein volles Glück hin, das mit der Integration in den Erec-Roman auch auf die Bereiche der *saelde* und *êre* verweist und damit auf die Dualität der mittelalterlichen Zeitauffassung anspielt.

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Time and Art

When Space is Time. The Rhetoric of Eternity: Hierarchy and Narrative in Medieval and Renaissance Art

PETER NESTERUK

The role played by temporality in the affectivity and interpretation of art has been, in general, an area long and unjustly neglected. This is an omission that I wish to begin to redress in the course of this article. I want especially to comment upon medieval and renaissance art, treating them as key periods in the history of western art in terms of their open and frequent use of temporal potentials for the furtherance of narrative and other rhetorical, that is, persuasive, ends. Such potentials were to become hidden, employed with great subtlety, or even become part of the painterly unconscious, from the seventeenth century onward. In order to facilitate this end, I will offer a short methodological introduction, followed by a brief pre-history, then a discussion centring upon a number of images. These images will be chosen in order to demonstrate the main types of temporal reading available. The aim of this discussion will be to show what a reading attuned to temporal rhetoric might have to offer to the interpretation of medieval and renaissance art. Such offerings would include the following: firstly, an understanding of the role played by figural/illusionistic space in (a) construing time and its other; (b) a temporally sensitive position internal to human experience; and (c) the link of these former elements to a sense of temporality which is, arguably, the major contributor to the affective impact of painting, other forms of image (engravings, stained glass), and the various plastic forms of visual culture upon their original (but also later) audiences. Secondly, there is the cumulative role of the above in situating the viewer within the picture in terms of temporal presence and belief (and not simply as the external witness of a given narrative process or sacral event). Thirdly, the two previous stages should permit historians and cultural anthropologists to work upon

reconstructions of devotion, meditation, the *mentalité* of a given artwork's implied audience, and their relations of collective self-recognition or construction of identity. The issue is one of achieving a viewpoint from within a community sharing a pattern of rhetoric, a code of communication.

I

If our own, most intimate, experiences of past and future consist of uncertain presences, of memories and prognoses that (usually) are not to be confused with our everyday perception of living in the present, but which co-exist with it as a kind of second, faded, less distinct, or less immediate form of presence; then the effect of the pictorial equivalent of these kinds of degree or plane of presence would be effectively to translate space into time.[1] Just as, in the appraisal of the two dimensional art-object, we seek out or impose analogues for the three-dimensional spatial dimensions that are fundamental to our everyday experience of physical space, so too, I want to suggest, do we (perhaps less consciously) look for, locate, and interpret accordingly any cues in the art-object according to the varieties of temporal experience available to us (the three dimensions of lived time and their 'other' the 'outside' of time). Just as we do not ever quite live in the present, so neither do the artworks that we experience; they too must exhibit the movements and ambiguities of temporal valency (of past, present, and future) that we impose upon our everyday experience. Passing through a hall on our way to give a conference paper, we may equally negotiate the immediate spatial geography, reflect on the paper we have written, and face either anxiety or adrenalin at the thought of the performance yet to come. The sight of a book on a publisher's table may stimulate recollection of the past; the sight of the doorway leading to the site of performance may stimulate a projection into the future. And for experiences which are not everyday, that are marked by transport or the uncanny, there is always the trace of the beyond, the 'other' world of the eternal.

What is it that the interpretation of art has to gain from a careful appraisal of the various temporal relationships that are represented or located in the art object? The key to many works may lie in the way different temporalities, their valencies,

[1] For the philosophical tradition that treats humanly experienced time as subjective and qualitative, as opposed to time as abstract, scientific, objective, or quantitative, see Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, trans. by F. L. Pogson (London: Swan & Sonnenschein, 1910) see esp. pp. 11–18, 228–29; Edmund Husserl, *Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), see esp. pp. 23, 30, 49, 57, and section 24; Martin Heidegger, 'Being and Time: Introduction', in *Basic Writings*, ed. by David Farrell Krell (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 37–88 (esp. pp. 60, 61, 63); and Martin Heidegger, *On Time and Being*, ed. by Joan Stambaugh (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) see esp. pp. 11, 13, 15.

their symbolic import, collectively interact to produce a meaning which includes—indeed may often be said to explain—the art object's affective impact and its ethical content or 'message'. Further, the location of the lived experience of time in art need not be singular or unique. This lack of singularity will be found in general within the first of the two main complementary axes along which temporal effects are organized: the location of past and future, in opposition to the present, to be found within certain textual contrasts. Where more than one temporal experience or identity is to be found, each is made up of its own kind or combination of implied past, present, and future (as, for example, in the gendering of, or attribution of cultural specificity to, different temporalities within a single artwork). The second major axis or temporal trope, represents perhaps the most used, the most familiar, as well as most ideologically loaded, form of temporal persuasion in art. This trope centres upon the rhetorical attribution of eternity, which is located in the perceived contrast of history, or duration, to eternity.[2] Furthermore, this contrast usually carries with it the rhetorically potent and mysterious qualities associated with the sacred. This form of temporal rhetoric is often found to be the figurative key or second meaning of the most significant binary opposites in the text (typically found in the opposition of the upper to the lower portion of the visual text, an opposition which seems to feature in perhaps as much as ninety percent of medieval and Byzantine religious art). This key ideological, persuasive, and community-cementing notion, operates through a contrast of the historical to the eternal, the contingent to the unchanging. It is as if a belief must anchor itself in the beyond, out of reach of the vagaries of history, in the realm of the sublime, in order to place it beyond sub-lunary question (the foundation is placed outside of the system it guarantees).

These two aspects of temporal interpretation (which we might gloss as experiential temporalization versus rhetorical extra-temporality) may be read as made possible by either: a quasi-essential or shared quality of the human species (giving us humanity the temporal animal), temporality here is a quality which can be more-or-less automatically recovered from its inscription in any given art-work; or, as the figurative dimension of meaning-making (if we assume humanity as the interpreting animal), where painter or viewer, for their own reasons, encode or

[2] How to move from the three valencies (the experience of time) to two binaries (the rhetoric of the outside of time)? In rhetorical terms, there is no problem; contrasts in texts easily binarize giving the rhetoric of the outside of time as the opposite to temporality as such. If we take our experience of time as the first principle, then those aspects with the potential to indicate either past or future (as 'less present' in opposition to the 'more present', which is read as the viewer's implied present, or 'now') may indicate both past and future simultaneously, resulting in a implied position for the viewer outside of time, or in eternity. When taken at their maximum extension, a finite and precise attribution of 'before' or 'after' becomes an infinitely extended 'before and after'—eternity—as a difference in temporal kind becomes an opposition to temporality itself. An impossible relation for us time-bound animals: hence we speak of a 'rhetoric of eternity'.

apportion significance according to the art-work's potential for second meanings. For most purposes, or as an initial stage of investigation, these two explanations of temporal interpretation (the subjective or phenomenological, and the figurative or rhetorical) may be read as synonymous: however, where considerations of cultural difference are paramount, a distinction may need to be made between intuition then-and-now and between figure then-and-now (or between the constitution of these categories in any contrasting cultural-historical situations).[3]

Temporal analyses will be therefore be premised upon the location of types of time and their contrasts. These temporal kinds (or their rhetorical analogues, if one takes the path of figure alone) may be based upon degrees of presence (figure-ground, proportion, distortion, luminosity) and the contrasts they produce in the artwork. These factors, in conjunction with an implied viewpoint, may interact, in turn, with the artwork's use of line and vanishing point—as well as with more overtly symbolic material referring to (real or imaginary) points or periods in time (as, for example, in details of architectural historicism read as a form of historical citation or temporal, that is epochal, deixis).

II

The role of narrative in medieval and early renaissance art need hardly be demonstrated. In the case of linear narrative, where the succession of images is also a succession of space/times, the narrative content of the painting, fresco, or relief is clear—one need only note the direction of the image flow.[4] The kind of images I am more concerned with offer the simultaneous showing of a narrative process in its various stages; in effect one unified space with many times, where the same figures

[3] In his phenomenological approach to the roots of figure, Nicolas Abrahams, *Rhythms* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), suggests that the two realms of figure and phenomenology may not be so far apart, that the basic categories of secondary signification are those of the major poetic tropes (see esp. pp. 49–52).

[4] Most art mentioned under the narrative rubric in general literature on this topic appears to be of the single scene or illustration type; an image taken from a known (sacred, biblical or secular, that is, classical, or mythological) narrative: in effect, a 'trigger image' (leading to the recollection of the original story), or a sequence of pictures ('linear narrative')—rather than several moments in time combined into single visual image ('sequential narrative'). See Anabel Thomas, *Illustrated Dictionary of Narrative Painting* (London: Murray, 1994), for the terms 'sequential narrative' (p. x), and 'trigger image' (p. xi). See also Mieke Bal, *Reading Rembrandt: Beyond the Word-Image Opposition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 206–10, for 'signs for the story', a semiotic reading of the terms 'trigger image' or 'emblem' where one image (ranging from a detail to a complex ensemble read as one image) suggests a narrative or 'story' to the sensitive or 'implied' viewer. The author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable assistance provided by Clare Pilsworth with respect to the early medieval aspects of this study.

can be found to appear more than once. This use of a single, often perspectival, space as a three-dimensional container within which events are shown at varying points in time, was a regular and expected feature of the art of the medieval and renaissance period—now generally referred to as 'continuous narrative' (also variously known as 'continuous method', 'polyscenic narrative', or 'sequential narrative').[5]

Lew Andrews, in his important study, *Story and Space in Renaissance Art: The Rebirth of Continuous Narrative*, offers the thesis that the techniques of the Renaissance, instead of destroying poly-temporality, in fact encouraged it.[6] Andrews explains the lack of necessity of the matching of a single space to a single time (the image is more effective without such a match) and the role of memory—to recognize the narrative and apply it to the events in the frame (recognition and ordering)—but he does not explain the possibility of such effects. Nor, above noting that the spaces of renaissance perspective allow a stage for many events, does he explain what makes them possible. It is here that a theory of visual presence and its degrees comes into its own with its emphasis upon the temporal fecundity of foreground/background distinctions, of the relationship between dominant temporal images and secondary ones (where the 'second' level is in a relation of past and future to the main one), and its emphasis upon the place of the viewer, who by finding him or her self in the implied present of the picture, also comes to feel its impact and message. Similar caveats apply to a work dealing with quite another kind of image production: Wolfgang Kemp's masterly study *The Narratives of Stained Glass*, is a invaluable exploration of stained glass as narrative art, where linear narratives (a succession of separate images) are opposed to a narrative technique of central framing (where images are separated by the leading, but do not necessarily occur with the chronological order coinciding with the direction of the image flow). The central image, or central medallion, of the technique of central framing is read as of primary significance, and other images, read as secondary (also as decor or filling), occur on either side of the central framing.[7] Again, a 'presence-based' theory (incorporating phenomenology or the notion of the lived experience of time) is

[5] See also J. Pope-Hennessy, 'The Sixth Centenary of Ghiberti', in *The Study and Criticism of Italian Sculpture* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 39–70 for a study which finds that continuous narrative and perspectival space are not antagonistic but complementary. See also Leo Steinberg, 'Leonardo's Last Supper', *Art Quarterly*, 36 (1973), 297–410, who finds evidence for continuous narrative in the Last Supper; and Ernst Gombrich, *Means and Ends: Reflections on the History of Fresco Painting* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), who finds that realism and continuous narrative work together without contradiction in works by Leonardo and Luini.

[6] Lew Andrews, *Story and Space in Renaissance Art: The Rebirth of Continuous Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 8; see also pp. 3, 4, 114, 120.

[7] Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Stained Glass*, trans. by Caroline Dobson Saltz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

needed to explain how this 'priority' comes about, and so how significance is made. Typically, the most presented elements are read as the 'now' moment, with secondary events being read as 'before' and 'after'. Not surprisingly it is the 'now' image that carries the moral message and didactic bite.

The origins, or precursors, of sequential narrative can be found in traditions dating back, at the very least, to earliest antiquity.[8] The basic tropes of visual rhetoric in the illusionism of temporality and narrative appear to be the following: a upper/lower hierarchy (for example gods above mortals); frame; grounds; size disproportion as figure; left/right as temporal directionality; and left/rightness as moral (respectively negative to positive). Exemplars of these six tropes from Antiquity follow:

1. An early example of the upper/lower hierarchy (often moral, often counterposing the eternal to the human) can be found in the 'Stele of Naram Sin' from Susa 2280 BC Akkadian (Louvre, Paris). As in Egyptian culture and art this hierarchical placing of the king on top also connotes godlike properties (literally in the case of Egypt). This hierarchic form of temporal rhetoric can also be found in the pre-historic Narmer Palette in Egypt, and in the Hellenistic period where the names of the gods are portrayed above those of the giants that they defeat.[9]
2. Everyone is familiar with tales of the (largely lost) wonders of Greek art: the anecdote of the *trompe l'oeil* image of a bird painted onto a cloth hanging on a wall provides us with a prototype of a inner reframing which will, in the art of later periods, be used to indicate a temporal difference. Two examples from Pierre du Bourguet's survey of Coptic Art will illustrate the uses to which this figure may be put.[10] In the first, a deceased Egyptian woman is shown dressed in Roman costume, in the painting, her image, itself painted onto a flat surface, is carried by two Egyptian gods, the inner reframing immediately suggests a record of the past; this example of the past in the present conveys Egyptian adoption of Roman fashions during the Roman occupation—but also underlines the persistence of the Egyptian gods, of the continuing dominance of

[8] See Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 54–56, for an example of continuous narrative ('the Capitoline Tablets') from the late first century BC. See also, *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. by Peter J. Holliday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[9] See Whitney Davis, 'Narrativity and the Narmer Palette', in Holliday, *Narrative and Event*, pp. 14–54; and Andrew Stewart, 'Narration and Allusion in the Hellenistic Baroque', in Holliday, *Narrative and Event*, pp. 130–74 (esp. p. 159). Concerning the cultural ubiquity of the up/down relation, see also, Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study on the Structure of Romance* (London: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 129, where Frye classifies all the themes of world literature into varieties of ascent and descent.

[10] Pierre du Bourguet, *Coptic Art*, trans. by Caryll Hay-Shaw (London: Methuen, 1971).

more serious elements of Egyptian culture and identity.[11] In the second (early medieval) example, a member of the popular Ascension genre, the Christ-figure of the upper register is also surrounded by an enframing halo so solid as to suggest a physical carriage; in this instance the form of time connoted would be that of eternity—the immortality of a god's son.[12] This latter example reminds us that the 'frame' will be found conjoined to grounds (background) and to margins/centre tropes in the illusionistic suggestion of time in renaissance art.

3. The exploitation of grounds for temporal effects usually takes the form of a contrast between the 'fore-ground', or bottom/centre of the image and the 'background' or top of the image, but can also be found in a centre/margin format (as in Attic art and medieval stained glass). The Neo-Assyrian reliefs, 'Destruction of a City' and 'Looting Soldiers leaving a City' (705–681 BC) offers, thanks to an early (or even the earliest) example of perspective in art, a possible background, one which is readable as a past (but which may also be read as simultaneous with the foreground), where the soldiers (in the foreground) are leaving a city that they are also portrayed as burning and looting (in the background).[13]
4. The use of exaggeration of comparative size as a figure (hyperbole) is apparently as old as representation itself. Enlarging what is (considered to be) of importance, usually features the ruler, the king, or a member of the gods—see, for example, plaques from Urnanshe (2700 BC), Plate LVI in *Arrest and Movement*. 'Larger than Life' often meant beyond the life-size of everyday folk, indeed of everyday life, and involved a claim to be eternal, to be beyond everyday temporality—a claim, like that of the Egyptian pharaohs, to be gods on earth. Indeed most depictions of important personages in this epoch appear to use this trope.
5. The first left/right category features directionality. Depending upon setting and other concrete local contexts (such as movement towards/away from a corner, or the centre of a wall), a basic left to right movement (that is, from our, or 'subjective', left to right) does appear to be discernable—although the opposite does also occur (I shall deal with

[11] Du Bourguet, *Coptic Art*, p. 57: 'Dead Egyptian woman portrayed in Roman costume', painting. Roman period, Tamahe el-Gebel.

[12] Du Bourguet, *Coptic Art*, p. 53: 'Ascension', painting seventh century, Cairo, Coptic Museum. See also John Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), for 'The Ascension from the Sacramentary of Archbishop Drogo of Metz' (*c*. 842), plate 53; and 'The Ascension from the Sacramentary of the Cathedral of Saint-Etienne at Limoges' (*c*. 1100), plate 176.

[13] See 'Destruction of a City' (plate 78), and 'Looting Soldiers leaving a City' (fig. 38, p. 179), in H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement: An Essay in Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East* (London: Faber, 1951).

one such below, in the case studies that conclude this paper). Even in scenes where characters approach a focal point, are shown in a 'strip' sequence, or are represented as if 'queuing', the general movement is most often from (our) left to right. Depending upon repetition of characters, or other tell-tale clues, this directionality may also be read as a movement through time, as a temporal sequence.

6. The second left/right category features moral hierarchy. An ancient example of a powerful moral implication found in the differentiation of left and right (as well as in the presentation of subjective versus 'objective left and right; it is the text's right—our left—that is favoured), is that of the strong, and foregrounded, that is 'shown-off', right arm of the Statuette of Gudea, from Lagash, neo-Sumarian, dated to 2125–2025 BC, (London, British Museum). Not only are two isomorphic elements (the arms) differentiated, but the political implications (the importance of strong arm tactics to successful rulers, the suggestion that might is right) suggest a preference for the objective right [*sic*] of the ruler; the arm is therefore shown as it would be perceived—not as it would appear if the owner's point of view was to be transferred to the viewer (the viewer remains in the position of the sub-dominant). Subjective and objective point of view, together with their attendant political ramifications, are, and will continue to be, indicated by means of the form of left/right presentation employed.

It would appear that all of our categories, except perhaps, that daubed 'frame', may be found regularly in ancient civilizations; the latter appears to be more popular in the image making of late-classical, early-medieval, Christian societies (as our examples from pre-Christian and Christian Egypt would suggest)—but then so little painting survives from the classical epoch. Although this brief overview of the genealogies and origins of the forms and figures which harbour the potential for temporal reading begins with late prehistory, it is supposed that some of the most basic of these would be apparent in the very earliest attempts of human image-making, in the striking cave art, not only from the Neolithic period, or stage, in human cultural development, but also from the preceding epoch, the Palaeolithic.[14]

[14] For an account of this epoch, esp. 15000 BC, the later ('Upper') Paleolithic and its cave painting, where images, often appearing discretely, may be connected by a narrative (and so an inferred temporal sequence, and directionality), or by other forms of total meaning (as a collective 'trigger' connected to a mythology or ritual); see André Leroi-Gourhan, *Treasures of Prehistoric Art*, trans. by Norbert Guterman (New York: Abrams, 1967); and André Leroi-Gourhan, *The Dawn of European Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). For the latter point, Denis Vialou, *L'art pariétal Ariège magdalénienne*, Mémoires de la laboratoire de paléontologie humaine et de préhistoire, 13, 3 vols (Paris: Institut de paléontologie humaine, 1981); and Denis Vialou, 'Niax, une construction symbolique magdalénienne éxemplaire', *Ars Praehistorica*, 1 (1982), 19–45.

Peter J. Holliday, in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, refers to images as 'emblems' (as opposed to sequential images), when they are similar in function to 'trigger' images in suggesting narratives (p. xv). 'Emblems' may be opposed to sequences of successive images that actually 'show' narratives (often as a key cause and effect, before and after, sequence taken from the 'home' narrative). These two forms appear to be the basis methods of referring image to narrative (and so to a temporally ordered sequence) in most images in the period under discussion (3000 BC to AD 100 approx).[15] Certainly there appear to be no signs of 'sequential narrative'—although the 'trigger' or 'emblematic' image which forms the centre or focal point in relation to other images (as in the late-prehistoric Narmer Palette, and in the art of the Attic and Archaic periods) often implies a temporal relation to contiguous secondary or marginal images (as in medallions, lunettes, pendentives, as well as in medieval stained glass). Such an arrangement of images (often called 'synoptic') lays the formal foundation, or opens the possibility for the development of sequential narrative. Emblematic (or 'trigger') images and successive (or sequential) images appear to form two methods of narration. The first functions as a form of symbolism (reference to a narrative by an event or other related matter) whilst the second is an attempted mimesis (reference to a narrative by showing its

[15] The account of the role of the reader given in Holliday, *Narrative and Event*, pp. 4–5, in translating images into words by providing a narrative in the context of which the image makes sense, parallels the role of the reader in turning the object into (subjective) experience, by creating a sense of the self-in-the-world-of-the-object, a world implied in the rhetoric of the object and the culture (shared or otherwise) of the viewer, where the viewer's imaginary temporal positioning is the key to the object's aesthetic realization. See also John Pollini, 'The Gemma Augustea: Ideology, Rhetorical Imagery, and the Creation of a Dynastic Narrative', in Holliday, *Narrative and Event*, pp. 258–98; the two major kinds of temporal suggestion seem to be used in Augustan Rome (about 2000 years ago). In the first, the 'synoptic' form, a central image (acting as a trigger image, connecting to a narrative, the oldest and most consistently used form of temporal rhetoric) is surrounded by other images with which a temporal relation may be constructed—in the Amphiaraos scene on a Corinthian crater (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz) a central scene is flanked by margins that refer to past (our left) and future (our right), giving a spatial (subjective) left to right movement through time, and a 'now' position to the central scene (p. 279). By contrast there is the Gemma Augustea, where a scene in the implied present (top)—the 'now', most present, or dominant central scene—is supported by two other scenes (bottom), which indicate the past and the future (p. 276). This latter was also the technique of temporal representation favoured by the archaic period and was to be featured in the narratives of stained glass of the late medieval period (p. 278). Second, there is the (much rarer) method of successive narrative by means of the image flow around a column, as in the case of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the 'continuous biographical narrative' of a child sarcophagus (Museo Torlonia) which moves from (our) left to right (pp. 258, 275). In earlier late prehistoric and ancient art, these two forms have been found in the Narmer Palette (3000 BC), and Sennacherib's Lachish narrratives (700 BC), (pp. 14–54, 55–73).

stages). However, the mimetic relation also holds insofar as the images resemble directly the things depicted rather than relying upon a second order of meaning, or symbolic relationship proper. In this sense a one event/scene image may equally be read as mimetic in the general sense of the term (or iconic in semiotic terms - that both are semiotic, that is signs, mediations invented for communication and otherwise unconnected to the thing itself, should not be a matter of which one needs reminding; the achievement of two dimensional or relief forms of image in depicting the real world is one precisely of technique, formalization, and community of interpretation or code-sharing, the product of a language and a culture).In terms of the basic figures of meaning relation, we appear to have a synecdoche (a single part for the whole narrative) and a metonymy (where two items set together suggest a sequence from a narrative—this latter may be further decomposed into a synecdoche from which two parts are shown).

III

Before looking at particular case studies, I would like to offer some general examples from the late classical and early medieval worlds; these will be followed by a range of examples from the later medieval period which together should give some indication of the range and type of temporal rhetoric employed in this period.

I will begin with a sixth-century example of Coptic art; 'Mural of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace flanked by Saints Cosmas and Damien and other Figures'.[16] In this mural, size disparity indicates a hierarchy of immortals. An inner frame depicts a scene from the Old Testament (the furnace scene of the title) which may be read as taking place the past as contrasted to the present of the frame's exterior. Also the interior may be read as temporal to the exterior's sense of the extra (it is peopled with halo-bearing immortals). The eternal presence of the present itself adds to apportionment of the value of eternity. Within the frame the immortal angel is depicted above the lower morals. Perhaps the classic case of the top/bottom, up/down relationship as connoting the relations between the eternal and the temporal can be found in the evolution of the Ascension genre—see, for example, the 'Ascension' (*c*. 586), a miniature from the Rabbala Gospels, from Zagba, Mesopotamia.[17]

From the early medieval, Carolingian period (eighth and ninth centuries), 'Ivory Panel, the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi' and 'Ivory Diptych: leaf fragment, the Baptism of Christ, and the Nativity', offer

[16] 'Mural of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace flanked by Saints Cosmas and Damien and other Figures', sixth century, London, British Museum, EA 73139; Wadi Sarga, Coptic Art.

[17] See 'Ascension', miniature in Rabbala Gospels, completed at Zagba, Mesopotamia, *c*. 586. Florence, Biblioteca Laurentiana, MS Plut. I, 56, fol. 13^{v}. See colour-plate 8, in James Snyder, *Medieval Art* (New York: Abrams, 1989), p. 55.

narrative directions that are vertical rather than horizontal, and are therefore constrained by factors to do with up/downess rather than left/rightness.[18] In 'Ivory Panel, the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi' (*c*. AD 800), the narrative direction, across three scenes, is down (from the chorologically earliest scene at top to the latest at the bottom); but the presence of an angel is at the top, maintaining the privileged 'up', or 'top', position for immortal entities. Whereas in 'Ivory Diptych: leaf fragment, the Baptism of Christ, and the Nativity' (*c*. AD 900), the narrative direction is down (across four scenes showing three events), and a central medallion presents angels 'above' the other scenes in an example of a framed separation of temporal narrative and eternal beings. These Carolingian ivories show a marked classical influence[19] and appear to form a bridge between classical depictions of narrative, and the use of vertical medallion and scene sequences (primary and secondary scenes) in the latter stained glass narratives of the Gothic. The Carolingians were exceptional in all their cultural and artistic endeavours but as no stained glass survives from this period, it is impossible to speculate on a more direct glass-working tradition; traditionally the modern stained glass tradition is dated from the Romanesque period.

A later Ivory, the fourteenth century French 'Diptych', continues the tradition of ivory intricately carved into narrative form and combines a vertical, upward, movement with the usual (our 'subjective') left to right (six scenes are arranged in pairs, ascending in chronological order).[20] However this narrative sequence does not end with the topmost scenes, the carver has utilized the tendency for the top-most position to depict sacred or eternal status to show, in the Ascension, the feet of Christ as he disappears upward, and, in the Pentecost scene, the descending dove appearing from outside the upper frame. Both feet and dove refer us out of the frame of the picture in a deixis that is simultaneously extra-pictorial and extra-temporal. Two directions have been used to indicate narrative sequence, and verticality (upness) has been combined with an external deixis to indicate eternity.

The following late medieval paintings (the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London) will give an indication of the general employment to which temporal rhetoric was put in this period, and of the combinations of types used to achieve these ends.

The 'Vision of the Blessed Clare of Rimia' (mid-fourteenth century, Master of the Blessed Clare) is a typical case where size of figures combines with an element

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[18] 'Ivory Panel, the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi', *c.* AD 800, Carolingian, Aachen (London, British Museum, Room 42, Case 2, Item 8); 'Ivory Diptych: leaf fragment, the Baptism of Christ, and the Nativity', *c*. AD 900, Carolingian, Aachen (London, British Museum, Room 42, Case 2, Item 9).

[19] See J. Schwarz, 'Quelques sources antiques d'ivoires carolingiens', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 11 (1961), 145–62.

[20] 'Diptych', French, second half of the fourteenth century (London, British Museum, Ivory 284, Room 42, Case 6, Item 22).

of upper- and lowerness to offer temporal difference, as large eternal to lesser mortal.[21] In a clever use of grounds to order temporal events, 'Nativity' (1370–71), attributed to Jacopo di Cione and his workshop, includes the same shepherd in the background as in the foreground, kneeling (bearded, with the same clothes) giving the picture a past and a present.[22] The background is also naturalistically framed. In the seventeenth century Poussin was to repeat this formula in his own well-known version of the Nativity genre: 'The Adoration of the Shepherds' (*c*. 1633–34)—perhaps one of the last examples of this temporal tradition as seventeenth-century neo-classicism, the Baroque, and the realism of the Caravaggio school reapportioned between them the aesthetic limits of European art.[23]

As with the Carolingian ivories, the 'Virgin and Child' (*c*. 1265–75), attributed to the Clarisse Master, uses verticality to order temporal succession. Whether defined as an exploitation of grounds or simply an upper/lower division of the visual text, this picture offers two scenes, a birth and a death, the outer limits of a life-story as a fundamental narrative unit. The Nativity (the 'Virgin and Child' of the title) occupies the foreground, and would appear to offer the present; and the Crucifixion, which makes up the background, would therefore take place in the future.

Clearly grounds and upper/lower as sources of temporal rhetoric are closely related forms. In 'Virgin and Child' (discussed above), there was also a strong upper/lower non-narrative element (the angels above the roof may be read as extra-temporal or as signifying extra-temporal space, 'Heaven'). It is this connotation, that of the outside of time, that is usually associated with verticality, with the upper/lower division of the pictorial space. In 'The Transfiguration', Duccio (active from 1270, died 1318/19), the picture shows the division of space, typical of this, as of many other religious genres (the Assumption, the Ascension, even the angel and source of the inseminating light of the Annunciation), into a lower temporal zone and an upper zone of extra-temporal beings.[24] In effect the same space carries two kinds of time (or time and its other) with Christ, Moses and Isaiah occupying the upper space, and the still mortal apostles the lower. The ubiquitous early Christian

[21] See *National Gallery: Complete Illustrated Catalogue*, ed. by Christopher Baker and Tom Henry (London: National Gallery, 1995), p. 422. For an alternative use of time in the vision genre, see Snyder, *Medieval Art*, p. 82, where the 'Vision of Ezekiel', AD 265 (third century), Judaic, through the unreality of the repetition of Ezekiel figure above the basic Ezekiel, signals the un-present, and therefore, in the context of this genre, the future. The vision refers to Ezekiel's future and not to a vision of the other, eternal, realm. It thus remains temporal; unlike the 'Vision of the Blessed Clare' where this difference signals the presence of the extra-temporal.

[22] See Baker and Henry, *National Gallery*, p. 120.

[23] See Richard Verdi, *Nicolas Poussin: 1594–1665* (London: Royal Academy of the Arts, 1995), p. 197.

[24] See, *L'Opera completa di Duccio*, ed. by Giulio Cattaneo (Milano: Rizzoli, 1972), plate 64.

(late classical) and early medieval (including the Coptic, the Byzantine, and the Romanesque) use of this key feature continues into the visual culture of the later medieval period through the Gothic, the various stages of the Renaissance, and into the swirling, cloud-enthroned hierarchies of the Baroque.[25]

Often the difference between an upper/lower opposition and one based upon grounds rests upon whether the signification is read as temporal (past, present, future) or extra-temporal (eternity). A grounds-based opposition would generally use degrees of presence to configure past, present, and future, whilst the upper/lower opposition usually offers an extra-temporal top, employing the rhetoric of eternity in its depictions of immortals and mythic religious landscapes (heaven, purgatory, and hell).

Left- and right-handedness may be divided into two aspects: left/right I (narrative, indicating 'our', or the 'subject's', left/right); and left/right II (moral), which, as it features the painting's, or 'art object's', right/left, may also be described by the alternative terms right/left (moral). Sandro Botticelli's (1445–1510) 'Three Miracles of St Zenobius' features one space with three events, given a loose (and probably unimportant) overall order by a left to right sequence (as seen by the viewer).[26] By contrast, Lorenzo Monaco's (*c*. 1372–1422) 'Incidents in the Life of St Benedict, with Death of St Benedict' also shows a continuous single space with different episodes in time (in a viewer's left-to-right chronological sequence, but where some framing of these episodes occurs naturalistically through the use of hills, buildings, windows, and doors).[27] For a yet more deliberate use of the frame, we need look no further than at another Botticelli, also taken from the life of St Zenobius—'Four Scenes from the Early Life of St Zenobius'—where the left to right temporal sequence is augmented by the use of a sequence of arches as temporal frames: three episodes are shown in a single undivided space, two more are distributed between three frames, the last (on the viewer's far right) a repetition of the time of the previous one but framing the (eternal) importance of the enthroned saint.[28]

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[25] For a Byzantine version of the Transfiguration genre (employing the upper/lower opposition and some framing), see 'The Transfiguration from a Manuscript done for John Cantacuzenus' (*c*. 1379–75), plate 231, in David Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1963). See also, in the former Benedictine abbey of Lavaudieu, the 'Christ in Majesty' (1220), which uses both size and frame, in addition to the upper/lower opposition, to achieve its effects, in *Romanesque: Architecture; Sculpture; Painting*, ed. by Rolf Tolman (Köln: Könemann, 1997), p. 387—or see any example of the Christ in Majesty genre.

[26] See Yukio Yashiro, *Sandro Botticelli and the Florentine Renaissance* (London: Medici Society, 1929), plate 147 (no. 65).

[27] See Marvin Eisenberg, *Lorenzo Monaco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), plates 184, 187.

[28] See Yukio Yashiro, *Sandro Botticelli*, plate 146 (no. 65).

In 'Jesus saves the Eyes of the Man born Blind', Duccio (active 1270–1318/19) offers a combination of (our) left to right narrative movement and centre/margin relationships.[29] Christ, in central position, is shown healing the blind man, who is shown twice, once blind and then again, with sight restored, progressing towards the picture's (our right) margin. The same space holds different times: Christ's central presence suggests, not only that there is a narrative sequence, but that the gift of vision occurs in the future, relative to the 'main event' of the picture's central foreground.[30]

'The Crucifixion' (1374) by Barnaba da Modena includes scenes of the souls of the crucified thieves being taken to heaven and hell; these scenes are placed just above the crucifixions themselves.[31] Whilst the top and background (secondary) position of these scenes may connote both future (the destination of the souls after death) and eternity (these destinations are outside of earthly time), it is the moral form of the left/right axis that concerns us here. Heaven is on the text's right (our left), and hell on the text's left (our right) in a traditional use of the art object's left as the place of hell, or sin, or condemnation (see Anglo-Saxon depictions of hell, for example). Top, margin, and ground are combined with the moral form of the left/right opposition (left/right II, or right/left (moral) in deference to the object's priority in this arrangement, and in contrast to the priority of the subject's point of view in the left/right I, or left/right (narrative) form. This member of the crucifixion genre may be further contrasted with a later example: 'The Crucifixion' of the master of the Aachen altarpiece (about 1495–1505).[32] In this picture, the use of left/right I (narrative) in a background past-to-future movement, which features events before and after the crucifixion taking place in the foreground's present, appears to have inverted the usual formula of left/right II – also understood as right/left (moral). Again this depiction of the taking of the souls of the thieves to their allotted destinations, coincides with the viewer's left and right (left/right I / narrative), thus placing hell on the viewer's left (the picture's right). These relationships of visual figure and trope suggest an initial set of individual figural descriptions (based upon forms usually reduced to 'metonymy') possibly to be augmented by a further 'metaphorical' stage, spelling out the 'ground' of their translation into narrative and time. Size disparity would suggest hyperbole (metaphorically, what looks bigger than its neighbour is more important); frame, grounds, and the upper/lower opposition would suggest synecdoche, or part/whole

[29] See Cattaneo, *L'Opera completa di Duccio*, plate 69.

[30] See also Margareto of Arezzo, 'The Virgin and Child Enthroned, with the Nativity and Scenes from the Lives of the Saints' (*c*. 1260s) where the (viewer's) right-hand bottom corner for a scene in which St Margaret is shown being swallowed and as emerging from the belly of the same dog. The emergence is shown slightly to the (viewer's) right of the swallowing.

[31] See Baker and Henry, *National Gallery*, p. 17.

[32] See Baker and Henry, *National Gallery*, p. 421.

relations (metaphorically, separate spaces look like different times); left/right I, and II, suggest direction (the latter axiologized into positive and negative), or metonymy proper (metaphorically, spatial sequences look like temporal sequences or moral divisions).

IV

The following case studies taken from late medieval and renaissance art will show in greater detail how narrativized spaces are constructed, and will discuss the various forms of temporal significance that these constructions may produce. That such spaces are usually also forms of sacralized space (where an image conveys sacred feeling), should, in the medieval and renaissance periods, come as no surprise; my contention will be that the sense of the sacred is transmitted precisely through the translation of space into time and temporality. These translations take place when a given configuration of space (some kind of visual, two dimensional image, or three dimensional form) triggers a temporal experience on the part of the implied viewer or interpreter, who then finds him or herself either within the time depicted, or standing outside of it as a witness to time's sanctified exterior. This cognitive process of temporalization appears, in medieval and renaissance art, to take place by the following means: (a) locating a special, usually contrasting, relation to the outer frame (margin, centre); (b) some sort of inner reframing (whether by resectioning or inverse perspective); (c) the painting or sculpture's visual directionality as evinced by lines of sight, vanishing points, perspective; (d) narrative direction (up/down, left/right), and, of course; (e) the positioning of the artwork's illusionistic grounds.

The display of moral hierarchy as universal hierarchy is the topic of 'Last Judgement' ('Giudizio Universale') by Georgios Klontzas (1568–1602), tempera on wood, Instituto Ellenico di studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, Museum of Icons, Venice.[33] The painting's didactic force is transmitted through a rhetorical exploitation of verticality and so of the moral connotations of upper and lower, of the directions, 'up' and 'down'. Morality and order in the form of a pyramid of personages are depicted as ordered into distinct horizontal layers: these latter then ascend in quantity of value or relative sacrality. This hierarchy is further distinguished qualitatively and temporally in the difference between historical—that is time-bound—personages and social groups, represented by the lower segment of the picture, and the extra-temporal entities with eternal life as represented by the upper segment. As observed, this division between the historical and a-historical, the temporal and the a-temporal, the sublunary and the sacred, is a favourite trope of medieval and Byzantine art: developing with Christianity and coming into

[33] See M. Manoussacas and A. Paliouras, *Guide to the Museum of Icons and the Church of Saint George* (Venice: Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, 1976), p. 40, plate 20.

dominance with the rise of this visual genre—including also the Resurrection, Ascension, Assumption, Vision, and any other genres where the image is divided into a sacred upper and profane lower—in the fourth and fifth centuries AD.[34]

If the exploitation of the two poles of the vertical constitutes the most popular path to the rhetoric of eternity, then figurative distortion is another common method of implying the rhetorical contrast of time and its opposite, its sanctified exterior. The 'Annunciation'—Cappella dell'Annunciata, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, in Rome (1500, restored 1989) by Antoniazzo Romano—may be read as an example of the rhetorical use of comparative scale: a rhetoric to which temporal implications are central. In a figure found in much devotional art of the medieval and renaissance periods, and dating, as we have seen, back to ancient Egypt ('The Victory of King Narmer', 3100 BC, Cairo Museum), a comparatively small patron and his wards are counterposed to the much larger persons of an Angel and of the Virgin Mary. How is this to be read: as a difference in kinds of space, as a fragmentation of perspective, or, as differences in time? In this typical example of the Annunciation genre + patron (where the commissioner of the artwork is included within the artwork itself), the discrepancy of size is perceived, not as an error, as some failure of realism or technique, but as figurative. It is the distinction of size that represents the difference between mortals and immortals. If this figure translates spatial representations into temporal terms, then the temporal itself, in turn, is found to be counterposed to the extra-temporal: history, or historical personages—here Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, uncle of Tomás de Torquemada, the inquisitor—are counterposed to figures outside of, or beyond history—the Angel and the Virgin are on the other, normally non-present side, the side of eternity. Otherwise put: what the over-presented figures figure is a sense of extra-presence: their super-human immortal status. What we have in this painting is an example of the rhetoric of the 'outside' of time, the rhetoric of eternity. As already noted the function of eternity is to stabilize belief-systems, ideologies, and identities in the contingent ever-shifting realm of history by anchoring them to a fixed and sacred position beyond the time of the everyday. Here the patron or donor confers a double gift, the future of his wards, and the cash to provide them with a dowry if they are to marry, or to sustain them if they are transferred to the church—certainly to pay for the commission and its place in the chapel. Currency permits the further exchange of bodies that will then become capable of further reproduction (of bodies and of society). The means of social production and reproduction, are exchanged for the payoff of recognition: the identity of the patron (as featured in the painting itself; the visual proof of the

[34] For the same basic structure as seen from the other (Italian) side of the Adriatic, see Francesco Botticini, 'The Assumption of the Virgin' (1475–77), egg tempera on wood, National Gallery, London. The top/bottom division includes hierarchical ranks within the eternal orders again; Christ occupies the central high spot of the a-temporal, or eternal half. The bottom, or temporal, half includes saints, immortals identified by their halos, and mortals who look on (and up) in pious awe.

donor's Christian piety, his place in the social hierarchy, and, not least if we look at the terms of exchange, his gender—his beneficence permits women to exist 'properly', in prayer or in procreation). As so often with gift exchange the really important transaction takes place on the level of identity, the level of self-imagining as a part of the social imaginary (and also as a position within the, very real, social hierarchy of the time). The return comes on the level of the recognition proffered by the collective: the implied viewers that make up the contextual or implied community of the individual depicted (here the patron). This identity exchange also buys the patron a place in eternity (as he would hope) and a place in a tradition (that of the beneficent givers of the past); certainly it won him a place in the future—as our present attentions give witness.

The direction of light may also be used to carry the rhetorical weight generated in the course of stimulating temporal significance. 'Lot and his Daughters' by Rutilio Manetti (1571–1639)—Siena, oil on canvas, 220x142 cm, Inv. 1278), from the Galleria Nazionale D'arte Antica, in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome—provides a moral allegory through the use of light.[35] The picture's lighting comes from below, from a candle in the lower foreground, and this directionality provides a moral comment on the picture's content and augmenting the picture's grim aspect. In other paintings (and in sculpture too), light clearly indicated as falling from above is read as transfiguring or raising its object in moral value (or at least 'highlighting' a moral point). Here, in another utilization of the moral logic of verticality, as the light rises from below, so the moral value falls. Temporality in 'Loth e le figlie' is configured in a contingent, or historical, and so time-bound, event. This event is, itself, revealed in the a-temporal light of eternal law, here refracted as the equally eternal light of the damned burning in hell—those already judged according to the law and found wanting. Incest is counterposed to God's law, either cementing the law through a negative exemplar (depending upon the reading given by the audience), or indicating the extent of the extremity, which demands that such an exception be made (demonstrating the sovereignty of the deity in question by showing that only God's will is above the law given by that self-same God).[36]

[35] See *Carravagio and his Italian Followers*, ed. by Claudio Strinati and Rossella Vodret (Venice: Marsilio, 1998), pp. 92–94.

[36] The effect of this painting, part of a thematic genre popular from the late medieval period onwards ('Lot and his Daughters', see also Albrecht Altdorfer and Cornelis Cornelisz), was not only as an index of moral corruption, but also of the paradoxical—'the Lord moves in mysterious ways'. The Bible (Genesis 19. 30–38) appears to regard the daughters/women as inherently amoral: Lot offers them to the mob in place of his guests; then it is the daughters who cause Lot to be drunk and incite him to commit incest.

V

Within lived time itself, the experience of past, present, and future are to be continually distinguished in their superimposition as our thought moves backwards and forwards in time. This differentiation is also found, pressed into service in the cause of narrative, in many paintings of this period. One way of suggesting the lack of immediate presence, and so of a relative position in the painting's future or past is through an internal reframing. This is a technique used by many Renaissance artists, most notably by Raphael in the Vatican frescos, in the 'Liberation of St Peter'. In another version of 'Lot and his Daughters' by Jan Masseys (1563), from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, a framed and marginal background (near to its right hand frame—our left—and re-framed, within the picture, by an encircling rock formation) reveals the past of the event pictured in the foreground; the inset view of the journey leads causally to the seduction represented in the foreground. Anthropologists and literary historians will be familiar with the incest theme as main bearer of the rhetoric of limits, of the rhetorically 'worst possible', or of the mapping of the social by its extremities, as demonstrated by many examples from ancient myth to today's postmodern literatures of transgression. The incest theme may appear as a crime against the eternal (as another form of the rhetoric of eternity), as the incarnation of the negative sacred or abject—with taboo as the sign of the fallen. Or by contrast, the incest theme may signify the breaking of taboo as the sign of the blessed, of those aspiring to exception, that is, the signification of those above the law (again mythology and the history of literature furnish many examples).

Another picture from Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum, again featuring the incest theme, will illustrate the relation of time and narrative to painterly ground. In the simplest case the possible grounds of a painting (back, middle, and foreground, together with their gradations) are employed, following their varying (usually receding) degrees of presence, or illusionary proximity to the viewer, to suggest a path through the past, culminating in the present, the foreground. In the example I have chosen the progress of the narrative occurs through a movement from the back of the painting to its front, its foreground. Lucas Cranach the Elder's 'Lot and his Daughters' (1528) may be read as providing the basic model for this representation of temporal movement: progressing from the fire of the destroyed city (back), to Lot's wife as a pillar of salt (back–middle), to the continuing journey of Lot and his daughters (middle), and finishing with the seduction scene in the pre-dominating foreground, where the movement from past to present is completed. In this kind of narrative presentation the key moment in the last, the storyline's culmination and carrier of any didactic point the painting may be making.[37]

[37] For an early example of back to front narrative directionality, combined with (the picture's) right to left and back again (our Western, left to right, arrow of time), see the sixth century, 'Story of Jacob', miniature in the Vienna Genesis; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS theol. gr. 31, fol. 12^{v}. For the image see colour-

A variation on the formula of narrative directionality is the temporal loop. 'The fate of the earthly remains of St John the Baptist'—'Schicksal der irdischen Überreste Johannes d. Täufers' (1485), by Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna—depicts the narrative chronology progressing from the picture's back to its front, and then continuing on in its middle ground and then continuing on in its middle ground (the action taking place in threee broad stages, from around 10/20 BC to AD 362 to the thirteenth century; from the burial of the Baptist, and separately his head, to Emperor Julian the Apostate's attempt to cremate the saint's bones; to the finding of the bones by the Knights of Malta, and their portage to their eventual home, the convent of St Jean d'Arc in 1252).[38] What is important is that two kinds of temporal description are possible here: either, all is in the past for the viewer in the present time (the painting—painted after the events depicted—represents three moments in the past, connected by a narrative); or the times represented may be ordered according to the picture's own priorities, in which case the large and full foreground may be read as the present (as the key event depicted into whose time we are to enter), with the other two, less present grounds taking their temporal valencies according to their positions before this key event (the past) or after it (the future), and the key event taking the valency of the presented present). The later sequence will be seen to form a kind of temporal loop (from back to front then back to the middle ground). In terms of meaning, the failed attempt to destroy St John's remains, the topic of the picture's present, is foremost in our minds. This foreground event is contrasted with the picture's time of painting (taking place only two hundred years after the refinding of the relics and their translation—we see them being borne back towards the upper margin), this event, in turn, returns us to the present of the implied and Christian viewer, living in a taken-for-granted Christian epoch that has (from the point of view of both the time of the painting, and of the present in the painting) inherited the painting's future having survived the persecutions of the pagan past. The rhetorical narrative line of the painting runs from the origin (the burial of the Baptist) to the implied viewer of the present, who is the true end of the narrative line and depicted arrow of time; the arrow's swerve however foregrounds the failure of the church's opponents—the logic of presence pulls the moment of threat to the fore. However, the somewhat orientalized appearance of these persecutors suggests that Islam, rather than some form of paganism, is the real opponent in mind at the time of painting—one that, at that time, did indeed pose a real challenge to Christendom in the East.

Another variation on the temporal loop, this time incorporating the directionality, left to right (our right to left), can be found in Lucas Cranach the Elder's 'Paradise' (1530), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. However before

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plate 6 in Snyder, *Medieval Art*, p. 53.

[38] See *Picture Gallery of the Art History Museum, Vienna*, ed. by Giogio T. Faggio (London: Hamlyn, 1970), p. 104.

looking at the painting itself, it is worth taking time to examine the left/right issue as it is evinced in this painting and the elements it mobilizes in order to transmit significance. The first element is that of the narrativization of direction, with the movement of the same (or interrelated) characters through the unified space of the painting (simultaneous narrative). So far the ordering of time in the painting is as seen from a position 'outside'. However, the centre (foreground) of the painting may also be read as the equivalent of a 'now' position, so rendering the other events as 'before' and 'after'. This 'now' position would represent the key turning-point in the narrative, and is here highlighted as the place and time of the implied viewer, who is invited into the text, as it where, exchanging the process of time viewed for temporality experienced.

Temporality brings us to the second element in the unpacking of the right/left issue—which I will divide into three aspects; point of view, directionality, and morality. The question of point of view centres around the contrast between our (the viewer's) point of view and its inversion: that of, from, or from within, the painting, as in the case of geometric perspective versus inverse perspective—in this case the latter is God's point of view (the position of God's presence in the painting). The second aspect is that of directionality: what is the 'proper' direction, 'our' left to right, the direction of writing—perhaps as the visualized arrow of time in the West; or the art object's left to right (as represented in the Cranach)? The arrow of time, the arrow of narrative, crystallizes the issue of directionality into the deictic properties of 'towards'. Towards what is right and proper; this is the right direction, a direction which is prescribed by law and which is the home of the good. A just way anchored in eternal truth. Yet the question still remains: why exchange the left/right of the viewer for the right/left of the art object? A point of view originating from within the painting implies a place within the time and space of the painting as the site of truth, the place and time from which value is to be apportioned; the point of view of the artwork is to be preferred to our (individual, external) place of vision. The viewer must identify with the message, and ideology of the two dimensional illusion before which he or she stands. There is only one moral viewpoint, that of the painting, and it is this viewpoint which determines not only, the placing of the valencies of good and evil, but also the question of whose left and right is to be granted significance, and so which direction is the proper one (towards the picture's right). The third element in our discussion of the role of left and right, and the passage between them is, therefore, that of morality. The source of the moral directionality of the picture (which ever left/right viewpoint is adopted) lies in the extra-temporal realm; we have again returned to the rhetoric of eternity, with right and left, together with the direction towards each, respectively tagged as good and evil. For example, see the division of the tympanum, a division performed by the last judgement which it depicts, where the tympanum's right is heaven, and its left is hell, on the Church of St Foy, Conques, 1125–35—hell, in Anglo-Saxon devotional art, is often depicted in the far right-hand (the text's left-hand) corner. Both of these mythical places are, of course, outside of time, are therefore eternal, and represent as

shown together in the last judgement genre, the edge of time, the end or edge of history, the last event of the Christian world view (as offered by the Gothic cathedral front, for example); hence lifting the implied viewer, out of history, out of time, and offering a glimpse of, indeed a vantage point or place from within, the outside of time (perhaps as one of those about to be judged). Clearly the combination of these three aspects of the left/right question and their implications allows for a multiplicity of effects and messages to be conveyed.]

Bearing the above in mind let us now re-examine Cranach's 'Paradise'. The narrative movement is simultaneously, from back to front to back, from top to centre to top, and, structuring these movements, the guiding directionality beginning with (the picture's) left and moving across to its right. From Adam's creation, the eye moves across to Adam and Eve's eviction from the Garden of Eden (respectively on the picture's, extreme left and extreme right), via the foregrounded-centre where God forbids the tasting of the tree of knowledge—the scene of the handing down of God's word and the law. If the latter is read as the present then the other scenes take their place before and after this event as (its) past and future. This temporal movement has its role to play in the painting's didactic message for the implied viewer. The present viewer is invited to take God's words as his or her present guide, otherwise, no matter what their origin (as shown in both their and the picture's past), he or she will suffer an analogical fate (as in their, and the picture's future).[39] If the medium is not the message, then the message is certainly in the picture's temporal relations. It is important to note that attention to simple narrative direction alone will not reveal the rhetorical force behind the message; only an examination of the elements of temporal succession and their relation to presence (the 'now' position of the implied viewer as participator, as believer), constructed through the picture's grounds and centre/margin relations, can both spell out the ideological implications of the painting and the means by which the meaning-effect is transmitted.

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[39] Interestingly, the programme notes in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, discuss the narrative direction as from left to right, obviously meaning the picture's left and right, yet without mentioning why this viewpoint would be preferred to the other, experientially prior option. This option, the left and right of the viewer, is also the 'normal' directionality for narrative representation in the history of Western art, a directionality which is also, again in the West, supported by the left to right of the direction of writing, and so of the implied arrow of time. In this case the text's left/right relations take precedence over the subject's left/right as in the moral form of the left/right opposition (as in the example of St Foy regarding the placement of heaven and hell). A valuable contrast to these findings, and an important contribution to a comparative visual rhetoric, would be provided by a study of the Arab world's use of right/left as a script direction in relation to its visual representations of narrative directions, and to any directional sense of good and evil as privileging left and right. A further comparison with a non-monotheistic culture would also be invaluable.

It is in the ways described above, that the background, the upper/lower opposition, the reframing, the marginalization, or the narrative directionality from margin to centre, tend to represent the events leading to, or from, an event depicted in the foreground (the viewer's implied present, their implied temporal proximity to the events within the frame).[40] Events depicted 'behind' the foreground will then be checked for past or future slots in the reconstruction of a putative narrative process. The use of such differences and oppositions, and their temporal implications (whether narrative in their import, or drawing upon the rhetoric of eternity) are potentially a part of any artwork's persuasive arsenal, a part of its effectiveness—indeed potentially a source of its very affectivity. From the early use of temporal indicators in classical civilizations (emblematic, synoptic, successive narrative) to the flowering of simultaneous narrative in medieval and renaissance art, we can see a development that seems to have dissipated, if not disappeared, in the centuries that were to follow: is it fanciful, then, to believe that one may find traces of temporal rhetoric in the art made since this period—surviving as a set of implicit potentials and cues centring around frame, verticality, directionality, luminosity, figure, and ground?[41] Could it be these sciamorphs, these 'shadow shapes' of time, acting as

[40] For a mode of temporal reference not discussed above (symbolic through the foregrounding or self-reference of a visual figurative form; the anamorphosis) and for an early example of what might be termed the 'Vanitas' genre with its particular relation of the temporal to the extra-temporal; see Hans Holbein the Younger, 'The Ambassadors' (early sixteenth century) National Gallery, London. The anamorphosis in the foreground can only be seen from an 'other' space above viewer head-level, or from below the level of the painting—this other perspective works as a figure to suggest another time outside of the rational Renaissance space/time of the picture. This negative form of the rhetoric of eternity, as employed by another (ideological) point of view, is augmented by a crucifixion hidden in (the picture's) top right corner, in a space 'behind' the space depicted; a space with its own second meanings: last things; eternity. Both symbols (unrecoupable skull and hidden crucifix) indicate the vanity of the mastery, which is the picture's most immediate message (witness the compasses, maps, globes, instruments, and clocks) by subverting this space—indicating the extra-temporal realm beyond. To see the anamorphosis one must be below ground or hovering above it; the message seems fairly clear. Furthermore, as seen from below, the skull's right eye-socket is oversized: seen from the 'above' position both eye-sockets are proportional, indicating that this is the 'proper', implied, (elevated) position from which to see the skull—a position from which the rest of the picture is effectively scrambled. The change of perspective connotes a change of ideology and an affirmation of faith over reason. Again space as time has symbolically bridged the gap to the sacred, affirming a particular identity, community, and world-view.

[41] Whether in a Poussin, a David, a Turner, or, in the twentieth-century cubist fragmentation of a Picasso, the disjunctions and super-impositions of a Braque, the realism of a Hopper, or in the collage of a Rauschenberg, or the postmodern form of the photographic image, the rhetoric of temporality will be found to furnish a tool too powerful to be easily dispensed with. But this should not surprise us: for there is no human experience which is not at the same time always already set in a matrix made from past, present, and future and which

implicit or figural temporal potentials, that may still be found to haunt post-narrative art in covert form four hundred years after their most explicit manifestation? If so this would make the evolution of temporal representation coeval at least with the history of representation in post-neolithic societies, if not with that of the history of visual representation itself.

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does not observe some (usually sacralized) form of the distinction between temporality and eternity. The author pursues these questions through the realms of painting, photography and architecture in a study in progress (to which it is hoped that this article will contribute as a part of the introduction) entitled *Eternity, Entropy, and Utopia: A Rhetoric of Time in the Arts*.

'Fiat Lux': Iconology and Theology of Time in Medieval Catalonia

ALFONS PUIGARNAU

In the Middle Ages, the problem of aesthetics was no more than one particular aspect of the problem of the knowledge of God. It was linked to the various mysteries of the Revelation. This explains why commentaries on human nature, the Incarnation and the Second Coming are also rich reflections on the notion of beauty. Most of the Church Fathers, either in the East or West, did not tend to assign beauty any value in itself.[1] Beauty was merely an effect of the manifestation of divine wisdom, that is to say, the word, in which invisible splendours are revealed.[2] Considered as a theophany, as the reflection of a divine presence in the soul and in

[1] See diverse examples in the *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by J-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64), hereafter cited as PL, and in the Corpus Christianorum series: Series Latina and Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-).

[2] 'Duo enim simulacra erant proposita homini, in quibus invisibilia videre potuisset. Unum naturae, et unum gratiae. Simulacrum naturae erat species hujus mundi. Simulacrum autem gratiae humanitatis Verbi', Hugh of Saint-Victor (PL, 175, 117); 'Dupliciter ergo lux eterna seipsam mundo declarat: per Scriptura, videlicet et creatural. Non enim aliter in nobis divina cognitio renovatur nisi per divinae Scripturae apices et creaturae specie', Scotus Eriugena, *In Joh. prol.* (PL, 122, 289); 'Visibiles formas, sive quas in natura rerum, sive quas in sanctissimis divinae Scripturae sacramentis contemplatur (homo), nec propter seipsas factas, nec propter seipsasappetendas seu nobis promulgatas, sed invisibilis Pulchritudinis imaginationes esse, per quas divina Providentia in ipsam puram et invisibilem Pulchritudinem ipsius Veritatis, quam amat, et ad quam tendit omne quod amat sive sciens sive nesciens, humanos animos revocat.', Scotus Eriugena, *In ier. coel.* (PL, 122, 138–39).

material things, beauty is a sign, a perpetual reminder to man that he must rise from the visible to the invisible, from the sensible world to the knowledge of God. Aesthetic knowledge, intuitive and immediate, provides the same information as rational knowledge based on meditation or study of the scriptures: the beauty of art, images or liturgical chant is seen as equivalent to the beauty of the universe.[3]

The problem of the knowledge of God is, then, an aesthetic problem and, along with the problem of images, it was determined by one of the major themes in Christian theology, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. In this context, it must be said that before Christ restored human nature through his incarnation, no knowledge of God was possible. Original sin had made man incapable of rising above sensible appearances.[4]

Within a volume that regards the role of time and eternity in the Middle Ages we have to point out in what sense it is iconologically and theologically possible to express aesthetic knowledge of God and the incarnation. And the main suggestion behind these pages is a twofold analogy that involves the dyads time–image and eternity–theology. In order to understand what happens with time and eternity in the Middle Ages it is necessary to state a conversion of a time into an image (iconology), and an eternity into a intelligible concept (theology). Only in this way can the analogy between divine 'fiat' (to bring something into being) and an iconological 'lux' (to create light as an iconographic image) be understood. The result of this analogy is a visible world represented in artistical terms in which the icon of the enthroned divine word in a globe of light dominates all created things from the beginning to the end of times. The undeniable apocalyptical nature of this icon of time and eternity leads us to analyse the cosmological image of the twelfth-century tapestry of the Girona Cathedral in theological and iconological terms, between alpha and omega, opening and closing the rainbow of all times.

[3] 'Non cessat nec tacet laudes tuas universa creatura nec spiritus amnis per os conversum ad te nec animalia nec corporalia per os considerantium ea, ut exurgat in te a lassitudine anima nostra innitens eis, quae fecisti et transiens ad te, qui fecisti haec mirabiliter; et ibi refectio et vera fortitudo', *Confessions*, V, 1; 'Materialia lumina, sive quae naturaliter in caelestibus spatiis ordinata sunt, sive auqe in terris humano artificio efficiuntur, imagines sunt intelligibilium luminum', Scotus Eriugena, *In ier. coel*. (PL, 122, 139); 'Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit | Et demersa prius, hac visa luce, resurgit', Suger, *De rebus in adm.*, XXVII.

[4] Y. Christe, *Les grands portails romans: Études sur l'iconologie des théophanies romanes*, Institut d'Histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève, Études et documents, 7 (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1969), pp. 37–38.

Theologies that Generate Iconographies

To engage in a discussion of the iconology and the theology of time in the twelfth century we are obliged to touch on other related topics. In particular, in considering the problem of the knowledge of God, a problem that underlies many others pertaining to the Middle Ages, we must examine the content of works of art, and more specifically, the content of the theology of light in the iconography of the pantocrator. There are a good many aspects of the history of the Catalan counties prior to their union with Aragon that, if taken out of context, lose significance and contribute even less to the history of philosophy, theology and art in Western Europe. It has been said that Catalonia's outstanding culture and spirituality in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is of great importance today but would have appeared in the past to be a sham heritage, one merely borrowed from its neighbours.

A number of writers have stated that, in view of the culture of the age, it would seem that what little there was and almost all that has been handed down to us was either pillaged or received as a gift from other societies, and there are those who see in those times no original talent either in works of art or manuscripts. Nevertheless, when one studies theology of light, it becomes clear that a mature cultural sensibility existed in Catalonia in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In seeing the image of the *maiestas domini* as possibly an attempt to set forth a full-blown Christological scheme we assume that we are dealing with a society that saw the world with specific aesthetic criteria. The study of the iconography of Christ–Light, in the context of the Augustinian reformation in Catalonia, involves consideration of the artistic production of the time as part of the pastoral and cultural efforts of those who directed that society's art and theology.

The cultural and artistic heritage that we are familiar with—mostly in the form of manuscripts, mural paintings and altar frontals—are not merely portions of a rural production lacking originality and classical tastes. In these pages, I start from the premise that the works that have come down to us must be mere fragments of a very extensive cultural, historical and aesthetic production. This production, moreover, was of great historical significance for a society that had depended culturally for so long on the Carolingian world. The wealth of mural decoration dates from the twelfth century, the golden age of fresco painting in Catalonia and a time of great openness to outside influences. The preceding one hundred years were a time of formation and testing; the twelfth century was a moment of crystallization. It was the time of Ramon Berenguer III (1091–1131), Ramon Berenguer IV (1131–62) and Alfonso II (1162–96). This era saw alliances with the Italian republics, the growth of the military orders and the crusades, as well as decisive victories over the Muslims.

Nor was this an artistic production in isolation, lacking in cultural contact with the outside world. The formal and compositional aspects of the Catalan Romanesque image have certain analogies in the Middle East. This is evident in the posture of the *Imago Dei*, depicted in an almond-shaped aureole and in a hieratic pose that is not found in local productions derived from Roman or Latin sources. From both the

theological and artistic standpoint, the Latin west offers an image of Christ in Majesty that is more humanized, less inaccessible—in a manner of speaking—than that found in eastern imagery. The East tended to depict a pantocrator who was more hieratic, more idealized or theologized. Nevertheless, the Mediterranean is not immense and eastern influences, in spite of transformations undergone along the way, particularly in Italy and France, gradually reached the region south of the Pyrenees. The Catalan image of the pantocrator clearly shows the stamp of a great many iconographic and stylistic traits derived from the East, although it is also thoroughly imbued with more local elements (Frankish, Lombard or Sicilian, depending on the example), making this iconography unique and blending its orientalizing tendencies with a varied combination of stylistic trends that came together to form the so-called Catalan Romanesque style.

It is important to bear in mind that influences between different images do not occur merely through the imitation of an ornamental motif, or a type of brush stroke, or a way of holding a rasp, or a more or less traditional iconographic model. These influences must also be seen in the *imago dei–imago mundi* relationship. The most characteristic aspect of every interpretation, that which provides it with its own individual or borrowed character, hinges on which aspects of God are represented when he is present in the work, and on the relationship that is established between the three key elements of the work: God, man and the world. This interpretation necessarily confers certain specific traits upon the work of art, what might be called its 'style'. In this sense, it is reasonable to speak of 'influences'. However, and above all, each *imago dei* gives rise to an *imago mundi* and, in the relationship between them, to a relative position for man, between God and the world. This is the most authentic influence. This is how we must understand the Byzantine inclination of Catalan art, as an influence pointing to a highly trinitarian *imago dei*, one that synthesizes the three persons and that is therefore more apparently distant from the world, more mystical.

This oriental influence arrived in three waves that were superimposed one upon the other: southern Italian Cluniacism of the eleventh century (the strictness of Cluny was notably absent from Catalonia); Lombard decorativism from the beginning of the twelfth century (an almost industrial influence since the art was passed on from master to master, with a rather typological inclination); and a progressively secularized Byzantinism that arrived via France between the middle of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, containing the germ of the metaphorical excesses of Gothic art.

However one defines the place and time, they were the scene of the development of a system of plastic values borrowed or arriving from other places, and influenced by one very clear idea: that imperial divinity had long been supplanted by a different divinity—one that was not of this world. Christ appears iconographically in the form of a bust, as in the case of the Girona tapestry, or enthroned, as in most cases, giving a blessing with his right hand and holding a book—either open or closed—in his left hand, harking back to the figure of the

emperor triumphant in war receiving the homage of the conquered people, or in a solemn court scene. With the ascendancy of Christianity, the theological motivation of the imperial cult was redirected. From this moment on, it was accepted that imperial authority was granted by God and that the emperor was, at most, his earthly representative. Art turned back to the past, borrowing from the repertoire of imperial iconography and conferring schemes on the divinity that, beginning already in the fourth century, took shape as religious types such as the *Maiestas Domini*, *Christus gloriosus* or *Pantocrator*: these types were often linked, under eastern influence, to the iconography of Christ–Light.

Based on this generalized iconography, Catalan models gradually developed their own characteristic features connected with their complex geographical situation, showing influences from Mozarabic and Muslim Spain, northern and southern France, England, central Italy and Lombardy. In reference to the *fiat lux* present in the tapestry of the cathedral of Girona (fig. 1), we must ask a series of necessarily interrelated questions in order to understand that, when speaking of light, the darkness is being left behind, and when speaking of grace, sin is being left behind. This is the poetics of the tapestry, whose geographical origin, being Catalan, has not yet been exactly determined. It is a work that deals with the history of the relationship between man and God before the Fall.

It is in this context that we must situate the reception of a theology of light. The tapestry contrasts two moments in the history of salvation. Before the Incarnation, the word was invisible to angels and man and knew all that is, all that may be said, and all that can be known. However, in taking human form the word was made manifest to men and descended among them so that they might know him in their own way, according to their ability, through his theophanies.[5] If the Incarnation is, in a manner of speaking, the source and the basis of all knowledge of God and therefore of all speculation on the idea of beauty, the Second Coming will mark its end, since Christ's appearance will reveal once and for all, *facie a faciem*, all of the mysteries of God.[6] This is what is expressed in the tapestry through the juxtaposition of scenes of the creation before original sin with the image of the Pantocrator, who, by virtue of the former, becomes the Cosmocrator, *per quem omnia facta sunt*.

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[5] Christe, *Les grands portails romans*, p. 39.

> Inaccessibilis enim erat nobis illa incomprehensibilis lux Patris, priusquam incarnaretur et homo fieret lux eb eo genita, quae est Christus; ipso autem humanato, et in nostra natuyra facto, accessum habemus ad invisibilem Patrem; nam dum intelligimus Christi humanitatem, profecto cognoscimus, quantur datur nobis cognoscere, ipsius et Patris sui et Spiritus utriusque abditam divinitatem. Hinc est quod et ipse ait: Philippe, qui me videt et Patrem meum videt, hoc est: qui me verum Deum et hominem intelligit, ipse Patrem meum in me intelligit, quia ego in Patre et Pater in me; ego et Pater unum sumus,

Scotus Eriugena, *In ier. coel.* (PL, 122, 132).

[6] Christe, *Les grands portails roman*, p. 41.



Figure 1. Tapestry of the Cathedral of Girona, *c.* 1150, piece of cloth of 450 x 365 cm. The iconography of *Maiestas domini* placed in a central circle. Within a second circle, the six days of creation synthesized in five scenes and in the upper part of the circle, three more images: the angel of light and shadow and, in the middle, the holy dove. Out of the second circle, the representation of the four great rivers within the square of the calendar. (Published with permission of the Cathedral of Girona Museum)

At the same time, and in association with the iconographic scheme of the pantocrator, there were a great many images connected with the first chapters of Genesis throughout Catalonia in the twelfth century. These images capture the sense of the omnipotent Christ Pantocrator, complemented by the solution provided by sin. In other words, that which, within the mystery, gives meaning to the fact that God created a being with the ability to rebel is precisely the redemptive act of salvation through the grace of Christ. This is the meaning of the original sin cycles alongside cycles based on John, in both evangelical (prologue to the fourth gospel) and apocalyptic versions. It is logical that depictions of the coexistence of this *exitus* (outgoing, as the *fiat lux* issuing from the creator) with the *redditus* (return, as *lux*

hominum, incarnated and realized by the redeemer) should be found throughout most of Catalonia in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Aside from the Creation Tapestry of the Girona Cathedral, other iconographic schemes are known: Sant Sadurní de Osormort; Sant Martí Sescorts; Sant Martí del Brull; Sant Andreu de Sagàs; and the sequence in the Castle of Marmellar. This iconography is found in the following regions: Osona, Barcelonés, Berguedà and Baix Penedès. It is a sufficiently significant presence to allow us to confirm the existence of a certain cultural and religious climate, in the sense of understanding the identification of Christ–Light with the darkness of the sin of the first human couple. The iconography of this region clearly shows God creating man in his own image; that man, the first of the human lineage, then rebels and sullies his image and, along with it, the image of God. And lastly, we see God unfolding his own image and, through the Incarnation, restoring humanity and revealing himself in the apocalyptic form of light. This vision is key to understanding the pictorial schemes of the time. It does not invalidate conventional stylistic analyses nor the usual formal parallels, but instead attempts to complement them with new hermeneutic instruments.

Cultural Roots of the Creation Tapestry

The Creation Tapestry does not appear in the Cathedral inventories until the sixteenth century, when it is called *pessa dita de Constantino* and *lo drap de Carles gran de la istoria del emperador Contantí*.[7] It is difficult to explain this lack of mention in the cathedral inventories, the oldest of which dates from the thirteenth century. Bearing in mind that the commentaries on the Beatus Apocalypse, copied at the Cathedral and now in Turin,[8] show evidence of themes appearing in the tapestry but not in the tenth-century original, the possibility exists that the tapestry was made at the Cathedral or that it at least was there when the manuscript was copied.[9] The tapestry's iconographic display, in the form of circular arrangement of the scenes, is the transposition to a textile format of a group of elements that are always shown flat, oblong or within a square. It is a clear example of what has been called the role

[7] E. C. Girbal, 'Tapicerías de la catedral', *Revista de Girona*, 13 (1888), 1 for the reference *pessa dita de Constantino*; and E. C. Girbal, 'El viaje de Carlos V a Girona en 1538 y la pequeña tregua hasta junio antecedente de la de Niza', *Hispania*, 34 (1949), for the reference *lo drap de Carles Gran*. Articles quoted in P. de Palol, *El tapís de la Creació de la Catedral de Girona*, Artestudi, S. 2 (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, Institut d'Estudis Gironins, 1986), p. 79.

[8] P. de Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació de la catedral de Girona i el Beat de Torí: Problemes de cronologia', *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis gironins*, 25 (1979–80), 119 ff.

[9] 'It seems clear that the tapestry was known for other reasons and under a different name'; de Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', p. 79.

of the miniature painting in mural decoration.[10] The miniatures of the Genesis of Girona are laid out, as if for a cupola or apse, in a circular shape with radial divisions. In the centre, the image of the Pantocrator presides the entire cycle. This is the representation of the *Maiestas Domini*, the revealed apocalyptic theophany, manifest and non-cryptic. It is unusual to find the apocalyptic theme of the vision of the almighty associated with the historical account of Genesis.[11] The Pantocrator is characteristically shown as a young man without a beard, in the Byzantine manner of representing the majesty of Emmanuel.[12] This image of Christ corresponds, in plastic terms, to Byzantine and pre-Byzantine oriental modes of representation, quite different from the Hispanic Romanesque pantocrator. Christ is also dressed in a clearly Byzantine style, in a *himation* with a jewelled collar and border, his left thigh covered by a gold-edge *pallium*. The cruciform halo, the cross inset with jewels, was common both in the Carolingian and Romanesque worlds (fig. 2)[13]

The high possibility of being Catalan of the Girona tapestry should run somewhat counter to its possible use as valuable documentary evidence of the culture of the Catalan counties in the mid-twelfth century.[14] Nevertheless, the fact

[10] E. Kitzinger, 'The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration', in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, ed. by K. Weitzmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 99 ff.

[11] A parallel is found in the Helmarshausen Gospels, dated 1173–75, where the Pantocrator appears surrounded by the six days of the Creation: see de Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', p. 91; inscription in the book: EGO DOMINUS FACIENS OMNIA HEC.

[12] F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini, théophanies de l'apocalypse dans l'art chrétien*, Studi di antichità cristiana, 13 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938), p. 277.

[13] Miniature of the Sacramentary of Metz, belonging to the Carolingian cultural atmosphere of Charles the Bald (ninth century)—Paris, BNF, MS lat. 1141, fol. 6—contemporary to the very influential theologian (lately in Romanesque Catalonia) Johannes Scotus Eriugena, and with a depiction of the same iconography of Geon (ocean) below the main figure of the Pantocrator, that appears in the upper-left part of the Girona tapestry.

[14] De Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', p. 154, reads:

> It was inspired by miniatures of Greek origin and the accompanying texts are in western Latin (referring to the Venice mosaics, which are possible parallels). This is also the case in Girona, but only in respect of the Genesis cycle. The Carolingian or northern Italian models of the *Menologion* and the invention of the cross already bear Latin inscriptions [. . .] The total absence of any Hispanic motifs, either Mozarabic or Visigothic, lead us to situate it in the old counties of the Spanish March. In any case, whatever doubts there may be would be between a Catalan origin, in Septimania, or to attribute it to northern Italy [. . .] What is certain is the oriental origin of its basic forms, with a strong Byzantine influence in the Genesis and unmistakable Carolingian elements—with their holdovers from Rome—but undoubtedly through northern Italy. It seems likely that this cultural area was where, at the beginning of the Middle Ages,

that it does not appear in any inventory between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries does not mean that it cannot be seen as an iconographic source for the Beatus commentaries now in Turin.[15] This means that, whether or not it was made in Catalonia, it was kept in the Girona Cathedral since the eleventh or twelfth century, and was therefore a contributing element to the dynamic culture of the time. In addition, being an artefact with a strongly oriental flavour, it is even more interesting in connection with the reception of the theology of light at a time when the Girona area was also witnessing the spread of this type of Christology through a number of liturgical channels.[16]

Like the manuscripts of Scotus Eriugena's sermon, the Girona tapestry is further proof of the westward spread of aesthetic formulas originating in the Byzantine and Christian East. Comparison of this scene with the Catalan bibles of Roda and Ripoll, which would not have been the only ones in Catalonia, shows that we are in a different cultural context. The Catalan bibles contain elements derived from the Visigothic and Mozarabic worlds, and when illustrating scenes of Genesis, they are much more laconic than the oriental cycles. The origin of the iconographic cycle of the Old Testament in connection with Girona is to be sought in oriental Byzantine or Hellenistic miniatures, of which the oldest surviving example is the Cotton Genesis, with its close similarity to the Vienna Genesis or later cycles such as the Joshua Roll. The parallels between the Cotton Genesis, the Octateuch of the Constaninople Seraglio, and the cupolas of St Mark's Basilica in Venice argue in

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the two currents joined that would travel westwards and arrive in Catalonia, whether specifically in Girona or other cultural centres of the time, beginning, I believe, in the tenth century.

[15] 'We are convinced of the presence of the Creation Tapestry in the Cathedral of Girona when the manuscript of the tenth-century Beatus, now in Turin and known as the Beatus of Turin, was copied in the Girona Cathedral scriptorium': de Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació' (p. 154). 'There can be no doubt that the copyist of the Beatus of Girona of 975 had before him the Creation Tapestry and was intimately familiar with it' (p. 155).

[16] For example, Augustine's commentary, mentioned earlier, on the Gospel of John 8. 12: *Homiliarium Bedae*, Girona, Diocesan Museum, fols 184^{v}–199^{v}, PL, 35, 1652–75. R. Etaix, 'L'homiliaire conservé au *Museo Diocesano* de Girona', in *Homéliaires patristiques latines: Recueil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1994); or the 'Vox Spiritualis aquilae' by Johannes Scotus Eriugena: Girona, Chapter Archives, MSS 20.b.5, 20.b.6 and 20.b.8; Girona, Collegiate Church of Sant Feliu, MSS 14 and 15 (Seminar 140, and 141); E. Jeauneau, 'Le renouveau érigénien du XIIe siècle', in *Eriugena Redivivus: Zur Wirkungsgeschichte seines Denkens im Mittelalter und im Übergang zur Neuzeit: Vorträge des V. Internationalen Eriugena-Colloquiums Werner-Reimers-Stiftung Bad Homburg, 26–30 August, 1985*, ed. by W. Beierwaltes (Heidelberg: Winter, 1987), p. 38. These are documentary sources copied during the twelfth century, coinciding with a renewed interest in Scotus Eriugena's thought during this period, at least at the level of the liturgy.



Figure 2. Miniature of the Sacramentary of Metz. Comissioned by Charles the Bald in the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1141, fol. 6. *Maiestas Domini* within an almond of light with the iconographies of the ocean and the nature below and a couple of six-winged apocalyptic seraphs. Prominent inscription below. (Published with permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

favour of true cultural connections in this respect.[17] On the other hand, worth noting during the Carolingian era is the current of manuscripts such as the Bible of Saint Paul's Outside the Walls,[18] or the spread of Scotus Eriugena's sermon[19], both works dating from the ninth century and whose underlying ideology persisted, although at times underground, into the culture of the twelfth century.[20]

The second cycle making up the Girona tapestry, the calendar, is based on models that are totally different from those illustrating the Genesis portion, although, from an iconographic point of view, the unity of the tapestry's overall structure is perfect. The months of the calendar are arranged in vertical bands on either side of the tapestry. The cycle of time is represented dynamically through the succession of months and years. It is a true round of the tasks of the rural year in the manner of medieval language, rather than a symbolic one as is found in the Roman tradition of the Philocalian calendar. Nevertheless, the basis for its layout is also to be found in the classical world. The ensemble is formed by the figure of the ANNVS, the displaced centre of the circle (fig. 3). Around it are the figures of the four seasons, also shown in terms of rural life. The series of months of the year and the two individual figures of the DIES SOLIS and the DIES (lunae) are a clear exponent of the dynamic passage of time.[21]

The third cycle represents the Invention of the Holy Cross, with St Helena, Judas and an unidentified figure. It is a complex combination of three seemingly unconnected iconographic cycles. Alongside cosmic themes accompanying the almighty, other elements interact and complement the overall meaning of the tapestry. The final meaning of the ensemble is that of salvation, with eternal contemplation in Paradise of the Pantocrator, present in an open theophany, manifest, with all of His attributes. It is the image of the enthroned Majesty of God, the vision of John's Apocalypse: a redeeming Christ but also—here—the creator and orderer of the cosmos. In this respect it is reminiscent of John's thought as revealed in his gospel, the theology of which is fundamentally Christ-centred.[22]

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[17] De Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', p. 100.

[18] A. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, *ses origines, son développement* (Paris: Picard, 1913), plates 121 *et seq*.; mentioned by de Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', p. 100.

[19] Cf. A. Puigarnau, '*Vox Spiritualis Aquilae* y *Maiestas Domini* en el siglo XII,' in *V Simposio Bíblico Español, La Biblia en el Arte y en la Literatura*, ed. by J. Azanza, V. Balaguer, and V. Collado (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra and Valencia: Fundación Bíblica Española, 1999), pp. 339–51.

[20] Jeauneau, 'Le renouveau érigénien', pp. 33–38.

[21] De Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', p. 116.

[22] A. Bosch i Veciana, 'Aproximació al concepte de Cosmos en el quart evangeli', *Revista catalana de Teologia*, 4 (1979), 259.

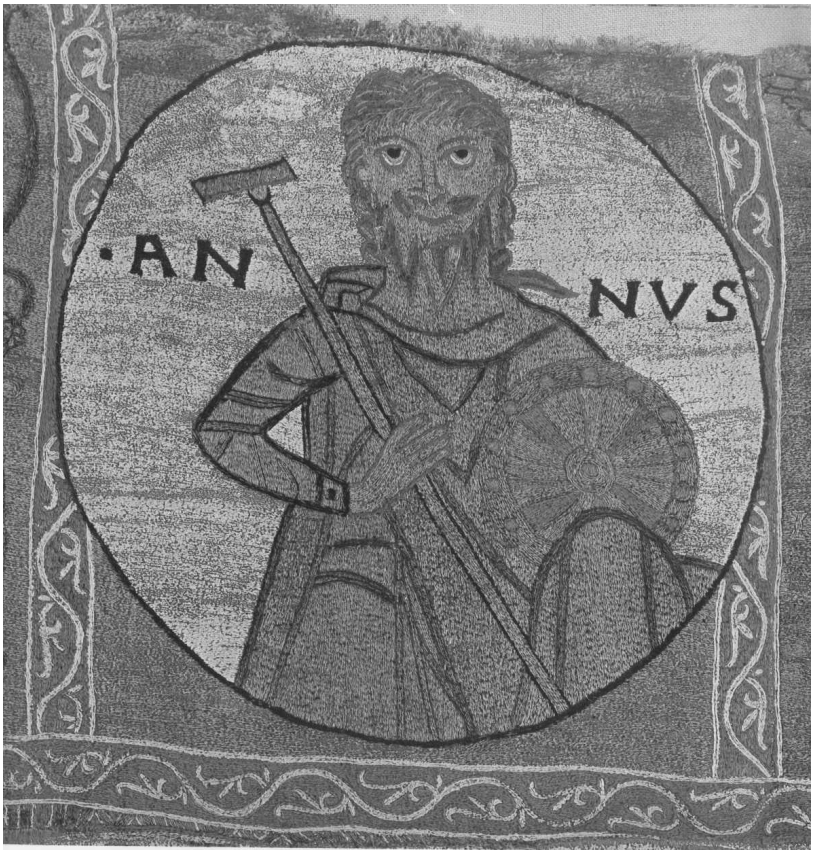


Figure 3. Calendar, detail with the representation of the year (*Annus*). Tapestry of the Cathedral of Girona, *c*. 1150. Originally published in P. de Palol, *El tapís de la Creació de la Catedral de Girona*, Artestudi–Suplementa, 2 (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, Institut d'Estudis Gironins, 1986), fig. 29. (Published with permission of the Cathedral of Girona Museum)

The ideological link with the story of the cross is easily explained, since it is the instrument of and the way to redemption. At the same time, if the hypothesis of the completion of the tapestry with a lower part on an apocalyptic theme[23] were to be

[23] See the hypothetical design published by de Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', p. 76, which would form a large, vertical rectangle presided by the existing disc in the upper part. Another disc, with the aforementioned apocalyptic scene and presided at the centre by the mystical lamb would complete the design in the lower half. In between, this time without the divine connotation of the circle, would be the figure of the emperor, whose authority would thus be legitimated by divine authority.

confirmed, it would open and close the cycle of salvation and the contemplation of God; below, the veiled vision of God—the theophany of the *Agnus*—in an ascendant movement towards the open vision of Christ triumphant through the Cross and Redemption. In this sense, Christ is the Cosmocrator.



Figure 4. Christ Chronocrator, detail of the central disc of the Tapestry of the Cathedral of Girona, *c*. 1150. Inscriptions: FIAT LUX ET FACTA EST LUX (within the circle); REX FORTIS (right and left of central image); SANCTUS DEUS (front of the open book). Originally published in P. de Palol, *El tapís de la Creació de la Catedral de Girona*, Artestudi–Suplementa, 2 (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, Institut d'Estudis Gironins, 1986), fig. 3. (Published with permission of the Cathedral of Girona Museum)

This cosmos is represented with a dual aspect; on the one hand, in its physical, temporal and earthly sense, and on the other, its wider eternal sense, presided by the

Pantocrator. Now, time is eternal and the image of Christ–Cosmocrator is linked with the Greek *aiôn* (Latin *aeternitas*) surrounded by the zodiac. The divinized representations of the sun—as the *sol invictus*—and the moon provide the vault of heaven with a sense of eternity. The composition is not heliocentric, like other Greek examples giving rise to Roman or Jewish subjects, but instead is clearly Christ centred.[24]

The image of the Christ-centred cosmos has been ultimately equated, in the context of the Girona tapestry (fig. 4), with the affirmation of the cosmos in the Platonic idea of *Deus est sphera infinita*, a medieval expression of Greek thought from Parmenides, Empedocles or Aristotle, through Boethius, to Alain de Lille and Pascal's Infinite Sphere. The assimilation of Paradise with the eternal cosmos would justify the Pauline idea that the work of the Creator would not be finished until He provided a way for His creatures to return to Him: i.e. the merits of redemption symbolized by the Cross, the recapitulation of all things in Christ. Palol, in referring to the tapestry, quotes from Rahner: 'An unending hymn on the cosmic mystery of the Cross and on the open and outstretched hands of the Logos who, from the Cross, embraces the whole world and returns to the Father'.[25]

At the time of the tapestry's creation, there was a long-standing cultural tradition, particularly in connection with the Caliphate, leading the monk Gerbert of Aurillac, later Pope Sylvester II, to travel to Ripoll to study. Contacts were soon initiated with Italy. A series of historical events led to relations between the leading figures of the families of the Catalan counts and Italy, particularly from Ripoll, Cuixà and Sant Pere de Rodas. The first Catalan count to travel to Italy was Borrell II, accompanied by Bishop Ató of Vic and by Gerbert. Oliba Cabreta and Abbot Garí of Cuixà had been there two years earlier. In 978, Garí returned to Rome, going by way of Venice to commend himself to St Mark. Oliba, Abbot of Ripoll, later returned from Rome to attend the consecration of the Cathedral of Girona in 1038. One result of these contacts with Rome and particularly the visit by Oliba Cabreta was apparently the construction of the church at Ripoll with five naves, like St Peter's Basilica.[26] Relations with northern Italy, the Holy See and the Adriatic area, particularly Aquileia and Venice, were intense. Analysis of the Girona tapestry highlights a clear connection with the greatest medieval European centres of learning, through the leading centres of ecclesiastical thought of the time. It is quite possible that in this learned, European atmosphere with its clear-cut classical tradition, the Creation Tapestry was designed and created.[27]

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[24] A. Grabar, 'L'Iconographie du ciel dans l'art chrétien de l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 30 (1982), 15.

[25] H. Rahner, *Mythes grecs et mystère chrétien* (Paris: Payot, 1954), p. 67; de Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', p. 152.

[26] P. de Palol, 'Ripoll i Roma', *Revista de Girona*, 83 (1978), 176 ff.

[27] De Palol, 'El tapís de la Creació', pp. 156–57.

The evidence provided by the Creation Tapestry, on the one hand, and that found in the writings of Johannes Scotus Eriugena (received into the twelfth-century Catalan cultural atmosphere at about the same time), on the other, allows us to draw a few modest conclusions. Firstly, the tapestry dates from the mid-twelfth century and is part of a wider iconographic scheme, illustrating three basic themes: the creation of the world, salvation by the cross, and the calendar. Secondly, behind the visible iconography there is the suggestion of a profound theology of light centred on texts mostly from Genesis and implying a strong inclination towards patristic ideology. In addition, the work is situated in the framework of a mentality linked to certain influences of Platonic theology that were disseminated throughout Europe at the time by means of manuscripts such as Johannes Scotus Eriugena's *Vox spiritualis aquilae*, and St Augustine's *Commentary on the Prologue to the Gospel of John*, which may have coincided, both temporally and physically, with the tapestry.[28]

This movement of ideas was taking place at the same time as a generalized cultural diffusion that was facilitated by the Gregorian reform movement of the time, a movement that was superimposed, in the case of Catalonia, on other parallel or similarly directed canonical reforms that in many cases carried a substantial Augustinian content. Lastly, the iconographic elements and the themes presented are linked to specific liturgical practices that acted as a potent catalyst for ideas that, after centuries of patristic tradition, were crystallizing into aesthetic icons with intense Christological and soteriological associations: during that age, salvation meant following a path that consisted to a very great extent of fleeing from darkness to attain the light of grace. At different times, this light was expressed either literally or metaphorically; it is epiphanized with greater or lesser ease, but it would be difficult not to perceive, in connection with Christ Cosmocrator (*exitus*) or Soteriocrator (*redditus*), a profound metaphysics of light, already prefigured in the aesthetics of light in classical and early Christian times.[29] This system of thought is clearly linked to the ideas put forward by the Irish monk Johannes Scotus Eriugena during the Carolingian period and that were widely disseminated in the twelfth century through the preaching of his famous sermon on the prologue to the Gospel of John.

The Creation as an Epiphany of Time

It would appear that the iconographic progression of scenes of creation framed within a calendar is a reminder that chronological time was also created by God. St

[28] A. Puigarnau, 'Neoplatonismo e iconografía en la Europa medieval', *Revisión del Neoplatonismo: Anuario filosófico, Actas de las Jornadas de filosofía de abril de 2000* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2000), pp. 655–73.

[29] This is my approach to the topic in A. Puigarnau, *Estética neoplatónica: La representación de la luz en la Antigüedad* (Barcelona: Promociones Universitarias, 1995).

Augustine argued against the Manichean concept of time prior to creation by showing that time is one of the various consequences of the act of creation.[30] This doctrine assimilates the Hebrew concept of time and repudiates absolutely the Greek view, which interpreted it as a function of eternity. This is the idea transmitted by an iconographic scheme that, starting at the centre with the chronocrator, unfolds centripetally in an epiphany of things created and delimits the beginning and end of the cosmos by means of a calendar, on which marks limited time through a repetitive cycle of months and years until the so-called consummation of time.[31]

From this perspective, the difference between eternity and time is identical to the difference between God and created beings; it is the definition of time in terms of a distension (*distenctio*).[32] Nevertheless, St Augustine asks, a distension of what?[33] It is a distension of the spirit, affecting life itself, and from which we are saved by the hand of God.[34] This is not an entirely original idea: Plotinus had already reached the same conclusion.[35] But it is important to note that time, more than being, tends not to be. How can the past and future exist if the past is no more and the future has yet to be? As for the present, if it were always the present, without becoming the past, it would not exist in time but rather eternity; thus, the present, in order to constitute time, must be the past, in order to be able to be said to exist, since the only reason for its existence is that it will not exist.[36]

Nevertheless, time does not remain in this realm of negativity. The *distenctio* of time is accompanied by an *intenctio* as the will to return to God after sin, with the result that the Augustinian dyad *distenctio–intenctio*, in reference to time, runs parallel to that referring to Christian life, *aversio–conversio*. It is important to see these Augustinian mechanics in the image of the Girona Pantocrator because, here,

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[30] 'Si autem ante coelum et terram nullum erat tempus, cur quaeritur quid tunc faciebas? Non enim erat tunc, uni non erat tempus. Nec tu tempore tempora precedis: alioquin non omnia praecederes. Sed praecedis omnia praeterita celsitudine demper paesentis aeternitatis et supoeras omnia futura, quia illa futura sunt, et cum venerint, praeterita erunt': *Confessions*, XI, XIII, 15–16.

[31] A. Mandouze, '*Tempus christianum, tempus christianorum* ou *christiana tempora*?' *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen–Age, II–XIIIe siècles* (Paris: CNRS, 1984), pp. 575–79.

[32] 'Video igitur tempus quamdam esse distenctionem': *Confessions*, XI, 23, 30.

[33] *Confessions*, XI, 26, 33

[34] 'Sed quoniam melior est misericordia tua super vitas, ecce distenctio est vita mea, et me suscepit dextera tua in Domino meo': *Confessions*, XI, 29, 39.

[35] M.-A. Vannier, *'Creatio', 'Conversio', 'Formatio' chez S. Augustin* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1991), p. 139.

[36] 'Si ergo praesens ut tempus sit, ideo fit quia in praeteritum transit, quomodo et hoc esse dicimus, cui causa ut sit, illa est quia non erit, ut scilicet non vere dicamus tempus esse, nisi quia tendit non esse?': *Confessions*, XI, XIV, 17.

Christ-Light is found in an unaccustomed context, in terms of the iconography of the *Maiestas* in the iconographic scheme of Catalan Romanesque painting. This image can only be understood if it is viewed in the framework of a creation that is shown to be intimately connected to the concept of salvation. In St Augustine we find theological ontology with its philosophy taken, once again, from Platonism, and its theology from the Bible. This mechanism throws light on the meaning of this type of iconographic image and in respect of creation and salvation, defines *conversio* (as man's return to God) and *formatio* (or *reformatio*, as the being's repose in God)[37] in St Augustine. It is precisely in this *formatio* that St Augustine sees the word as *forma omnium*:[38] He who created all and through whom all things were created. But, in addition to calling Christ *forma*, he also calls him *lux*, using the same name applied to many pantocrators through the maxim in John 8. 12: 'Ego sum lux mundi'. In reiterating that this is Christ's name, he argues against Manichean dualism, distinguishing sensible light and the 'light in which God lives', and identifying Christ with the source of light, just as in the tapestry, which stresses the creative and unifying role of light.[39]

His concept of time provides an interesting key to understanding the relationship between the circle formed by Christ–Light and creation in grace, on the one hand, and the calendar with the months of the year, on the other. St Augustine sees three different times: the present of the past, which is the memory; the present of the present; which is vision, and the present of the future, which is expectation.[40] Adam and Eve's souls are created in the image and likeness of God, and thanks to chronological time they tend to realize the divine image in their souls. This realization of the image of God is possible through access to the present.

The Theology of Light between Alpha and Omega[41]

This tripartite time defined by St Augustine in his *Confessions* and experienced by all men is, simply, a consequence of man's sin. It is true that time, like the plants, animals and man himself, is a creation of God. But with sin, man loses control of time. While God, above sin, continues to possess the instant eternally, it constantly

[37] 'Inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te': *Confessions*, I, 1, 1.

[38] *De vera religione*, XXXVI, 66, 43, 81.

[39] Vannier, *'Creatio', 'Conversio'*, p. 158.

[40] 'Praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatio': *Confessions*, XI, XX, 26.

[41] For this section cf. A. Puigarnau, 'Alfa y Omega en la cultura apocalíptica del siglo XII', *III Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones, Mutaciones de lo religioso, Sevilla, 18-21 de marzo de 1998* (forthcoming).

escapes man as a result of the experience of personal sin. This is what defines his life: the distress caused by the escape of the instant, which is never present or future, but always beyond his reach in the past. Two paramount features of twelfth-century Romanesque painting in Catalonia bear out this concept of time. God's grasp of the instant appears constantly in the epigraph Alpha and Omega. From the beginnings of Christian iconographic expression in western medieval art, many depictions of the Pantocrator bear the inscription prominently.[42]

[42] Unless otherwise indicated, the following examples are cited in C. Capizzi, Παντοκρατωρ. *Saggio d'esegesi letterario–iconografica*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 170 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1964). Information is given in the following order: location of the image (in some cases in Italian, given Capizzi's text); inscription; in some cases, a brief description of the image; historical period; page number:
Capua, Sta Matrona in S. Prisco, lunetta musiva, sul fondo azzurro: AΩ, 400/450, p. 214; Ferrara, S. Francesco, sarcofago, Principale, sul libro: AΩ, p. 215; Rome, Sta. Sabina, porta lignea scolpita, nel campo: AΩ, s. VI, p. 217; Ovale bulinato sulla coppa del calice di Tassilone (Kremsmünster), Principale, lati della testa: AW, p. 222; Rome, S. Marco, apsidal mosaic, Principal, on the podium: AΩ, 827/844, p. 225; Avorio renano della collezione Saltikov (*Ren. av.* IX, 50), Secondario, lati della testa: AΩ, s. IX, p. 227; St Gallen, copertina d'Evangeliario carolingio, Principale, latti della testa di Cristo: AΩ, s. IX, pp. 227–28; Salterio di Etelstano (francese?), Principale, ai latti della testa: AΩ, s. X?, p. 231; Evangeliario di S. Maria ad Gradus di Colonia (Diocesan museum, Col. Min. 22), Principale, insc. nel libro: 'EGO SUM ALFA ET OMEGA', 1025/1050, p. 236; Bassorilievo d'arte renana nel Mus. Na. di Firenze (Ren. scult. XI 5), Principale, insc. nel libro: AΩ, s. XI, p. 239; S. Angelo in Formis, affresco (S.A.i.F., 1), Principale, insc. nel libro: 'EGO SUM ALFA ET O//PRIM: ET NOVISSIMUS (Apc. 22,13), *c*. 1080, p. 247; Limoges sacramentary (Paris, BN, MS lat. 9438, fol. 20 (lim. Min. 24, fol. 20^{v}), Principale, ai latti della testa: AΩ, *c*. 1100, p. 250; Arca di S. Hadelin, d'arte mosana; Visé, Chiesa di S. Martino (Mosa, AM XI–XII, 1), Principale, insc. nel libro: AΩ, p. 252; 'Arca di S. Hadelin, d'arte mosana. Visè, Chiesa di S. Martino (Mosa AM XI–XII 1), in book: AΩ, s. XI–XII, p. 152; Esquius, Barcelona, panel painting. In the aureole: HIC DEVS ALFA ET O CLEMENS MISERATOR ADESTO | AC PIETATE TVA MISERORUM VINCLA RELAXA | AMEN, altar frontal, 96x122 cm, second half of the 12th century, MAC, 65502, J. Sureda, *La pintura romànica a Catalunya* (Madrid: Alianza, 1981), p. 302; 'Bassorilievo d'arte renanna nel Mus. Naz. di Firenze (Ren. scult. XI 5), en el libro: AW, Principale; in piedi', s. XI, p. 239; 'Tahull, S. Climent, catino dell'abside, affresco, insc. on blue background: AΩ , Principale: *doryforumenos* in scudo pavese da 4 angeli; barbuto; nimbo con croce patente; destra alzata a benedire; sinistra levata a tener aperto il libro poggiatto sul femore', 1123, p. 253; 'Evangeliario di S. Maria ad Gladus di Colonia, ora nel Museo Diocesano, insc. nel libro: 'EGO SUM ALFA ET OMEGA', Principale', 1025/1050, p. 236; Lavoro a smalto e a sbalzo, d'arte limusina, Paris, Cluny Museum (lim. AM. 60), Principale, ai lati della testa: AΩ, s. XII, p. 263; Ravengiersburg, chiesa monastica, facciata occidentale, edicola scolpita, Principale, nel libro: 'EGO SUM A ET Ω ', s. XII, p. 263; León, S. Isidro, agresco in volta, Principale, ai lati della testa: AΩ, s. XII, p. 264; Medaglione di rame dorato e bulinato di Val di Mosa; Colonia, Duomo, Tesoro, Principale, ai lati della testa: AΩ, late twelfth century, p. 270; Trento, Duomo, portale, lunetta, Principale, nel libro: AΩ, 1200, p. 271; Salterio di Westminster (London, British Museum,

A number of other works of art dating from the twelfth century emphasize Adam and Eve's fall within the same framework of the *fiat lux*. In the Fall, sin and time meet. Leaving aside the scheme of the Girona Cathedral tapestry, we know of four iconographic reflections on sin, all of which are viewed from the same biblical perspective of the *fiat lux*—the first chapters of Genesis. It would appear that there was a clear belief that once Adam's descendants were redeemed, personal sin, while morally important, is not theologically definitive. However, the original sin of Adam and Eve, our first forebears, is the definitive one since it marks human nature indelibly with opposing and complementary signs: the sign of the Fall and the sign of Redemption; of Adam and Christ; of Eve and Mary; of the tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and the cross. This concomitance is expressed in the art of the time through the outgoing (*exitus*) of the image (Christ incarnate expressing the light of the word that was not expressed prior to sin: 'ego sum lux', and creating, *fiat lux*), and through the return (*redditus*) of the same image (Christ redeeming and judging from his Pantocrator's throne, epiphanized as *lux mundi*).

It is therefore not surprising to find in the same iconographic scheme combinations of Christ Pantocrator with explicit references to the creation and fall of humanity and the world. Sant Sadurní de Osormort (Osona), Sant Martí Sescorts (Barcelonès), Sant Martí del Brull (Osona), Sant Andreu de Sagàs (Berguedà) and the castle of Marmellar (Baix Penedès) are the ensembles that have been preserved in Catalonia from the twelfth century. As a rule, the lack of inscriptions does not allow application of strictly textual hermeneutics, but rather contextual hermeneutics. In other words, although there is no epigraphic support, in most cases we know which texts are referred to in certain images, which, while not accompanied by inscriptions, have textual connotations thanks to their context. At this point in our hermeneutic endeavour, then, it is not difficult to determine the keys to interpreting these works, while not rejecting the merely stylistic and descriptive parallels that have already been traced.[43]

Royal 2.A.XXII, fol. 14 (Westm. o s. A. Min. 1200 fol. 14)), Principale, nel libro: 'AΩ, IESUS', *c*. 1200, p. 271; Mozat (Auvergne), fronte dell'arca argentea di S. Calmino, forse d'arte limusina, Principale, ageminata nel campo del pavese: AΩ, s. XII–XIII, p. 273); Pisa, S. Michele degli Scalzi, timpano del portale, Principale, nel libro: 'EGO SUM A ET Ω PRINCIPIUM ET FINIS', 1204, p. 274; Giunta Pisano, testa della Croce di S. Ranierino nel Museo di S. Matteo di Pisa (G.P. 1a), principale, ai lati della testa: AΩ, 1250, p. 275; Copertina dell'Evangeliario di Poussey, cornice argentea, Principale, ai lati della testa: AΩ, s. XIII, p. 279; Meliore, dossale; Florence, Uffizzi (Mel. F. U. 1), principale, ai lati della testa: AΩ, p. 281; Firenze, S. Miniato al Monte, mosaico, Principale, ai lati del capo: AΩ, 1297, p. 281; etc.

[43] Numerous specific bibliographical references on these iconographic schemes should be given, but we are referring here generally to more recent observations; firstly in N. de Dalmases and Antoni José i Pitarch, *Història de l'Art Català* (Barcelona: Ed. 62, 1986), I: *Els inicis i l'art romànic, s. IX–XII*; and subsequently, in the major work directed by A. Pladevall, *Catalunya Romànica* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995–98).

A yawning gulf separates the central disc of the Creation Tapestry from the calendar surrounding it. It is the barrier between the time of man, woman and nature all recently created and in a state of grace and the time marred by sinfulness (made incorrigible by sin until the arrival of the time of redeeming grace). This gulf exists between God and people in the Old Testament and will continue to exist until the Second Coming, except where the sacrament of grace intervenes between God and his creatures, a sacrament instituted by Christ Soteriocrator. The tapestry shows, within the disc, a man and woman who are clean and just created: 'So the Lord God caused the man to fall into a deep sleep; and while he slept took one of his ribs and closed up the place with flesh; and the rib which the Lord God had taken from the man he made into a woman and he brought her to the man' (Genesis 2. 21–22). 'And the man and his wife were both naked and were not ashamed' (Genesis 2. 25). Here is the iconographic expression of the theology of grace. In the Creation Tapestry, neither the man nor the woman covers their nakedness since without sin there is no wickedness, no disorder; but they are still within the *fiat lux*. The same situation occurs in other similar iconographies, such as the Tours Bible (*c*. 840)[44] or the cupola of St Mark's.

The theology of grace corresponds to a time of alpha and omega with the predominating notion of the eternal instant stressed by patristics over the centuries.[45]

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[44] It is striking that in the third section, where, on the left, before sinning, Adam and Eve are shown naked even as they sin, yet on the right they cover themselves on experiencing concupiscence as the immediate consequence of sin: 'But the Lord God called to the man and said to him, "Where are you?". And he said, "I heard the sound of thee in the garden and was afraid because I was naked, and I hid myself." He said, "Who told you that you were naked? Have you eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat?"' (Genesis 3. 9–11).

[45] Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo*, ed. by B. Paulus, CCCM, 56B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), book 12, line 2156: 'Quia qui hoc uidere poterit uidebit Verbum Dei et sapientiam quae Christus est qui ait: Ego sum Alpha et Omega principium et finis'; Petrus Abaelardus, *Theologia 'Scholarium'*, book 1, line 68: 'Vnde et ipse alpha et omega dicitur, hoc est principium et finis: principium quidem supremum, a quo omnia; finis, id est finalis et suprema causa, propter quem omnia'; Raimundus Lullus (sec,. transl. medii aeui)—Ars abbr. praedicandi (op. 208) uersio lat. I, line 813, 'Raimundus, qui insuper Lullius uocatur, scientiarum iter hac arte affatur, patrauit librum mense februarii | uocato, Lumen Maioricense titulo notato, anno incarnationis Iesu Christi 1312 in mense februarii, ad honorem ipsius, qui est alpha et omega'; Bonauentura – Itinerarium mentis in Deum, ch. 6, par. 7, line 3: 'Si enim imago est similitudo expressiva dum mens nostra contemplatur in Christo filio dei qui est imago dei invisibilis per naturam humanitatem nostram tam mirabiliter exaltatam tam ineffabiliter unitam videndo simul in unum primum et ultimum summum et imum circumferentiam et centrum alpha et omega causatum et causam creatorem et creaturam librum scilicet scriptum intus et extra'; Bernardus Claraeuallensis – Sermones in dominica i nouembris sermo, 4, par. 4, vol. 5, p. 317, line 18:

> Quam sane capitis et pedum velationem et nunc quoque negligere non oportet, licet tunc maxime perficienda sit, quando Iudex sedebit super solium, et astantes sibi

Man and woman remained naked, without sinning, even during their transgression. In Sant Sadurni de Osormort, although the faces of Eve and especially Adam are clouded by a certain sadness, they are unaware that they have fallen into the temptation of 'you will be like God' of Genesis. Even the theology of time prior to sin is one of instantaneity: at the very moment when God (according to the mural

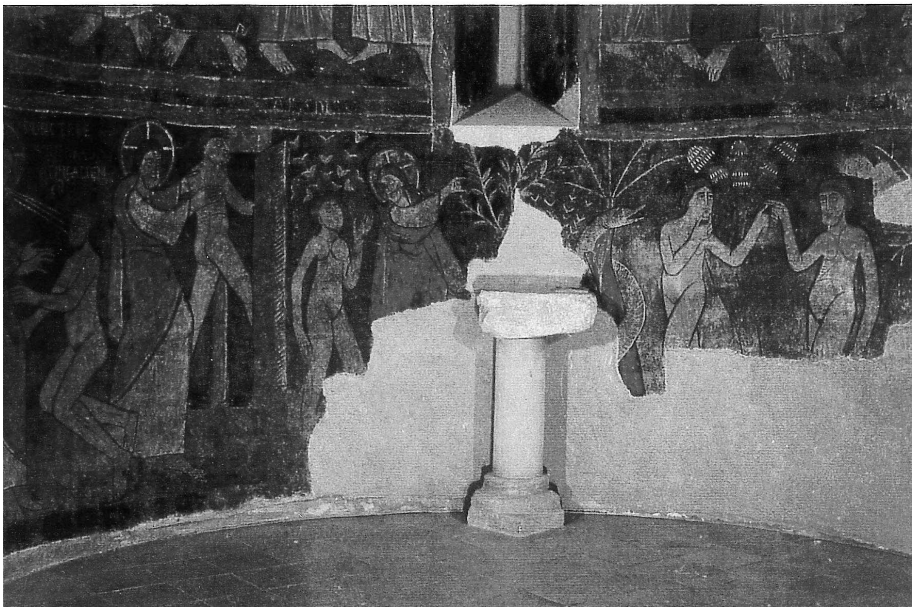


Figure 5. Apse of Sant Sadurní d'Osormort (Osona), second half of the twelfth century. Scenes of the creation and the fall of Adam and Eve. At the left of the window three scenes: the creation of Adam, the introduction of Adam into Paradise, the Creator walking along the garden with the first man. At the right of the window: Adam and Eve eating the fruit tempted by the Devil under the physical aspect of a serpent. Originally published in *Catalunya Romànica*, ed. by Antoni Pladevall (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1994–98), XXII, 131. (Published with permission of the Diocesan Museum of Vic, Barcelona)

Seraphim et agnitione veritatis subtilius illustravit, et inflammabit vehementius caritatis ardore In quorum numero indignos nos servos nominis sui ipsa, de qua locuti sumus, constituere dignetur misericordia, quae ab aeterno est et usque in aeternum super electos, in medio quidem aliquatenus ostendens liberum arbitrium, meriti gratia, principium et finem omnino soli vindicans sibi, ut sit nobis Alpha et Omega Dominus Deus noster, et pro utroque iure clamemus: NON NOBIS, DOMINE, NON NOBIS, SED NOMINI TUO DA GLORIAM.

inscription, LIMO TERRE ET INSPIRAVIT IN FACIEM EUM) made man 'of dust from the earth and breathed into his nostrils', it was as if he opened a door and admitted man to Paradise, showing him the wonders of creation and filling him with preternatural gifts.[46]

One observation that we may make on this iconography is that, with or without apsidioles, scenes placed to the north of the central axis of the nave are prior to the fall. Those placed to the south of the central axis are scenes of the Fall. The central apsidiole, normally facing east (where the sun rises), is usually pierced by an opening to the outside letting light into the interior space. It seems obvious, at least in the cases of Osormort and El Brull, that the light of Christ, *sol invictus*, is expressed literally with the rising sun. There is no room here for metaphor: Christ is the maximum light of the *fiat lux*, the light that intervenes between the creation (northern scenes) and the fall (southern scenes) (fig. 5). Here again, the iconography is marked by the outgoing and the return of the *Imago Dei*, obviating any symbolism. It is the light separating the Old and New Testaments and implying in these narrow windows what is expressly stated in Genesis: 'I will put enmity between you (the serpent, sin) and the woman, and between your seed (personal sin) and her seed (Christ). He shall bruise your head and you shall bruise his heel' (Genesis 3. 15). From the central part of this type of church, Christ is expressed as Chronocrator, the Lord of Time: to the north, scenes of the creation, the origin of time, ALPHA; to the south, scenes of sin, which, in terms of the Apocalypse, will bring history to a close with OMEGA: 'I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end' (Revelation 22. 13).[47].

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[46] Cf. Sant Sadurní d'Osormort (Osona), Creation of Man and introduction into the earthly Paradise, second half of the twelfth century, Museu Diocesà de Vic, n. 9700, Cf. Pladevall, *Catalunya Romànica*, 131.

[47] Isaiah 41. 3; Isaiah 44. 6; Revelation 1. 8-18, 21. 6. More iconographic parallels indirectly linked to the image of God as Lord of Time:

> Remontons encore pour les origines. L'A et l'Ω sont liés directement au Christ vainqueur sur un penneau de la porte en bois sculpté de la basilique de Sainte–Sabine, du début du Ve siècle [F. Volbach and M. Hirmer, *Early Christian Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1961), plate 47]. Et a Rome encore, pour le beau Christ barbu en buste, fresque découverte récemment à la catacombe de Commodille et qui doit être de la deuxième moitié du IVe siècle [A. Grabar, *Le premier art chrétien* (Paris: Coll. Univers des Formes, 1967), plate 237; G. Matthiae, *Pittura romana del medioevo*, 2 vols (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1965–66), I, 76: 'Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana', in *Actes du Ve Congrès international d'archaeologie chrétienne, Aix–en–Provence, 13–19 septembre, 1954*, Studi di antichità christiana, 22 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957), p. 150]. Mais on connaissait déjà un exemple encore plus curieux à la catacombe de Saint–Pierre et Marcellin, avec le Christ assis entre saint Pierre et saint Paul, et au–dessous l'agneau avec quatre saints, aussi du IVe siècle. L'A et l'Ω sont à l'extérieur du nimbe, et à l'interieur de celui–ci, sur la tête du Christ il y a

Conclusions

1. In medieval times the problem of the knowledge of God is an aesthetic problem and, along with the problem of images, it is determined by one of the major themes in Christian theology, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Observing the images and theological atmosphere of twelfth-century Catalonia, there is evidence of the fact that in this historical context time becomes icon whereas light becomes theology. This is why it is possible to understand Catalan medieval culture as a correspondence between a specific iconology of the *Maiestas domini* and a particular theology of time with a strong Augustinian and Carolingian flavour.
2. A mature cultural sensibility existed in Catalonia in the twelfth century. In seeing the image of the *maiestas domini* as possibly an attempt to set forth a full-blown Christological scheme, it can be assumed that we are dealing with a society that saw the world with specific aesthetic criteria. The study of the iconography of Christ–Light in the context of the Augustinian reformation in Catalonia involves consideration of the artistic production of the time as part of the pastoral and cultural efforts of those who directed that society's art and theology.
3. It is important to bear in mind that influences between different images do not occur merely through the imitation of an ornamental motif, or a type of brush stroke, or a way of holding a rasp, or a more or less traditional iconographic model. These influences must also be seen in the *imago dei–imago mundi* relationship. Each *imago dei* gives rise to an *imago mundi* and, in the relationship between them, to a relative position for man between God and the world. This is how we must understand the Byzantine inclination of Catalan art: an influence pointing to a highly Trinitarian *imago dei*, one that synthesizes the three persons and that is therefore more apparently distant from the world—one more mystical.
4. Once imperial divinity had long been supplanted by the Christian divinity, Christ appeared iconographically in the form of a bust, as in the case of the Girona tapestry, or enthroned, as in most cases, giving a blessing with his right hand and holding a book. With the ascendancy of Christianity, the theological

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simplement le P barré [M. Hautmann, *Die Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, Neue Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 6 (Berlin: Propyläen, 1925), plate 163; J. Sauer, *Die ältesten Christusbilder*, Wasmuths Kunsthefte, 7 (Berlin: Wasmuth 1920), plate 3]. Dans le premier art chrétien, les symboles abstraits ont eu une place préférentielle, et le Rho barré ou acompagné de l'A et l'Ω a pu prendre une valeur spirituelle exceptionelle. Mais il ne s'agit nullement d'elliminer la forme humaine et l'art figuratif, et le Christ a été représenté dans son Incarnation dès qu'on a pu le faire sans danger, avant même sans doute.

From O. Brendel, 'Origin and Meaning of the Mandorla', *Gazette des Beaux–Arts*, 4th series, 25, 923 (1944), 6 f.

motivation of the imperial cult had been redirected. Thereafter, it was accepted that imperial authority was granted by God and that the emperor was, at most, his earthly representative.

5. Analysis of the Girona tapestry highlights a clear connection with the greatest medieval European centres of learning, through the leading centres of ecclesiastical thought of the time. The image of the Christ-centred cosmos has been compared with the Platonic idea of *Deus est sphera infinita*. This corresponds to a framework of a mentality linked to certain influences of Platonic theology that are disseminated throughout Europe at the time by means of manuscripts such as John Scottus Erigena's *Vox spiritualis aquilae* and St Augustine's *Commentary on the Prologue to the Gospel of John*, which may have coincided, both temporally and physically, with the tapestry.
6. The Augustinian concept of time assimilates the Hebrew concept and repudiates absolutely the Greek view which interpreted it as a function of eternity. This is the idea transmitted by an iconographic scheme that, starting at the centre with the Chronocrator, unfolds centripetally in an epiphany of things created and delimits the beginning and end of the cosmos. This delimination is accomplished by means of a calendar that marks limited time through a repetitive cycle of months and years until the so-called consummation of time. It follows the patristical tradition of a theology of grace that corresponds to a time of Alpha and Omega with the predominating notion of the eternal instant.
7. To speak in terms of a *fiat lux* as an iconology and a theology of time in medieval Catalonia means a special theological atmosphere in a very significant cultural context. Behind such images and theological concepts there is an underlying vision of apocalyptical history. In this sense, chronological time must have a theological consequence that is often given by iconography as its original aesthetic expression. This 'icon of time' is artistically displayed as the image of the *maiestas domini* enthroned in a circle of light as it happens in the central disc of the tapestry of Girona Cathedral.

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Picturing Time in Bartholomew's Encyclopaedia on the Properties of Things

SUE ELLEN HOLBROOK

During the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum* ('on the properties of things') became the most widely circulated of all scientific compendia. Read in both Latin and eventually vernacular languages, *De proprietatibus rerum* (*DPR*) was consulted by writers of sermons, authors of treatises on heraldry and alchemy, and makers of literature as well as by theologians, physicians, and studious or bibliophiliac people of high and middle estate. Bartholomew dedicates the ninth of his encyclopaedia's nineteen books to time. His explanation of seasons and months in this book has analogies in literary and visual art. This convergence of science with art on the topic of time gives rise to the question pursued here: how do illustrations for Bartholomew's ninth book pertain to his characterization of time? While certain books in *DPR* have illustrations following fairly stable traditions, other books have elicited diverse solutions to the problem of picturing their subject. As we shall see, Bartholomew's book on time is one of those with diverse representations. That it should be so is at first surprising, for Bartholomew includes descriptions of paintings of the twelve months. The motif called the labours of the months appeared with increasing profusion throughout the centuries of *DPR*'s circulation. Thus, Bartholomew's text would seem to offer illustrators iconography visible in contemporary drawings and sculpture. However, besides being influenced by the availability of visual traditions, illustrations for the book on time are affected by the custom of picturing a book's opening text and the inclination of programme advisers (those who choose the iconography) to suit the interests of customers. Consequently, while some drawings for Book 9 do incorporate the labours of the months, others present different signs,

particularly tools of measurement. Nevertheless, all these pictorial solutions are attached to Bartholomew's conception of time's properties, of which the months are but one piece. Moreover, in attempting to find visual signs to represent time, the illustrators respond to the underlying problem of Bartholomew's book on time: how do we know time?

To Bartholomew's approach to knowing time we turn first. Bartholomew set about assembling *DPR* during the 1220s at the University of Paris, where he was evidently a highly regarded teaching master even before he joined the Franciscan order in 1224. Certain citations in *DPR* suggest that he revised, perhaps even completed, the compilation about fifteen years later at the provincial school in Magdeburg, Saxony, where he had gone in 1231 to oversee the education of Franciscans.[1] As he explains in his prologue, information about the properties of things is dispersed in books by saints and philosophers; hence, he has brought this knowledge together in one book to be useful to himself and others. In justifying the study of the properties of things in nature, he invokes St Denis: to ascend to contemplation of what God has veiled, one must consider first what is perceptible. He then lists his nineteen books and their subjects.[2]

The very location of the book on time within the whole compilation conveys Bartholomew's conception as well as his purpose and scope. Books 1–3 survey the properties of forms separated from matter: God, angels, and the soul. Books 4–18 set forth the properties of forms within matter (bodily substances), and Book 19 takes up 'accidents' and other properties separated from matter—beginning with colour and ending with music. In this hierarchical arrangement, the human body, which logically follows the soul, becomes the focus of Books 4–7. The rest of the perceptible world is covered in the next eleven books. First come celestial phenomena, or astronomy, in Book 8 followed by the subject of 'times and celestial motions' in Book 9. Then come the four elements of the nether world: fire (Bk 10); air and its ornaments, birds (Bk 11–12); water and its ornaments, fish (Bk 13); earth and its physical and social geography (Bk 14–15), metals and stones (Bk 16), plants (Bk 17), and beasts (Bk 18).

Bartholomew's placement of time contrasts, for instance, with one of his major sources, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, which treats the units of time in the same book as laws.[3] Instead, Bartholomew's framework emphasizes the relationship of the

[1] On Bartholomew's life and dates of his encyclopaedia, see M. C. Seymour and others, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopaedia* (Aldershot: Variorium, 1992), pp. 1–10, 29–35.

[2] The edition of the Latin text consulted is Bartholomaeus Angelicus [*sic*], *De rerum Proprietatibus* (Frankfurt: Wolfgang Richter, 1601; repr. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1964). My English paraphrases and translations are based on John Trevisa's Middle English version, *On the Properties of Things*, ed. by M. C. Seymour and others, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975–88).

[3] Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, *Etymologiarum sive originum*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols

subject of time to knowledge of astronomy, hence as part of a cosmology. Moreover, Book 9 on time is pivoted as the transition between celestial phenomena and the nether world—that part of the world beneath the upper heavens. Both Bartholomew's location of the subject of time in this intermediate space and his treatment of it from a macrocosmic–microcosmic perspective, as we shall see, make time the link among the human body, the upper heavens, and the nether world.

In Book 9, Bartholomew starts by relating time to movement, change, and measurement. Drawing first upon Aristotle's *De Cælo et mundo* ('On heaven and the world'), he establishes that the movement in the nether world of created things results from the movement 'of round spheres and circles above' in the heavens (as described in Bk 8). Moving entails changing, which may occur between one place and another, as when a stone falls or an arrow is shot from a bow, or between one disposition and another. To exemplify that moving causes the generation and change of all nether things. Bartholomew turns to the body and quotes the medical authority Hippocras on how 'to move your body clean' by taking laxative medicine! That Bartholomew starts with celestial movement and ends with laxatives is characteristic of his unabashed interest in the body and its microcosmic correspondences with the macrocosm. From the idea of change Bartholomew steps to measurement and hence to time: 'time is the measure of changeable things'. In explaining this complex idea, attributed to Aristotle, he pieces together commentary by Rabanus Maurus of Fulda, Augustine, Bede, and Isidore.

The thread through this whole abstract section on motion, change, and measure as mediators of time is that we know time through its effect on the inhabitants of the nether world, an effect manifested in regular (not chaotic) change and therefore in motion that can be calculated. This sanguine perspective permeates the close of the preliminary section of Book 9. Citing Hippocras again, Bartholomew brings the problem of time's mutability to bear concretely on the health of the human body. His ultimate statement, drawn from Martianus Capella, assures us that though time is changeable, nothing is more continual, for time that grows old in winter becomes re-invigorated in spring. And with this optimistic invocation of the cyclical continuity of time in the natural world, Bartholomew makes his transition to the course of the year and its parts.[4]

To explain time's parts, which occupy the next nineteen chapters, Bartholomew starts with the year, solar and lunar (Chap. 2/3–3/4). He proceeds systematically down through each smaller component. Hence, next are the four seasons (Chap. 4/5–7/8); the twelve months (Chap. 8/9–19/20); the week and its seven days, the day and

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), I, book 5.

[4] In the Frankfurt edition of the Latin text, chaptering begins after the prologue, but in Seymour's edition of Trevisa, the prologue is chapter 1; the manuscripts of Jean Corbichon's French translation I will be citing also incorporate the prologue into chapter 1. For convenience, I will henceforth give parenthetical references first by chapter number in the Latin edition followed by the number in the Trevisa edition.

its subdivisions of four quadrants and twenty-four hours. The hour is divided into point (4th part of an hour), moment (10th part of a point), *uncia* (12th part of a moment), and, ultimately, the indivisible atom (47th part of an *uncia*) (Chap. 20/21). Bartholomew then returns to the four quadrants of a day—dawn, midday, eventide, and night—which, following Constantine, he makes symmetrical with the four seasons—spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Chap. 21/22–24/25). When defining the day, Bartholomew distinguishes the natural from the artificial day, and when describing the divisions of the natural day, he explains that each quadrant has six hours and therefore an hour is 1/6th of a quadrant, or 1/24th of a day. The remaining nine chapters then turn to particular holy periods, beginning with the Jewish Sabbath and the kalends (beginnings) of months, moving through Lent, Easter, and Pentecost, and ending with another Jewish holy period (*cenophegia*) and finally the dedication of temples and churches (Chap. 25/26–33/34).

The arrangement of Bartholomew's explanation of time's parts contrasts with another of his major sources, Bede's *De temporum ratione* ('On the reckoning of time'). For example, Bede treats the 'smallest intervals of time' early on and eventually works his way through day, night, week, month—essentially the reverse of Bartholomew's order. Bede then discourses on lunar reckoning, returns to days, explains the four seasons, goes on to years and many topics concerned with lunar calculations (especially the Easter cycle), and yet on to the ages of the world.[5] The difference in organization results from different purposes. Bede is compiling a *computus*, a technical handbook designed to teach how to set up a calendar for the services of the Christian church related to the movable observance of Easter, but, as Faith Wallace points out, also bringing 'moral theology and biblical exegesis' to bear on the subject.[6]

Bartholomew sets the temporal properties he has gathered within a clearly academic framework. As we have seen, he routinely cites his sources, which, besides those already named, include the *Computus* and the 'computists' (Chap. 2/3, 3/4), Macrobius, the medical authorities Constantine and Galen, and many more. He makes astronomical references to the moving of the sun, moon, and zodiac that brings about time's divisions, and he analyses the four qualities of heat, cold, humidity, and dryness as these variously combine and dominate to affect humans, animals, plants, and earth. Among the effects, illness and temperamental or psychological dispositions are frequently mentioned. For example, of the fourth diurnal quadrant, night, Bartholomew records that the cause of night is the shadow of the earth that is 'between us and the sun'. Moreover, night is cold and moist, conducive to the resting of beasts; during this time of sleeping, the virtues dispersed and enfeebled by day may be rejoined by night. By the moving of the stars, the

[5] *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by Faith Wallace (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 14.

[6] Wallace, 'Introduction', *Bede*, pp. xvi, xxvi.

darkness of night is abated and the passing of the course of the night is known. The thickness of the air at night is tempered by the moving and shining of the stars, and sailors may be led by the moving of the stars. All sickness generally is stronger at night than in the day, more fantasies occur, and wild beasts, which hide themselves in dens and ditches by day, go about in vineyards and fields by night. Night also makes thieves bold (Chap. 24/25). A similar flow of information fills the earlier chapters on the seasons. Bartholomew reports the etymology of names, records the direction of the sun passing through the zodiac, gives the dates of duration and names of the zodiacal position, sets forth the dominant elemental qualities, describes their effects in picturesque vignettes, proffers advice on health, and along the way references his authorities. Just as the sequence of the quadrants begins with dawn, so does the course of the seasons begin with its equivalent, spring.

In turning to months, Bartholomew chooses a different beginning point, that of the solar year: the enumeration of the twelve months starts not with March, but with January. This information is similar to the explanations of the seasons but with the addition of each month's pictorial image. After the number of the month come its name, the etymology thereof, and what Greeks and Hebrews call it. He then usually cites the number of days, night hours, and day hours; gives the zodiac sign and some explanation of why the image of that sign pertains (he has given a much fuller explanation of the zodiac in Bk 8, including what part of the body each sign affects). He also reports typical meteorological phenomena; analyses the elemental qualities that dominate; and describes their effect on beasts, plants, or ground. He keeps the seasonal cycle in place by relating March to spring and noting under June, September, and December that each ends one season and begins the next. Finally, Bartholomew describes how the month is 'painted', doing so near the start of the chapter on January but more often near the end.

January has two images: he is painted having two fronts (faces) and also eating and drinking from a cup. February is painted as an old man warming his feet and hands at a fire, and March as a gardener pruning vines and trees. April is a flower-bearer, but a second image is alluded to in the tilling of fields and sowing of seeds at the end of the chapter. May is a young man riding and bearing a fowl on his arm. June mows hay, July reaps corn with a hook, August threshes it with a flail. September is a gardener in a vineyard gathering grapes in a basket. October sows winter seeds. November beats oak trees to bring down acorns to feed swine. December slaughters them.[7]

Bartholomew's descriptions, or 'likenesses', personify the month as a figure engaged in an activity necessitated or made possible by the climate and condition of ground, plants, or beasts. For example, March is a gardener because the 'superfluities' of vines and trees need pruning. April is a flower-bearer because plants are blooming. June mows hay because the heat of the sun dries humours in

[7] Although the Frankfurt edition of the Latin text includes the pictorial image for December, the Trevisa translation omits it.

roots and all things draw to ripeness. October sows winter seed because this month is cold and dry and disposes the earth to sowing. This scientific approach to explaining changes and characteristics of natural phenomena is filtered through the theory of the four humours and their qualities. By means of a visual image, the month's properties are condensed into a percept that can then be stored in the reader's mind, mulled over, and assimilated into meaning. Hence, Bartholomew's descriptions of the months' pictorial images support memorial reading.[8]

Bartholomew's pictorial images correspond with the scenes art historians today call the labours, or occupations, of the months. These appear in various media with increasing frequency during the twelfth through fifteenth centuries as an ensemble, normally with zodiac signs, but not necessarily beginning with January. The motif of the labours seems to have developed from Greek and Roman personifications of the months, some with iconography pertaining to allegorized agricultural work and some with references to rituals, such as January, February, April, and May.[9] By the ninth century, these personifications were making their way sporadically into verses and pictures rendering rural activities appropriate to those months, such as an illustrated manuscript of Wandalbert of Prüm's *Martyrology*, made at the beginning of the tenth century (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Reg. lat. 438). Among other extant manuscripts with the earliest visual representations are the Vienna calendar dated 837 (Wien, Österreischische Nationalbibliothek, MS 387), the Fulda calendar *c.* 975 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Theol. lat. f.192); and the St Mesmin calendar *c*. 1000 (Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS Vat. Reg. lat. 1263). In another medium is the Gerona Creation tapestry *c*. 1100.[10]

An efflorescence of the motif of the labours of the months springs up in the ornamentation of church architecture during the twelfth century, especially in France and Italy. The most well known early examples in France include portals on the west fronts of the Abbey of St Denis near Paris and nearby Chartres Cathedral by 1146. The Chartres programme of months and zodiac, which is arranged in a semicircle in the archivolt over the left doorway, resembles the two-dimensional planispherical calendars from which the scheme, as Teresa Pérez-Higuera suggests, may ultimately derive.[11] It is, nonetheless, directly inherited from St Denis, where months and zodiac are given a linear arrangement on the jambs either side of the left door. The

[8] On memorial reading in Bartholomew's text, see Sue Ellen Holbrook, 'A Medieval Scientific Encyclopaedia "Renewed by Goodly Printing": Wynkyn de Worde's English *De proprietatibus rerum*', *Early Science and Medicine*, 3 (1998), 118–56 (p. 123).

[9] See James Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediæval Art* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1938), pp. 41–46; Teresa Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998), pp. 15, 171, 102–20, 185–90.

[10] For discussion and reproductions, see Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, pp. 7, 12–15, 20–25.

[11] Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, p. 72.

programme was then evidently brought by a master mason from the workshop at Chartres to the façade of Notre Dame in Paris during 1220–25 when the Paris cathedral's western front was ornamented. There, as on the St Denis door, it progresses up the left and down the right jambs.[12]

Bartholomew would have been acquainted with such stone calendars. He may have studied at Chartres, as Gerald E. se Boyer has argued, before going to Paris for a higher education.[13] Certainly, the St Denis images would have been accessible to Bartholomew, for from 1220 until their convent was built in 1230, the Franciscans dwelled in a house near that abbey. Both Bartholomew and those attending his lectures would have been able to see the Notre Dame sculpture as well, for the student quarter was just over the bridge.[14] Indeed, Bartholomew's labours resemble those in the programme at Notre Dame, Paris, although they deviate in some details. In January, Bartholomew's figure with two faces has just one at Notre Dame, though both are feasting. In May, Bartholomew's young man with the fowl on his hand is riding, but standing at Notre Dame. In July, Bartholomew's hook reaping corn is a scythe being sharpened at Notre Dame. In August, Bartholomew's threshing looks like reaping at Notre Dame. In September, Bartholomew's gathering grapes is treading them at Notre Dame. However, the iconography is analogous in conception.

In recognizing this shared conception of the months, we must recall that not all representations of the sequence are alike. While economic dependence on cereals, grapes, and hogs is pervasive, as Pérez-Higuera observes, the effect of climate on agricultural practices is evident. She points out, for instance, that in the hotter summers of Spain, calendars there are less likely than French ones to depict cutting hay in July.[15] Furthermore, in certain English cycles, pruning, mowing, reaping, and threshing occur a month later than Bartholomew's sequence, for as John Carson Webster comments, the French cycle has been 'adapted to a northern climate'.[16] Moreover, Emile Mâle observes that on thirteenth-century cathedrals in the French 'districts famous for their wines October sees the end of the vine-dresser's labours, and in Burgundy (Semur) and Champagne (Reims) the wine fermenting in the vats is transferred to the casks'.[17] This attention to viticulture is a regional deviation from

[12] On the relationship among the programmes for St Denis, Chartres, and Notre Dame of Paris, see Whitney S. Stoddard, *Monastery and Cathedral in France* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), esp. p. 143.

[13] Gerald E. se Boyer, 'Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopaedia', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 19 (1920), 168–89 (pp. 175–76).

[14] Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), I, 347 on the first Franciscan house; p. 518 on the Rue du Fourarre where most of the lecturing was done.

[15] Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, p. 144.

[16] Webster, *Labors of the Months*, p. 79.

[17] Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans.

the sowing scene for October in Bartholomew, Notre Dame in Paris, and Chartres. In general, French calendars depict planting the crop in early autumn, vacillating between September and October. Italian calendars, on the other hand, are apt to postpone sowing until November. As Pérez-Higuera reports, 'early sowing allows the roots to penetrate the soil before the onset of the cold'; hence, the month for planting depends on the locality's likelihood of frost.[18]

The direct or indirect source for Bartholomew's images has not been pinpointed. In contemplating the months, Bartholomew and his students and other readers in Paris could have visualized the labours sculpted on the pillars of the north porch on the west front of St Denis and Notre Dame of Paris. But his word 'painted' indicates a two-dimensional medium. In introducing January, Bartholomew cites Isidore on why Janus has two fronts. Isidore also uses the word painted in his entry on January, which suggests murals to Webster, who points out the example of frescoes on an interior arch in the Church of St Isidore in León, Spain, *c*. 1130.[19] However, Bartholomew does not depend upon Isidore for the description of January eating and drinking, or for the remaining months, nor does Bartholomew cite authorities for these images. Among visual media he might have had in mind, illustrated calendars are the most probable. In an earlier chapter, Bartholomew cites 'our martyrologies and calendars' when explaining the number of days in a solar month (Chap. 8/9). During the period Bartholomew assembled his encyclopaedia, calendars appeared in various types of books.

One type of calendaric text with which Bartholomew was familiar, as we have seen, is the *computus* for Easter-dating, such as Bede's *Reckoning of Time*, Rabanus Maurus's *Liber de computo* of 820, which Bartholomew used, and others discussed by Wesley M. Stevens.[20] Although Bede quotes verses by Ausonius on zodiac imagery, he does not concern himself with the months.[21] Rabanus does cover the

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by Dora Nussey (New York: Dutton, 1913; repr. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958), p. 74. September in the St Denis programme is also a vintage scene rather than a crop-planting scene; see Webster, *Labors of the Months*, p. 160, no. 72.

[18] Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, p. 163. See also Jean Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), pp. 39–40.

[19] Webster, *Labors of the Months*, p. 79; Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, pp. 26–31, 129.

[20] See the first article in this volume: Wesley M. Stevens, 'A Present Sense of Things Past: *Quid, est enim tempus?*'. On the date of *De computo*; see Rabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium, Liber de computo*, ed. by J. McCulloch and W. Stevens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 44 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), p. 189. On *computus* works in general, see also John E. Murdoch, *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), p. 52; and Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 72–96.

[21] Wallace, *Bede*, pp. 54–55. However, Ausonius's image for September alludes to the

months in his *De computo* (Chap. 28–33), including an explanation of the names of the Roman months (Chap. 32), but no personifications, descriptions of seasonal tasks, or references to visual representation occur. Rabanus incorporates his *computus* material on months and other segments of time into Book 10 *De temporis* of his *De rerum naturis*, an encyclopaedic compilation composed more than twenty years later. In an early eleventh-century manuscript of *De rerum naturis* (Montecassino, Biblioteca del Monumento nazionali, Cod. casin. 132), miniatures have been provided for most of the chapters in Book 10. Notably, at the beginning of the book, personifications of the four seasons appear: a young man carries a bough in each hand for spring; a man harvests a cereal crop for summer; a man in a tree-size vine gathers grapes for autumn; and a man with a team of oxen ploughs a field for winter. Virtually the same images are repeated for Chapter 11 *De vicissitudinibus temporum*, which opens with the four seasons, and a circle of zodiac images surrounding the personified year illustrates chapter 12 *De anno*. But Chapter 10 on the months has no picture.[22]

However, some *computus* texts do include calendars bearing pictures of the months, such as one made *c*. 1050 in England (London, British Library, Cotton MS, B. V. 1).[23] Moreover, circular diagrams called *rotae*, or wheels, sometimes accompany texts with calendaric, astronomic, and cosmographic information. Isidore ordered such diagrams for his *De natura rerum*, and these, in John E. Murdoch's phrase, 'migrated to handbooks of Macrobius, the Venerable Bede, William of Conches, and others'.[24] A cosmographical schoolbook, produced in England *c*. 1190–1200 (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 73), which draws heavily on Bede, is replete with Isidore wheel diagrams, including one with seasons, though not months.[25]

As Murdoch observes, *rotae* provided visual explanations and by virtue of their form could display not only classifications but also correspondences and opposites. For example, Isidore's wheels include one for the Egyptian months, in which the

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grape harvest, and October is called the sowing season.

[22] On the months in Rabanus's *De computo*, see *Martyrologium, Liber de computo* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), pp. 231–41. On Rabanus's *De rerum naturis*, see John McCulloh, *Rabani Mauri: Martyrologium* in *Martyrologium, Liber de computo* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), p. xix. I have consulted the text and illustrations of the Montecassino manuscript on the CD entitled *Hrabanus Maurus, De rerum naturis* (Montecassino: Biblioteca del Monumento nazionali, 1996). On the illustrations, see also Rosemond Tuve, *Seasons and Months: Studies in a Tradition of Middle English Poetry* (Paris: Libraire universitaire, 1933; repr. Cambridge: Brewer, 1974), pp. 128–29.

[23] Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, pp. 74–80, plate V.

[24] Murdoch, *Album of Science*, p. 52.

[25] Harry Bober, 'An Illustrated Medieval School-book of Bede's "De Natura Rerum"', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 19–20 (1956–57), 65–97.

name, total number of days, and number of days preceding the Roman beginning (kalends) of the month is listed.[26] Another displays the year in terms of the four seasons as they are characterized by their primary qualities and correlated with the compass points. As Evelyn Edson points out, the addition of cardinal directions links spatial dimension to the temporal information, thus superimposing a diagram of the world onto the year.[27] Yet another builds on the year wheel by adding the humours of the human body, and still another, of the 'zones of heaven' as 'projected on the earth with corresponding climates', includes the cardinal directions and seasonal characteristics.[28] All such information enters Bartholomew's book, for which Isidore's *Etymologies* and *De natura rerum* and the *Computus* were sources, and the correspondences of macro- and microcosm permeate his expression of time's knowable properties. Although no *computus* with *rotae* portraying personifications of the months can be ascertained as a model for his descriptions of the months, one may have served him.

Apart from *computus* handbooks, astronomical calendars exist with circular designs that include the months.[29] For instance, a non-Isidore wheel diagram of the year in a Swabian martyrology dated *c*. 1180 (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS hist. 415) has pictures of personifications as well as labels. The four seasons are in the corners of the page; at the centre is the year, around which revolve concentric rings of wind-heads, the signs of the zodiac, and the months.[30] Given the type of information that Bartholomew sets out for his months, he could have had to hand an illustrated astronomical calendar or *rota* with personified months in a similar martyrology.

Other types of texts in which images of the months and zodiac appear are missals, breviaries, psalters, and *horae* (books of hours), all of which typically open with a calendar of the church year. Although these names for service books are often used indiscriminately, Christopher de Hamel's distinctions are helpful. A missal is the book a priest reads from at the altar as he celebrates the communion service at mass. Breviaries could be owned by people who were not ordained priests, including laity and nuns; they contain 'prayers and anthems in praise of Christ and the saints' to be said, by the enclosed, in the choir of the church at the daily services of Matins through Compline. Psalters are collections of the psalms and other musical chants for use during mass and daily services; although some were pocket-size, they were

[26] Murdoch, *Album of Science*, p. 53, fig. 46.

[27] Murdoch, *Album of Science*, fig. 47; and Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, p. 41, fig. 3.1; p. 42.

[28] For the humours wheel, see Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 'Annus-Mundus-Homo,' p. 43, fig. 3.4; for the zones wheel, see 'Zones rota,' p. 41, fig. 3.2.

[29] Murdoch, *Album of Science*, pp. 253–56.

[30] Webster, *Labors of the Months*, pp. 169–70; Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, pp. 13–15, 32–37, 101.

on the whole large books kept in parish churches and monasteries for use in the choir.[31] Books of hours, which were made by secular booksellers for lay customers, developed from breviaries. During the thirteenth century, the breviary's Little Office of Our Lady, that is, prayers in honour of the Virgin Mary, split away to form the core of devotional texts in *horae*, books bought by secular women and men, ostensibly for use at home at each of the canonical hours.[32]

It is among the illustrated calendars of *horae* and related devotional books that Rosamond Tuve locates Bartholomew's 'prototype'.[33] However, we should interpret prototypes not as immediate models but as analogues in cross-fertilizing illustration traditions for texts with calendars to forecast observances of the church year, such as martyrologies, and texts with astronomical calendars to explain concepts in computus handbooks. *Horae*, the personal prayer books made for lay people, are scarce before 1300. Roger S. Wieck includes only five in his study, *Time Sanctified*.[34] Indeed, they are relatively rare before 1400 but become abundant during the fifteenth century. Moreover, neither these personal prayer books nor church service-books were necessarily illustrated. Surviving *horae* do tend to be 'prettily decorated', as de Hamel says, but by no means do all abound with pictures.[35] In fact, just two of the five books of hours before1300 included by Wieck have illustrated calendars. As he points out, 'calendars in the majority of Books of Hours are not illustrated at all'.[36] Furthermore, despite some remarkable examples, missals, breviaries, and even psalters are not as a rule given many pictures.[37]

Still, among those church service-books and *horae* that do have pictures in their calendars, the scenes adhere to the labours of the months. For instance, the images in roundels in a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century psalter, illuminated for a wife and husband probably in Verdun (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 118), match Bartholomew's, although September treads rather than harvests grapes.[38] A similar sequence appears in several thirteenth-century *horae* and psalters cited by

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[31] Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon, 1986; repr. 1995), pp. 202–24.

[32] See John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977; repr. 1982), pp. 12–13; de Hamel, *History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 168–69.

[33] Tuve, *Seasons and Months*, pp. 156–57.

[34] Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: Braziller, 1988), pp. 171–72.

[35] De Hamel, *History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 168.

[36] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, p. 45. In Wieck's catalogue, the two earliest *horae* to be illustrated are Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.97, *c*. 1275, p. 71 Catalogue #2; and Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 39, late 13th century, p. 171 Catalogue # 3.

[37] On the illumination of service books, see de Hamel, *History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 209–31.

[38] Reproduced in a calendar in *The Medieval Year* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2000).

Tuve, although only two before 1220.[39] Both Wieck's list of 'traditional tasks' and John Harthan's 'standardized sequence' for books of hours largely match the scenes Bartholomew describes.[40] As a Franciscan, of course, Bartholomew would not have owned a *hora*. It is likely that the traditional sequence originated in the same French milieu as Bartholomew's and became standardized through book production practices, especially in the prolific and efficiently organized Paris ateliers where uniformity of programmes was expected.[41]

During the mid-thirteenth century, while Bartholomew is writing about time, the stone calendars of cathedrals and the planispherical calendars of *computus* handbooks are becoming transferred to other texts. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, according to Pérez-Higuera, the 'illustrated calendar [. . .] was given a new lease of life in the Books of Hours and missals of the well-to-do'.[42] Whether or not Bartholomew turned the pages of an illustrated calendar in a breviary as he wrote about the months in Book 9, the readers of his encyclopaedia would eventually associate his descriptions with the cycle of labours painted in the calendars of their prayer books. Yet, even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the subject of time, as Bartholomew presents it, did not elicit pictures with a stable iconography, as we shall now see.

Upon its completion, *DPR* was disseminated through the book trade in Paris, which had built up around the university. During the following two centuries, hundreds of manuscripts of the Latin text were produced, largely in France, but also Italy, Germany, and elsewhere in Europe.[43] In medieval books made for faculty and students, drawings without a specific didactic function, such as Isidore *rotae*, would be abnormal, apart perhaps from an author portrait, but even in copies of the Latin *DPR* bought by collectors for their personal libraries, miniature sequences are rare. Nevertheless, what must be one of the first picture cycles for Bartholomew's encyclopaedia was produced for a Latin *DPR* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Library, MS CFM 15), which was made in northern France or Flanders soon after 1300 for a French reader.[44]

Many of the images in the twenty-one initials at the opening of books are recognizable references to the subject of the book they inaugurate, such as the angels and devils for Book 2 and the birds for Book12. Among the puzzling images,

[39] Tuve, *Seasons and Months*, pp. 157–67.

[40] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, pp. 48, 50; Harthan, *Books of Hours*, p. 24.

[41] See Harthan, *Books of Hours*, pp. 20–23; de Hamel, *History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 184–98.

[42] Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, p. 176.

[43] See Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopaedia*, pp. 257–61.

[44] Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

however, is that for Book 9. Inside the P of the word *postquam*, with which Book 9 begins, are displayed a plumb line at the top, a set square (left bottom), compass, level (right), two knives, and two mallets (hammers). What do these tools have to do with time? John E. Murdoch points out that when a figure is depicted with a square and compass in scientific illustrations, these tools denote a geometer, or by inference, the subject of geometry.[45] Knowledge of geometry belonged to master masons and sculptors as well as mathematicians. Indeed, the ensemble in this historiated initial resembles the iconography of a master mason or sculptor. As Nicola Coldstream reveals, masons and sculptors are identified in paintings (and sculpture) by the plumb line, square, and compass, which are all drawing tools.[46] Moreover, pictures of masons and sculptors at work show mallets and chisels as well. The square and compass also occur in pictures of instrument makers. Puzzling though the referent of this ensemble is, the illustration responds to the topic of measurement treated, as we have seen, in the opening of Book 9.

Most of the manuscripts with illustrations for Bartholomew's encyclopaedia are copies of Jean Corbichon's French translation, which we are about to consider, but one exists of a Provencal translation, *Elucidari de las Proprietatz de totas Res naturals* (Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, MS 1029). Se Boyer proposes that the translation was made for Gaston Phoebus, Count of Foix (d. 1391).[47] For other books, Phoebus is known to have commissioned illuminations from the Parisian artist Jean of Nizières and his workshop, who also illustrated a copy of the French translation of *DPR*, quite possibly for Louis of Orléans in 1396 (Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, MS 1028).[48] However, the Provencal translation, earlier by perhaps two decades and probably illustrated in the area of Toulouse, has an entirely different programme; it is apparently unique among earlier illustrated copies of Bartholomew's encyclopaedia in accompanying each chapter on the months with a picture of an occupation. The iconography resembles Bartholomew's descriptions closely, although October is a peasant who ploughs the ground rather than a sower of winter seed. However, ploughing, as Pérez-Higuera reports, is traditional in the 'cycles of antiquity' and 'very frequent in the calendars of the Mediterranean zone'.[49]

Le Livre des propriétés des choses, the French translation made by Corbichon

[45] Murdoch, *Album of Science*, p. 261.

[46] Nicola Coldstream, *Masons and Sculptors* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 12, 63.

[47] See Boyer, 'Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopaedia', p. 187. See also A. Boinet, Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 5 (Paris: Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits a Peintures, 1921), 112–16.

[48] Pierpont Morgan Library catalogue entry (typescript) on MS M. 331 (probably also illuminated by Nizières), p. 2.

[49] Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, p. 159.

in 1372 for Charles V of France, yields most of the illustrations for Book 9 in manuscripts and later in incunables. Bartholomew's encyclopaedia was one of Charles's selections for his programme of translations of the most notable Latin books, a project aimed at replacing Latin with French as the première language of intellectual and political discourse. In line with his patronage of the book arts, Charles V had a penchant for having these translations illustrated. The royal exemplar of *Des propriétés des choses* has disappeared. But among the forty or so copies surviving, about fifteen are datable *c*. 1390–1418, a period of prolific manuscript illustration in Paris, a city to which talented miniaturists migrated to take advantage of opportunities for aristocratic patronage and well-organized channels of production. The iconographical programmes in these second-generation copies of the French version tend to be similar, and their commonalities probably reflect the programme originally conceived for Charles V. In a few of the earliest, the Book 9 picture gives a professorial authority but no sign of the subject. Several others, however, incorporate astronomical instruments.

One of the earliest of these pictures occurs in London, British Library, Additional MS 11612, made *c.* 1405 for Jean of Montaigu, Grand Master of the King's Household under Charles VI.[50] In this manuscript, the painter has illustrated Book 8 Astronomy and Book 9 with nearly the same image. For Book 8, we see a standing teacher holding an armillary sphere in one hand and pointing up with the other to the arc of plain blue above. For Book 9, beneath an upper band of cobalt blue shining with golden stars, sun, and moon, we see a standing teacher speaking with a seated teacher holding the sphere (see fig. 1). This instrument is a model of the cosmos, allowing one to track celestial movements. As Murdoch points out, it is often shown with figures to identify them as astronomers. Hence, this tool of the astronomer's trade is an appropriate sign for the subject announced in the heading for Book 8: 'the world and celestial bodies' ('du monde & des corps celestiaux'). The sign of the sphere responds effectively as well to the heading of Book 9, 'times and their movement', and the opening chapters, which, as have we seen, discuss motion, change, and measurement in order to characterize time. The repetition of the image does not distinguish the topics of Books 8 and 9. But it does emphasize the place of time in the astronomer's purview and also the opening chapter's explanation of celestial motions of 'round circles and spheres' that engender movements in the nether world and therefore time. Like the miniaturist of Fitzwilliam CFM 15 of the Latin text, then, the illustrator of Additional 11612 has provided a visual image to fit the beginning of the book, although the signs chosen are utterly different.

[50] Donald Byrne, 'Two Hitherto Unidentified Copies of the "Livre des propriétés choses", from the Royal Library of the Louvre and the Library of Jean de Berry', *Scriptorium*, 31 (1977), 90–98 (p. 91).



Figure 1. *Le Livre des propriétés des choses*, Book 9. Beneath stars, sun, and moon, two teachers converse; the one who is seated holds an armillary sphere, which is a model of the cosmos used for tracking celestial movements (Paris, *c*. 1405). London, British Library, Additional MS 11612, fol. 152. (By permission of the British Library)

The picture for the French text is, moreover, directly related to Charles V's interests in astronomy and astrology. In his prologue to the translation, Corbichon, during his praise of Charles V for his wisdom, specifies study of these annexed sciences by Ptolemy, Aristotle, Caesar, and Charlemagne.[51] Charles V owned spheres and other astronomical instruments.[52] He also possessed *Traitié de le'espere* ('Treatise on the Sphere'), which Nicole Oresme had composed earlier in French. An illumination for *Traitié de le'espere* in Oxford, St John's College, MS 14, dated *c*. 1365, shows Charles with a large armillary sphere amid books on his lectern.[53] Five years after Corbichon's translation of *DPR*, Oresme also translated Aristotle's *De cælo et mundo* for Charles V;[54] this is the text Bartholomew cites in Book 9's opening discussion of movement.

A variation of the astronomer picture introduces Book 9 in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 537, of the French version, made in Paris *c*. 1405. Three men sit on a bench, listening to a seated teacher, who holds up a quadrant (fig. 2). Like the armillary sphere, the quadrant is a tool of the astronomer's trade, thus identifying the subject at hand. More particularly, the quadrant points to the measurement of time, for this instrument was used not only to determine the height of inaccessible objects but also to ascertain the hours of the day. As Murdoch explains, the quadrant is equipped with sighting vanes, plumb line, meridian scale, calendar, zodiac, and shadow square inscribed by arcs of circles that represent the unequal hour lines. One sights the sun and notes the position of the plumb line on the inscribed square.[55] The artist has not provided a sky with a sun. Nevertheless, because the quadrant is more specific to measuring time than the armillary sphere is, the picture has the character of a demonstration lesson, the use of the quadrant to tell the hours, or the segments of the day as measured by the quadrant.

To Bartholomew as well as to the owner of the Morgan manuscript and Charles V, whose collection included quadrants, this instrument (*quadrans vetus*) would have been familiar. To be sure, in Book 9, there is no mention of quadrants, astrolabes, armillary spheres, or any other time teller or keeper of the hours, such as bells or sundials. Nevertheless, Bartholomew speaks of tracking the sun's movement and the changing length of shadows, and, as we have seen, movement and measurement are key themes in the opening chapters. Taken in conjunction

[51] Bernard Ribémont, *Le Livre des propriétés des choses: Une encyclopédie au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Stock, 1999), pp. 53–57. Citations of Corbichon's translation will be to this edition of excerpts in modern French.

[52] Françoise Autrand, *Charles V: Le Sage* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), p. 745.

[53] Claire Richter Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 20 fig. 4; 19.

[54] Murdoch, *Album of Science*, fig. 162 right, p. 179.

[55] Murdoch, *Album of Science*, pp. 262–63.

with the rubric, the quadrant in the Morgan miniature functions as a sign of the subject, the measurement of temporal movement.

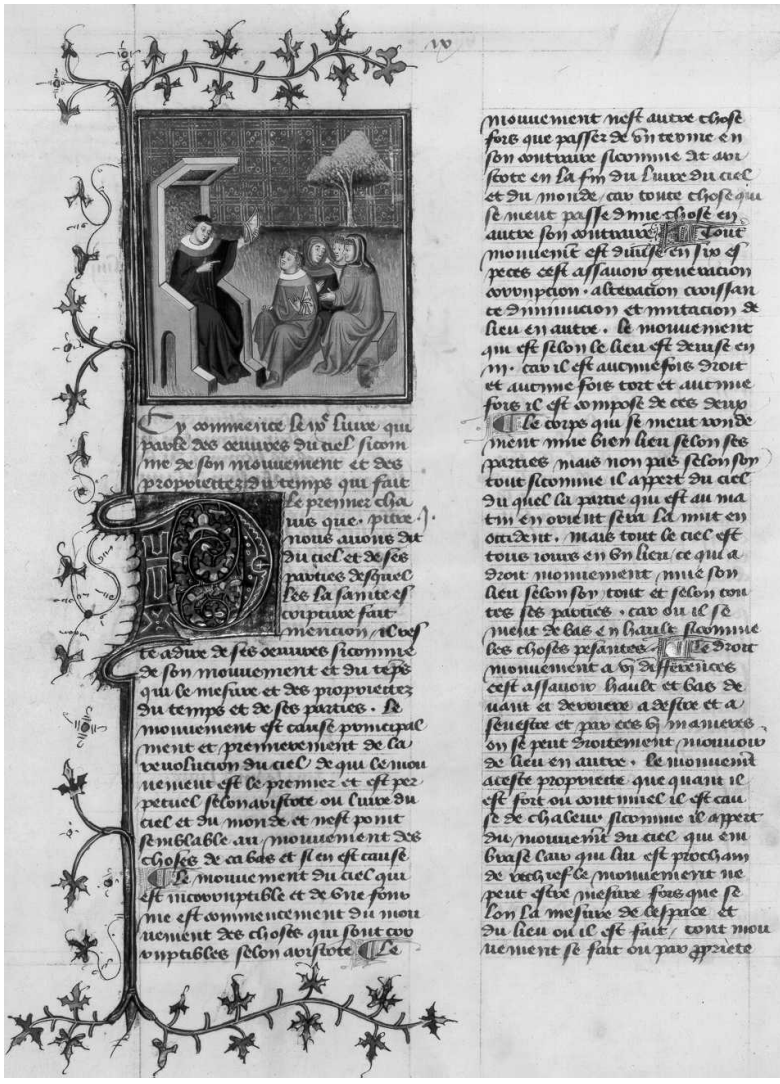


Figure 2. *Le Livre des propriétés des choses*, Book 9. A seated teacher holds up a quadrant, an instrument used to tell the hours of the day. He appears to be demonstrating its use to the three men listening (Paris, *c*. 1405). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 537, fol. 184^{v}. (By permission of the Pierpont Morgan Library)

After *c*. 1420, the production of copies of Corbichon's translation of *DPR* moved out of Paris to other centres of the book arts, and concomitantly, the iconographical programme originated for Charles V yielded more variation. One of the most exciting centres in the later fifteenth century was Brugge. It was here, in 1482, that Edward IV of England purchased a two-volume copy of the French translation (London, British Library, MSS Royal 15. E. ii and iii) with quite a different approach to illustrating Bartholomew's encyclopaedia. While many of the twenty miniatures in this manuscript are of one-column size, as in the earlier copies, the one for time is among the six filling half the page. The prominence given to these half-page pictures may point not only to Edward's interests but also to the illuminator's skill, in the case of Book 9 with landscape. The miniature depicts a manorial estate (fig. 3). Under a calm sky, a multi-towered and moated castle is sited securely at the centre of the background, while in the foreground on rolling terrain of muted browns and greens, well-dressed male labourers are busy tending to the parkland. Inspecting closely, one notices that some trees are in leaf and some leafless, that a short fence and other ground lines subtly segregate areas of activity, and that there are eight workers. Moreover, the activities are similar to those depicted in scenes of the months. Absent, however, are the leisure pastimes, such as flower-gathering, hawking, feasting, or warming by the fire; rather, all activities are agrarian work and specifically the maintenance of orchard, grain fields, and woodland.

In the left foreground, framed by pollarded trees in leaf, a man distributes seed in the deep furrows of a field, while behind him another kneels at the base of another pollarded tree, as if about to weed (or prune though no tool is visible). In the left mid-ground, a man on a ladder picks apples from densely canopied and fruit-studded trees, while behind him another gathers the windfall from the ground to place in a large basket. In the right background, a kneeling man bundles faggots next to leafless trees, while another raises a long-handled axe to chop wood. In the right foreground, a man reaps golden wheat, while beneath leafy trees another raises a whetstone to sharpen a sickle. Taken in temporal succession, the activities move from spring planting and maintaining trees on the left to summer grain-crop harvesting on the right, and from autumn fruit-crop harvesting in the left mid-ground to woodland-crop activity for winter on the right. Such winter scenes, generally for February, of coppicing, chopping wood, and bundling branches are also reflected in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century calendars, some made in Brugge, and so is this illumination's depiction of the agricultural work of spring.[56] Although planting the wheat or rye crop is the traditional task of early autumn, spring planting of the faster growing cereals, such as barley, was a reality, as Pérez-Higuera reminds us.[57]

[56] See Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, catalogue no. 93–94, 100, 103, 105–06; and Wilhelm Hansen, K*alenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher: mittelalterliches Leben im Jahreslauf* (München: Callwey, 1984), pp. 101–11, 116.

[57] Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, pp. 134–38.

In later calendars, some made in Brugge, spring planting is typically indicated by an image, generally for March, of preparing the ground rather than seeding, as we will see. In this miniature for *Des propriétés des choses*, the furrowed field, fore-fronted by the painter's skill with perspective and the frame of trees, evokes the appearance of such fields in the iconography of good government.[58]



Figure 3. *Le Livre des propriétés des choses*, Book 9. Workers on a manorial estate maintain orchard, grain fields, and woodland. Their labours are associated with the cycle of the four seasons, such as seeding the field in the spring (left foreground); reaping in the summer (right foreground); picking fruit in the autumn (left mid-ground), and bundling branches in the winter in the right background (Brugge, 1482). London, British Library, Royal MS 15. E. ii fol. 247^{v}. (By permission of the British Library)

[58] See Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, pp. 240–51.

In Edward IV's *Des propriétés des choses*, the round of agrarian labours associated with the four seasons is depicted in terms of a well-managed and prosperous estate. Although the harmony marking the seasonal movement of time is consonant with Bartholomew's outlook, this miniature does not replicate Bartholomew's descriptions of the four seasons in chapters 3/4–6/7. There, herbs and trees grow green and meadows bring forth flowers in spring, the sun ripens corn and flowers in summer, and human appetites increase in winter: all motifs for personified seasons in other texts and visual representations.[59] But only in autumn does Bartholomew describe agrarian labour. Then, not only do leaves fall but 'men are busily occupied gathering corn' from fields and taking 'fruit from trees' (Chap. 7/8). Although consonant with Bartholomew's perspective, the Brugge artist's pleasant landscape seems to be influenced by imagery in the work of Petrus Crescentius, whose treatise on gardening and farming was also produced in illustrated copies made in Brugge, one of which Edward IV owned (London, British Library, MS Royal 14. E. 6).

As pictures for Book 9 of Bartholomew's encyclopaedia, the labours of the months come into their own in four vernacular editions of *DPR* published in the late fifteenth century. In these incunables, we see the influence of the illustrated calendars in church service books and personal *horae*. In 1485, at the Haarlem branch of Gerhart van Leeu's press, Jacob Bellaert published *Boek van den Proprieteyten der Dingen*, a Dutch translation, which may have been made expressly for the press, as se Boyer suggests.[60] Bellaert's woodcutter was most likely a manuscript illuminator drawing upon models in breviaries and the like.[61] The simple but informative design displays four rows, each having three roundels exhibiting a labour of the month, from January at top left to December at bottom right. Although Bellaert might have employed a scribe to label the roundels, it seems that the reader is expected to recognize which month is whichap. The images are exactly those described by Bartholomew, except that January is not two-fronted and animals are not included in November. The figures are animated, and each configuration fits aptly within its enclosing circle, such as the curve of the worker's posture and his instrument's blade in the June scene. The four rows evoke the four seasons, but because January initiates the year, the months that comprise each season are one later than normal in calendars of the natural year; for example, autumn in the bottom row begins with October and ends with December. Although zodiac signs are omitted and the cyclicity of time is not visually rendered, the well-proportioned arrangement efficiently conveys the ideas of regularity, segmentation, and progression.

[59] On sowing and ploughing shown together in Spain, see Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars*, p. 163.

[60] Se Boyer, 'Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopaedia', p. 187.

[61] See also Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 2 vols (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1935; repr. New York: Dover, 1963), I, 574–77.

A quite different arrangement of the labours appears for Book 9 in the first French edition of *Des propriétés des choses*, which was published by Matthias Huss in Lyon in 1482, and re-issued in 1485 and again in 1491. A hub of commerce along the principal roads to and from several countries, Lyon enjoyed a thriving book trade, evidently clustered around the cathedral. Its printers, some of whom, like Huss, came from Germany, were the first in France to incorporate woodcuts.[62] The potential for cross-fertilizing illustration models in this milieu undoubtedly influenced the programme for Huss's edition of Corbichon's translation. The woodcut for the book on time is that of a *rota* (see fig. 4). The design radiates out from the midpoint. The centre roundel represents the year in two halves through May/spring and February/winter iconography. It is divided horizontally by two woven branches: the leafy upper part of the branches and the thorny lower part are vegetative correlatives for the upper and lower scenes in which the two halves of the year are represented. In the springtime upper half, a maiden making a garland is seated on a mead with leafed-out trees. In the wintertime lower half, a man looking up at the maiden and holding out his hands to a fire is seated on striated ground with four tree stumps and one bare-branched tree.

The slender ring enclosing the year is divided into four segments representing the revolution of night and day throughout the year. Around the spring-summer half of the year runs, from left to right, a short, black segment bearing the label night and a moon and stars, followed by a longer segment of white labelled day. Around the autumn-winter half runs a long segment of night again, followed by a short section of day. Thus we see the short nights and long days of spring and summer and the long nights and short days of autumn and winter, as Bartholomew explains.

The wide, outer ring is filled with roundels of the monthly labours, their encircling lines virtually interlocked in this conception of time's revolving motion. In such a design, there is no indication of where to begin. The woven branches dividing the year and the corresponding ring of night and day for each half point to equinoctial months, so we could start in March on the left or September on the right. But following Bartholomew's enumeration, we spot January as the two-faced figure with pitcher, cups, and oval loaves on the table in the roundel at bottom left-centre. From there we move left to February warming hands and feet at a blazing fire, and so on upward to June and July at the top and then downward to December. East would be at the left rather than in its more usual position in maps, at the top. In this design, top and bottom, up and down, convey the sun's movement northward to its 'highest' point 'above us' (Chap. 4/5).

[62] See de Hamel, *History of Illuminated Books*, pp. 197–98 on Lyon book shops; and Hind, *Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, I, 599 on printers and woodcuts.



Figure 4. *Des propriétés des choses*, Book 9. A *rota* displays the two halves of the year (centre roundel), the revolution of night and day throughout the year (segmented inner ring), and the labours of the months (outer ring). January is in the roundel at bottom left-centre, February to the left and so upward to June and July at the top and downward to December. Some of the images diverge from Bartholomew's, such as ploughing in June (Lyon: Matthias Huss, 1482; repr. 1485, 1491). The woodcut is reproduced here from the 1491 edition. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 1Q. 3. 35 sig. L6. (By permission of the Bodleian Library)

The labours in the Huss woodcut are similar to Bartholomew's descriptions for November, December, January, and February, but differ in the rest. Bartholomew's May horseman with a hawk has become a young man on a turf seat, playing a stringed instrument, while on the grassy mead sits a young woman beneath a leafy tree—a type of courting scene that may be found in fifteenth-century calendars in *horae*.[63] For several tasks, the woodcut is a month behind Bartholomew. Hence, April sees pruning, July mowing, August reaping, and October grape picking. This shift permits a visual link between the scenes for March at the halfway point on the left, September directly opposite on the right, and June at the top. All three are concerned with planting grain fields. For March, a man, pickaxe raised, breaks ground—great clods of soil at his feet, furrowed field behind him. As noted earlier, this activity, alternatively shown as digging, signifies preparation of the ground for spring planting; here, the pickaxe, clods, and furrows indicate that ploughing has left behind lumps the peasant must break apart.[64] The complementary autumnal planting occurs in September, not October, and emphasizes ploughing, not sowing: one man rides a horse pulling a harrow over a stubbled field, while another man looks on. As noted of the October ploughing in the illustration for the Provencal translation of *DPR*, this labour has an ancient iconographic heritage. It occurs specifically with September in two early sixteenth-century Belgian calendars that also give breaking ground to March: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 425; and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 399, the 'Da Costa Hours'.[65] Though these are too late to have influenced Huss's woodcutter, the coincidence suggests the availability of an earlier model for these scenes. In some autumnal ploughing scenes, including the Da Costa Hours, a sower is also at work. That is who the second man in the woodcut must be.

Positioned conspicuously between spring and autumn is the most surprising of the woodcut's divergences, the field image for June at the top of the wheel: a man driving a team of horses ploughs a field. Although June ploughing occurs in two calendars from the twelfth and thirteenth century, by the time Huss's edition appeared, this labour was an extraordinary substitute for June reaping.[66] Rather, the alternative emerging in the 1480s, particularly in Belgian-made calendars, was the shearing of sheep.[67] The Da Costa Hours, for instance, depicts June sheep shearing

[63] See Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, p. 48.

[64] See John Langdon, 'Agricultural Equipment', in *The Countryside of Medieval England*, ed. by Grenville Astill and Annie Grant (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 98; Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen*, nos. 112–16.

[65] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, catalogue nos. 105–06 for the Belgian calendars. See also Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen*, nos. 124–49, which range in date from early thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries.

[66] Webster, *Labors of the Months*, p. 168 no. 87; Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, catalogue no. 3.

[67] See Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen*, nos. 248–57; Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, p. 48.

as well as March breaking ground and September ploughing alongside sowing. Sheep farming, from which the major product was wool, had had a long history in the mixed animal husbandry of Europe. However, as Annie Grant reports, sheep pasturing could compete with cereal growing for quality land use. On the other hand, pig keeping, a traditional task in representations of the labours, was always compatible with grain production.[68] Whatever prompted the inclusion of ploughing in June, the Huss woodcut's arable field scenes invite interest in the technology of agricultural tools, the iconography of furrowed fields, and the premium placed on cereal crops. In this woodcut's arrangement, the year turns through grain production in spring, summer, and fall to give January his loaves of bread in winter.

Two other Lyon printers, William le Roy and Jean Syber, used Huss's woodcut in their editions of *Des propriétés des choses*, both *c*. 1485.[69] Wynkyn de Worde adapted it for the English translation by John Trevisa, *De proprietatibus rerum* (Westminster, 1495), as did Heinrich Mayer for the Spanish translation by Vincent of Burgos, *El libro de proprietatibus rerum* (Toulouse, 1494). Unlike Corbichon's *Des propriétés des choses*, Trevisa's English translation does not have a manuscript tradition of illustration. De Worde turned to both the Bellaert and Huss editions for his drawings, preferring the Huss *rota* for Book 9, probably because it fit with several other wheel diagrams he included. Alterations resulting from tracing a print rather than having the block itself include reversing the order of the monthly scenes and leaving empty the enclosing ring meant to coordinate day and night with the year. However, details of the labours evince attentive variation. The most interesting change is the substitution of sowing seed for the ploughing activity for September. Yet other permutations appear in the drawing for Mayer's edition. For instance, there, too, the September activity has been returned to broadcasting seed. But most important, the Spanish woodcutter completes the Huss *rota* by adding an outermost ring of the signs of the zodiac.

In the ninth book of his encyclopaedia, Bartholomew the Englishman knits together passages on time that support a salubrious view of time as the measurable effects of motion and change on the nether world. Recipients of this view are his book's readers, whose bodies were microcosms of macrocosmic movements and whose perception of time was realized through the influence of light and dark, warmth and cold on their health and the condition of earth, atmosphere, water, plants, and creatures both domestic and wild. In citing the painted images of the months as a mnemonic aid to understanding time's properties, Bartholomew expected readers to summon to mind the measurable effects of time permeating a stratified society sustained by a peasant economy. The pictures that eventually came to accompany Bartholomew's text respond in various ways to the problem of

[68] See Annie Grant, 'Animal Resources', in Astill and Grant, *Countryside of Medieval England*, pp. 151–59.

[69] Hind, *Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, I, 605.

knowing time, yet convey time's relationship to movement, change, measurement. The forms the illustrations take are influenced by access to models and by production practices, such as reliance on rubrics serving as verbal correlatives and prompts, the predilection to standardization in the Paris ateliers responsible for early manuscripts of the French translation, and the circulation of woodcuts, an innovative technology, among early printers. The interests of patrons also mattered, such as Charles V's fascination with astronomy and Edward IV's receptivity to the management of manors idealized in the treatise of Petrus Crescentius. Printers' estimates of what would attract and serve their prospective, socially mixed clientele also affected pictures for Book 9. Hence, it is when books of hours with illustrated calendars were at a height of production for the well to do and laity of more modest means alike that the labours of the months gain prominence in the drawings introducing Book 9. In considering both Bartholomew's book on time's properties and the inventiveness of its illustrators, we find meaning in Bartholomew's remarks about time's knowability. 'Nothing is more unperceptible nor more unknown of itself' than time, for, according to Isidore, says Bartholomew, 'time is not known by itself but only by words and deeds of men' (Chap. 1/2).

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God's Time? Purgatory and Temporality in Late Medieval Art

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In his book *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, Paul Binski poses a fundamental question about medieval afterlife imagery: 'Why is it', he asks, 'that so central a doctrine as that of Purgatory should not have been accompanied by a fundamental rethinking of the way the afterlife was itself represented in medieval art?'[1] The reason Binski raises the issue is that, to his mind, for all the scholarly and theological speculation on purgatory's spatial identity from the twelfth century (as outlined in Jacques Le Goff's important survey on the subject),[2] and for all the popularity of purgatorial modes of punishment in medieval visionary literature (as elucidated by scholars like Aron Gurevich),[3] 'with the exception of the canon of illuminated manuscripts and frescos illustrating Dante's *Divine Comedy*, it is', he says, 'singularly difficult to identify a widespread visual culture of Purgatory-illustration'.[4] Nor is Binski alone in this perception. Purgatory is virtually absent

[1] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum, 1996), p. 188.

[2] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1984).

[3] Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. by János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chap. 4: 'The *Divine Comedy* before Dante', pp. 104–52. See also Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Howard Rollin Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950); Takami Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 34–111.

[4] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 188.

from Emile Mâle's survey of Gothic art in France and Mâle only mentions the doctrine in relation to its exclusion on cathedral tympana of the Last Judgement;[5] Louis Réau suggests that images of purgatory are not to be found before the Counter-Reformation, when they were used to buttress belief in purgatory in defiance of Lutherism.[6] Gaby and Michel Vovelle's investigation into the popularity of the belief in Provence suggests that while images of purgatory can be found in the late fifteenth century, the classic age of purgatorial representation begins in the seventeenth century when altarpieces depicting souls being purged become common.[7] While Gurevich does not adhere to a conclusion based on iconographic evidence alone, he accepts that purgatory did indeed only find a place in church iconography at the end of the Middle Ages: 'Representational art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not know purgatory but interpreted the realm beyond the grave as a dichotomy of hell and paradise'.[8] Finally, T. S. R. Boase, writing like Binski on the visual culture of medieval death, remarks: 'Outside Italy, where Dante's *Divina Commedia* found some visual realizations, there was little attempt to represent Purgatory in painting or sculpture. Imagination seemed to have been exhausted by the effort of embodying Hell'.[9]

In this paper I wish to take issue with such arguments, simply because, as I see it, there was a significant tradition of purgatory illustration in the later Middle Ages, significant enough by the fifteenth century to render the picture of 'late-medieval representational silence' which researchers customarily paint with regards to purgatory somewhat problematic. Among the reasons why this iconographic tradition has not been recognized up to now, especially among Anglo-American scholars, I wish to posit the following: that art historians have simply not understood the representational strategies by which an artist familiar with the prevailing traditions of literature and pulpit might have differentiated purgatory from hell. The distinction between the two zones of punishment has, indeed, led to much scholarly

[5] Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, ed. by Harry Bober, trans. by Marthiel Matthews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 391.

[6] Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*, 3 parts (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955–59), part 2, II, 752–53.

[7] Gaby and Michel Vovelle, *Vision de la mort et de l'au-delà en Provence d'après les autels des âmes du purgatoire, XVe–XXe siècles* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1970), pp. 11–12. After isolated beginnings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they find twenty-one altarpieces of purgatory dating from 1610–70, nineteen from 1670–1730, twenty-one from 1730–90, twenty-two from 1790–1850, and twelve up until 1914. Michel Vovelle discusses the notion of medieval iconographic silence again in *La Mort et l'Occident de 1300 à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), pp. 66, 134–38, 308.

[8] Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, p. 108.

[9] Thomas S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgement and Remembrance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 49.

confusion over the years, with several images of purgatory being taken, quite wrongly, for those of hell.[10] I would like to suggest that visualizations of purgatory in the later Middle Ages will only be understood and recognized once art historians have grasped the language with which medieval artists communicated purgatorial space, and more importantly the ways in which that language of space was conceived in relation to a particular perception of time.

Temporality is crucial to theological and visionary accounts of purgatory, the key term by which purgatorial punishment was dissociated from eternal damnation. As a late-twelfth-century vision of 'St Patrick's Purgatory' by Marie de France recounts:

> Some suffered greatly, some less so,
> According to their works.
> Those who sinned most in the world
> Will have greater torments in purgatory.
> Yet, all those whom you saw
> Suffering great torment there,
> Will come to us, you can be sure
> When they have been completely purged,
> But not those who are in the pit of hell.
> Never will they leave their torment [. . .]
> None of those who are yet in a state of pain
> Know how long they will remain in it
> Or how long they have been in it.
> This all depends on the will of God.
> When we pray for them,
> Or offer masses, donations, and gifts,
> Their suffering is diminished:
> Either they are relieved of all their suffering,

[10] See, for example, the caption to a scene from Enguerrand Quarton's 'Coronation of the Virgin Altarpiece' (1453–54) in Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting 1400–1500* (London: Phaidon, 1949), plate 64. Perhaps one of the most brilliantly conceived representations of purgatory to survive from the late Middle Ages, for which a contract survives that leaves no doubt as to the status of the image, is headed 'Condemned Souls in Hell'. Admittedly, this may be a publisher's error: elsewhere in the book, Ring does suggest that the painting includes a representation of purgatory (p. 22). The contract for the painting, drawn up between Quarton and the patron Jean de Montagnac in Villeneuve-lès-Avignon in 1453, is reproduced in Charles Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton: le peintre de la Pieta d'Avignon* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983), p. 202; Montagnac's will is reproduced pp. 207–08. Further examples of caption errors are discussed below, p. 484, note 23, and p. 491.

> Or are alleviated of some of their pain,
> Or are placed in lesser pain. (lines 1733–64)[11]

Certainly, Marie de France's poem maintains that the time of purgatory is 'God's time', not to be confused with terrestrial existence: 'This all depends', the narrator tells us, 'on the will of God' (1758). However, the passage in question also introduces the two main factors differentiating purgatorial punishment from infernal torment: firstly, the logic of qualitative measurement, by which the amount one has sinned in this life is connected with the degree to which one suffers in the next ('Those who sinned most in the world', 1735), and secondly the dynamic of temporal quantification, whereby the sinner's torments are measured in terms of linear progression, with references to periods of waiting ('how long', 1756–57) and to the eventual cessation of suffering ('Either they are relieved of all their suffering | Or are alleviated of some of their pain', 1762–63). These two factors establish the need for purgatorial punishment to be variable, conceived along a manipulable time-scale—a measurable sequence with a clear beginning and end that was bound up with units of terrestrial time: hours, days, weeks, and years.

Time, for much of the Middle Ages, was conceived as repetitive and circular, based on life cycles, seasonal change, liturgical routine. In rural contexts, time scales were approximate, dictated by natural phenomena such as sunrise and sunset, the seasons, and the position of the moon and the stars; agrarian modes of production dictated that time be viewed as cyclical, something returning not passing. Yet this orientation of time was altered, in religious contexts, by the introduction of concepts of time progressing towards an end. Christianity emphasized that human history was determined by two major events—the Creation and Christ's Incarnation. Moreover the latter heralded the Last Judgment, at which time would be abolished and be replaced by eternity. Christianity was as such dominated by concepts of irreversible time, of 'time running out'. 'God's time' represented a compromise between the cyclical patterns that governed production and the immutable progression towards judgement and the end of time that characterized Christian history.[12]

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[11] *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Poem by Marie de France*, trans. by Michael J. Curley, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 94 (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, SUNY, 1990) pp. 140–43: 'tels en a greignurs, tels menurs, | solunc les uevres des plusurs: | cil ki plus pechierent el munt | greignurs tormenz iluec avrunt. | Tuit cil ki sunt en granz tormenz, | que vus veïstes la dedenz, | a nus vendrunt, bien le sachiez, | quant il ierent tuz espurgiez, | fors cels ki el puiz d'enfer sunt; | ja mes de cel torment n'eistrunt [. . .] Nul de cels ki en peine sunt | ne sevent cumbien i serrunt | ne cumbien il i unt esté; | c'est tut en la Deu volenté. | Quant hum fait pur els oreisuns, | messes, e almosnes, e duns, | lur torment sunt amenuisié | u del tut en sunt alegié: | u l'um aliege lur dolurs, | u l'um les met enz en menurs'.

[12] For general historical surveys of time in the Middle Ages and beyond, see Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, trans. by Thomas Dunlap (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Alfred W. Crosby, *The*

Nonetheless, this was still a far cry from time as we know it. In the words of Alfred Crosby, 'time, beyond the individual life span, was envisioned not as a straight line marked off in equal quanta, but as a stage for the enactment of the greatest of all dramas, Salvation versus Damnation'.[13] It was with concepts of penance that irreversible time became a truly quantifiable construct, something to be counted in mundane, earthly units. Penitential literature reflects an obsession with quantification, organizing sins according to severity and prescribing precise periods of penance for each: seven years for homicide, five years for theft, one week for drunkenness.[14] The role of the individual in the drama of salvation was also enhanced by notions of the human life cycle as a 'pilgrimage of the soul', in which individual responsibility was paramount.

Visions of purgatory represent an outgrowth from this tradition. Penitentials ushered in an alternative conception of time, based on linearity rather than circularity, in which events were conceived along a scale of measurable intervals progressing ever forward.[15] Likewise, thirteenth-century sermon exempla discussing purgatory focused attention above all on the correlation between the time of punishment in purgatory and the time of earthly suffrages, stressing that the former could be measured in terms of the latter. An exemplum from the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach (*c*. 1219–23) describes how a man from Liège is denied burial in the cemetery because of his usurous practises. His wife strives to redeem her husband's sins through alms, fasts, prayers and vigils, and, after seven years, he appears to her exclaiming 'May God reward you, for, thanks to your trials, I have been plucked from the depths of Hell and the most terrible punishments' (the narrator comments that 'the depths of Hell' refers to the 'harshness of Purgatory'). The husband specifies another period of seven earthly

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Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 28–35, 75–93; Jacques Le Goff, 'Merchant's Time and Church's Time in the Middle Ages', in Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 29–42; Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone, 1994), pp. 93–104.

[13] Crosby, *The Measure of Reality*, p. 28.

[14] An overview of the development of penitential literature in the early Middle Ages is provided by John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal* libri poenitentiales *and Selections from Related Documents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, repr. 1990). The examples here are drawn from the penances prescribed for laymen in the *Poenitentiale Romanum* of Halitgar (*c*. 830), pp. 302, 304, 308.

[15] For a discussion of purgatorial time, see Jacques Le Goff, 'The Time of Purgatory (Third to Thirteenth Century)', in Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), pp. 67–77; also see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 229–30, 290–95, 352–53.

years of service, after which his soul is set free.[16] A Middle English prose version of Henry Suso's Latin *Horlogium Sapientiae* (*c*. 1331–34) is even more explicit about making an arithmetic connection between the temporal orders of this world and the next, conveying the severity of purgatorial torment by comparing the experience of time in purgatory with the experience of time on earth. The narrator exclaims: 'Þe bitternesse of peyne þat we mow felen in an houre semith as grete as alle the sorowe of þe passynge worlde in an hundreth ȝeere'.[17]

The most obvious manifestation of the emergence of linear time in mainstream religion was, of course, the indulgence, granted by the church for the remission of a period of time that one would otherwise have spent in purgatory. This system famously bore witness to a staggering inflationary spiral in the late-medieval period, with rewards for reciting a hymn before an image of Christ ranging from ten days' remission in the thirteenth century to ten thousand days or more in the fifteenth century.[18] The indulgence is only the most explicit example of the tendency for accounts of purgatory to interweave terrestrial time with eschatological time—a dynamic that ended up creating a veritable system of 'accountancy' in the afterlife. Descriptions of purgatory established a relationship between the time of this world and the time of the next in terms of concrete economic relations, and it is no surprise that the subject of the above quoted exemplum is a usurer—Le Goff cites the episode as an example of purgatory's sociological contribution to the birth of capitalism.[19] The economic metaphor is entirely appropriate in such contexts: purgatory is described in the *Golden Legend* with the arithmetical precision of a merchant banker. 'Once [penance] is fully paid', Jacobus de Voragine writes, 'the payment belongs to the one who made it and it is credited to him. If he does not need it, it goes into the Church's treasury or benefits the souls in Purgatory'.[20]

It is my contention that it was these same elements in written descriptions of purgatory—the juxtaposition of motifs of quantification, measurement and economic value with metaphors of linear time—that late-medieval artists translated into visual terms in order to differentiate representations of purgatory from those of hell, and that, once we understand this language, a significant corpus of purgatorial iconography comes to light.[21] A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point. The

[16] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 303–04.

[17] Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, p. 87.

[18] R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London: Penguin, 1970; repr. 1990), pp. 136–43; Henk van Os, and others, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*, trans. Michael Hoyle (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), p. 82.

[19] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p. 305.

[20] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols, trans. by William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), II, 281.

[21] For a general account of the effect of new conceptions of time on the visual arts, see

best place to start is an image that represents purgatory and hell side by side, a decorated initial illustrating a page in a German fifteenth-century theological treatise (fig. 1).[22]



Fig. 1. 'Purgatory and hell depicted side by side'. Initial 'D' illustrating Hugo Ripelin's *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, Medingen (*c*. 1469), Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. ch. f. 690, fol. 64 ^{v}. (By permission)

Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Visions and Revelations of the Medieval World* (London: Everyman, 1996), chap. 2: 'New Visions of Time', pp. 70–101.

[22] Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. ch. f. 690, fol. 64^{v}. The initial illustrates the third book of the *Compendium theologicae veritatis* by Hugo Ripelin von Strasbourg, illuminated in the Dominican monastery of Medingen in 1469. See Peter Jezler, and others, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer: Das Jenseits im Mittelalter*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, 4th edn (Zürich: Verlag Neuer Zürcher Zeitung, 1994), p. 289, cat. 96.

The initial is divided into three regions, the lower two of which depict the gaping mouths of monsters filled with souls. Although both entrances comprise what is often erroneously referred to as the 'Mouth of Hell', Leviathan's jaw was commonly used by medieval artists to depict both regions of eternal torment and temporal purgation—unfortunately leading to much confusion in recent literature on the subject which assumes that the presence of a mouth implies hell alone.[23] In fact, the difference between purgatory and hell in this image is perfectly clear: purgatory is indicated to the left by the angel penetrating the jaws of the monster and swooping down to deliver a soul, while to the right a devil prevents escape from hell. As such, purgatory's temporality is stressed: its inhabitants, unlike those of hell, are succoured by the promise of release.

Countless images of purgatory adopt comparable scenes depicting the cessation of torment and the movement into grace, from the historiated initial in the late-thirteenth-century breviary of Philip the Fair[24] to the margins of a miniature from a French fifteenth-century Book of Hours depicting the 'Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead' (which again contrasts purgatory as a place of waiting and temporality with hell as a place of permanence and closure) (fig. 2).[25]

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[23] As demonstrated by the caption errors in John Plummer's edition of *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, discussed below, p. 15. Further examples of such errors include a miniature from the Cunliffe Hours, illuminated in Utrecht *c.* 1475 (Utrecht, University Library, MS 8.L.20, fol. 189^{r}), wrongly labelled 'Two damned souls in the entrance of Hell' in Koert van der Horst, *Illuminated and Decorated Medieval Manuscripts in the University Library, Utrecht: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 29–30, when in fact it depicts the souls of a man and a woman standing in the jaws of a monstrous mouth in attitudes of prayer, with no visible signs of distress; an image of three souls praying in the mouth of a monster opposite a depiction of a funeral service in a Dutch Book of Hours *c*. 1480 (Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 131 G5, fols 143^{v}–44), described as 'Âmes dans la Geule de l'Enfer', in Alexander W. Byvanck and Godefridus J. Hoogewerff, *La miniature hollandaise dans les manuscrits des 14e, 15e et 16e siècles*, 3 vols (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1922–26), I, 62. The possibility of representing purgatory as a Leviathan's mouth is discussed in Friedrich Gorissen, *Das Stundenbuch der Katharina von Kleve: Analyse und Kommentar* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1973), pp. 424–26. Geoffrey of Poitiers (d. 1231) clearly had no qualms about adapting the old vocabulary of hell to the new language of purgatory. He explains: 'It is better to say that there are various abodes in Purgatory: some are called dark and obscure places, others the hand of hell, others the mouth of the lion, and still others Tartarus' (quoted in Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p. 176).

[24] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 1023, fols 49, 474. See François Virgitti, 'L'iconographie du Purgatoire dans les manuscrits liturgiques du XIIIe au XVe siècle', *Histoire de l'Art*, 20 (1992), 54–55, figs 1–2; Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p. 367 and fig. 1; Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 5 vols and 1 portfolio (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1934), II, 465–85.

[25] London, British Library, Add. MS 11866, fol. 120^{r}.



Fig. 2. 'The Three Living and the Three Dead, with depiction of hell and the release of souls from purgatory', Book of Hours of Parisian Usage (late fifteenth century), London, British Library, Add. MS 11866, fol. 120^{r}. (By permission of The British Library)

Another example is the spectacular but little-discussed image of purgatory in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, which likewise stresses the presence of rescuing angels.[26] This depiction significantly adopts as its central motif a river of souls, a device that has obvious connotations of linear movement and temporal progression. Such motifs are not confined to manuscript illuminations: funerary monuments occasionally contain reliefs depicting images of souls being rescued from purgatorial flames,[27] and late-fifteenth-century and early-sixteenth-century woodcuts transform the angels into what can only be described as medieval superheroes, swooping down like Batman and Robin to rescue souls in mid-flight.[28]

Such reliance on metaphors of forward progression at the moment of salvation made purgatory especially susceptible to being visualized in terms of narrative development. It is perhaps no coincidence that the doctrine of purgatory became the subject of intense theological and scholastic debate around 1200, an era that also bore witness to a marked increase in the production of narrative literature: the genres of romance, lay, and fabliau all became popular around this time. As Le Goff puts it, 'Purgatory introduced a plot into the story of individual salvation'.[29] Artists frequently attempted to visualize narrative development in the context of a single image by using cartoon-like metaphors of upwards movement. Perhaps the most extraordinary use of such techniques occurs in a drawing in the margins of a fifteenth-century manuscript of devotional texts, possibly intended for the private use of a Carthusian monk from Mount Grace Priory, North Yorkshire (fig. 3).[30]

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[26] Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 113^{v}. See Raymond Cazelles and Johannes Rathofer, *Illuminations of Heaven and Earth: The Glories of the Trés Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (New York: Abrams, 1988), pp. 132, 213–17; *Les très riches heures du duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly* (facsimile), intro. and legends by Jean Longnon and Raymond Cazelles (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), no. 100.

[27] For example, the gravestone of H. Ketzel in the Sebalduskirche, Nürnberg, 1453, reproduced in Peter Dinzelbacher, 'Das Fegefeuer in der schriftlichen und bildlichen Katechese des Mittelalters,' *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser. 38 (1997), plate II.

[28] See, for instance, early-sixteenth-century woodcuts depicting the 'Great Rose Garland' above penitent souls, reproduced in Jezler, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*, pp. 296–98, cat. 99 and 100.

[29] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p. 291.

[30] London, British Library, Add. MS 37049, fol. 24^{v}. See Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, pp. 151–67.



Fig. 3. 'The relief of souls in purgatory'. Compendium of devotional texts from Mount Grace Priory, North Yorkshire (fifteenth century), London, British Library, Add. MS 37049, fol. 24^{v}. (By permission of The British Library)

The drawing depicts purged souls being dragged out of the flaming pit of purgatory—clearly indicated by the rubric 'Purgatory'—in a sort of cosmic bucket, illustrating a poem on the same page describing the 'relefyng of saules in purgatory'. The poem explains:

> Þe saules þat to purgatory wendes
> May be relefyd þorow help of frendes
> Þat almos for þaim dos & prayes […]
> Foure maner of helps ar generall
> Þat in purgatory avayles þaim alle:
> Þat is to say pater noster & fastyng,
> Almosdede & mes syngyng.
> Þerfo man, when þi frendes ar past,
> To help þaim hye þe fast.[31]

The poem is thus designed to produce a sense of urgency in the living, beseeching them to perform acts of suffrage on behalf of their deceased friends; the corresponding image reflects the sentiments of the poem by depicting souls, quite literally, 'drawne vp oute of purgatory by prayer & almosdede'. This reflects one of the major motifs by which late-medieval artists represented the conflation of terrestrial time with time in the hereafter: the juxtaposition events on earth with events in purgatory, and the power of the former to effect change in the latter. Thus, to the bottom left of the drawing, a man is depicted giving alms to the sick and the poor, while above a priest performs mass for the benefit of souls. Both scenes are linked to the rope that pulls up the salvific bucket, a neat exposition of the power of mass and good works to allow souls to reach the well of paradise via the rope of redemption.

The conception of purgatory as a place at the temporal juncture between eternal torture and inexhaustible grace is thus conveyed metaphorically by associating the iconography with a corresponding image of an event on earth that takes place at a certain point in time. A similar connection is also made in perhaps the most supreme conception of afterlife imagery to survive from the late Middle Ages, for which the original contract between patron and artist survives: Enguerrand Quarton's 'Coronation of the Virgin' altarpiece (*c*. 1453–54).[32] This magnificent painting, as well as incorporating the usual salvific angels (one of whom even swoops down to rescue the patron himself from the flames of purgatory), also associates the iconography with a corresponding image of the miraculous Mass of St Gregory—an

[31] Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, pp. 243–44.

[32] Musée Municipal, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. For reproductions and commentary, see *Le Couronnement de la Vierge par Enguerrand Quarton*, ed. by Yves Grava, *Études Vauclusiennes*, 24–25 (Avignon: Département d'Histoire et de Géographie de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Avignon, 1980–81); Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton*.

event at which Christ is said to have appeared before the pope as the latter performed eucharistic devotion in a church in Rome. The artist's original contract makes a specific request for the scene's inclusion,[33] and the Mass of St Gregory became an incredibly popular iconographic theme in late-medieval representation—there are several other instances of paintings of the subject incorporating an image of souls in purgatory.[34]

Eucharistic sacrifice was also a component in representations of purgatory outside the context of Gregory the Great—it is commonly associated with images depicting funeral ceremonies in the opening pages of the Office of the Dead in fifteenth-century Books of Hours. The performance of the requiem mass in such depictions is juxtaposed with the release of souls from purgatory, reflecting the ways in which purgation has distinct temporal limits between death and the soul's release as a result of suffrage, good works, and the performance of mass.[35] A French Book of Hours by the Coëtivy Master (*c*. 1460) contains a particularly interesting miniature depicting purgatory as the crypt of a church above which a requiem mass is being performed. As the priest performs his ministrations in the centre, watched by a cluster of mourners seated alongside a lavishly draped coffin, a well-to-do man offers alms to a cripple in the doorway of the church; to the left of the scene, a naked soul is rescued by a hovering angel from a flaming crypt packed with sinners undergoing purgative torment.[36] Themes of this sort are also prevalent in late-medieval German panel paintings like an altarpiece from Regensburg, from around 1480, which again depicts the power of prayer, almsgiving and the performance of mass to relieve purgatorial suffering (figs 4 and 5).[37]

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[33] The contract is reproduced in Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton*, p. 202; Yves Grava, 'Contrat pour un retable peint à la demande du prêtre Jean de Montagnac', *Études Vauclusiennes*, 24–25 (1980–81), 55–56.

[34] See, for instance, Jezler, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer,* pp. 292–95, cat. 98 and fig. 128.

[35] See, for example, a breviary made in Rouen in 1412 (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W300, fol. 3), discussed in Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 3 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989–97), I: *France 875–1420*, 242–43; a Dutch Book of Hours *c*. 1435–40, made in the northern Netherlands by the Masters of Zweder van Culemborg (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W168, fols 166^{v}–67^{r}), discussed in *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, intro. by James H. Marrow, cat. by Henri L. M. Defoer and others (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, 1989), pp. 115–16.

[36] Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W274, fol. 118. See Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 189–90; Jezler, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*, p. 65, fig. 39; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, p. 100 and plate 99.

[37] The altarpiece also contains two other panels, depicting heaven and hell. For further information on the altarpiece, see Jezler, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*, p. 51, fig. 30. The Jezler catalogue includes several more examples of such paintings, including an altarpiece commissioned by Werner von Palant in Aachen or Cologne in 1425 (Aachen, Suermondt-





Fig. 4. ‘The performance of mass, suffrage and good works’. Panel from Lower Bavarian altarpiece (*c*. 1480), Museen der Stadt, Regensburg. (By permission)
Fig. 5. ‘Souls in purgatory succoured by angels’. Panel from Lower Bavarian altarpiece (*c*. 1480), Museen der Stadt, Regensburg. (By permission)

Ludwig-Museum; p. 284, cat. 92), and an early sixteenth-century altarpiece from St Michael’s Chapel, Niederolang, Pustertal (Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum; pp. 290–91, cat. 97).

The connection between the performance of mass, the alleviation of suffering and the release of souls is made especially clear in a cycle of images in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves depicting purgatory. The miniatures depict souls being purged in flames, in the jaws of Leviathan. In the first image in the series, the souls are shown in agony, but their gestures of prayer betray the purgatorial context of the scene; in the next miniature, we see souls being delivered from the flames by an angel. Finally, three souls are depicted in the flaming jaws as before, seated at a table in prayer awaiting a bundle of bread brought to them by a succouring angel. The miniaturist juxtaposes the image with a scene depicting the performance of mass and alms on the preceding folio—the implication being that the bread of the eucharist corresponds to the bread relieving the souls in purgatory.[38] This manuscript also represents one of the most spectacular examples in recent art history of the ways in which images of purgatory can be mistaken for images of hell: despite motifs of temporality and narrative progression making the labelling of these miniatures as representations of 'hell' entirely illogical, the commentary by John Plummer accompanying the modern facsimile of the manuscript astonishingly proposes the paradoxical label 'Release of Souls from the Mouth of Hell' for one of the images.[39]

Perhaps the most telling way in which artists represented purgatory as a place reliant upon strict measurements of linear time was to endow it with the characteristics of a prison. Such a conception was extremely appropriate to the nature of purgatorial punishment, which had, of course, the character of a prison sentence: it was temporal, calculated according to the nature of the crime, and involved complex judicial proceedings at the moment of death to decide the fate of the soul.[40] Metaphors of imprisonment were sometimes deployed by preachers to convey the nature of purgatorial punishment—one fifteenth-century sermon describes 'Goddis prisoners abyding in purgatory' crying for help from their friends and relatives.[41]

Given this context, there are a handful of highly original images portraying suffering souls 'imprisoned' within architectural confines or receptacles.[42] For

[38] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 945, fols 97, 104, 105^{v}, 107.

[39] John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Introduction and Commentaries* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1966), plates 42, 47 and 48. The miniatures are correctly interpreted in Gorissen, *Das Stundenbuch*, pp. 423–36, 1006–09, and Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, p. 105; the issue is raised in Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton*, p. 186, note 18.

[40] On the appropriateness of the prison metaphor for representations of purgatory, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 25; Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 5, 94.

[41] British Library, MS Harley 2247, cited in Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, p. 89.

[42] See, for example, the miniature from a Dutch Book of Hours *c*. 1470 (Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133 D5, fol. 86^{v}), reproduced in Byvanck and Hoogewerff, *La miniature hollandaise*, II, plate 176, which depicts a pair of souls sitting in flaming receptacles and raising their hands in prayer, speech banners issuing from the mouths of the souls containing quotations from Job 19. 21 and Psalm 93. 19; see also the Last Judgment

instance, one artist working in the south of France in second half of the fifteenth century chose to paint the west wall of a chapel in southern France (Notre-Dame-de-Benva, in Provence) with a representation of purgatory conceived as a sort of dungeon.[43] The mural represents the suffering souls crammed into a building, heads pressed up against grilled bars, looking hopefully towards the guardian angel. Above, some souls are set free, their hands closed together in a gesture of prayer; an angel also pushes small loaves of bread through the grill, a symbolic allusion to the power of mass to alleviate suffering. Another mural, one of a tiny handful of English wall paintings of purgatory, at Swanbourne Church, Buckinghamshire (*c*. 1480), depicts the three conditions of the soul.[44] The painting is divided into three registers, each of which is subdivided into three compartments. As we would expect, the top storey represents the perfect soul being received into paradise and the bottom register depicts the damned soul being led away to the torments of hell by a devil. However, the intermediate level clearly illustrates the condition of a soul in purgatory. Reading the image in logical sequence from left to right, the image opens with Death, represented as a grim skeleton, receiving a female soul; in the next scene, the soul is shown being passed between a devil and an angel (souls in purgatory, after all, are neither truly good nor truly bad). In the final compartment, three souls are cleansed in purgatory itself, depicted as a walled, flaming building. One of the souls paraphrases a line from Job 19. 21: 'Have pity on me saints, you my friends'.[45]

The only altarpiece to depict purgatory as a kind of prison is a distinctive retable executed in bas-relief and commissioned for a church in Regensburg by Sigmund and Elisabeth Graner in 1488 (fig. 6).[46]

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fresco in the old cathedral, Salamanca, from the first half of the fourteenth century, reproduced in Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, fig. 2, discussed p. 368. The image of receptacles probably derives from early Christian notions of *refrigerium*, for instance Tertullian's discussion of the bosom of Abraham as a 'temporary receptacle of faithful souls' and St Augustine's conception of 'secret storehouses' for the soul between death and resurrection 'according to each soul's deserts' (Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 47, 74).

[43] See Vovelle, *Vision de la mort*, pp. 15–18 and plate I. 1; Michel Vovelle, *Les âmes du purgatoire ou le travail du deuil* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), p. 78 and fig. 25; Marguerite Roques, *Les peintures murales du Sud-Est de la France XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1961), pp. 377–79.

[44] The paintings are described in J. Slatter, 'Description of the paintings discovered on the north wall of Swanbourne Church, Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 3 (1883–89), pp. 136–40. They are still clearly visible, though their condition has deteriorated somewhat. I am very grateful to Miriam Gill for sharing photographs of the paintings with me.

[45] 'Miseremini mei Sancti, vos amici mei'.

[46] Jezler, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*, pp. 190–91, cat. 18.

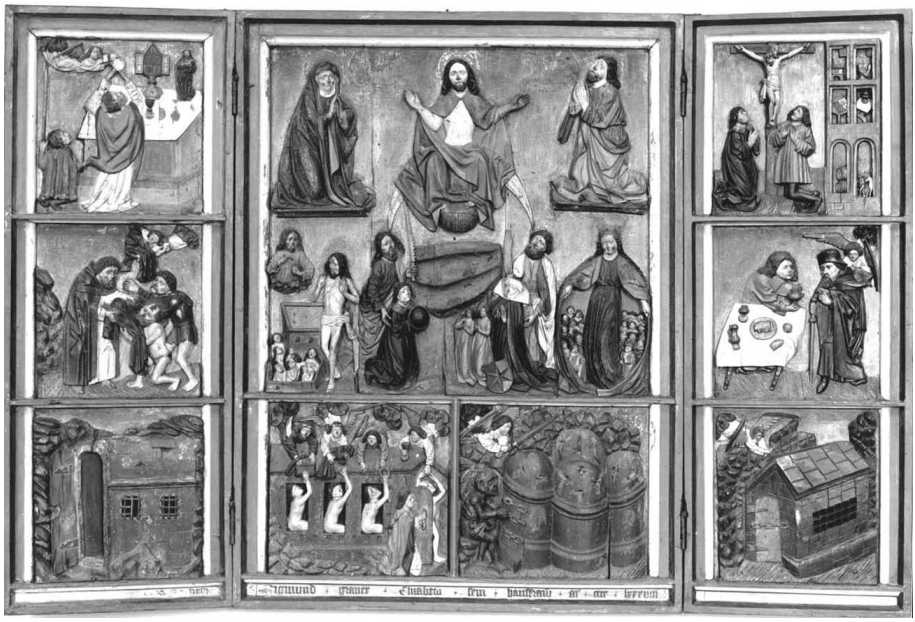


Fig. 6. 'The performance of good works relieves souls in purgatory'. Altarpiece commissioned by Sigmund and Elisabeth Graner for the Old Chapel, Regensburg (1488), Museen der Stadt, Regensburg. (By permission)

The lower register corresponds to various regions of the underworld. On the left is a prison-like chamber with its doors wide open, while on the right the chamber is locked and guarded by an angel. Two inner panels depict to the left souls in purgatory receiving alms from angels and to the right the punishments of hell. Clearly places of eternal chastisement, the four domed torture chambers of hell are locked by chains and guarded by a devil and an angel; in contrast a soul escapes from the purgatorial prison, redeemed by the mass offering. Above, a cluster of penitent souls emerge from a wooden chest, comforted by the sight of the wounded Christ; on either side of the main judgement panel are four scenes depicting the clothing of the naked, the housing of a stranger, and the performance of mass and prayers. Angels appear carrying various emblems of charity—the host, the gown, the pilgrim's purse and the rosary—and take them to the four souls in the purgatorial prison below.

It would be possible to cite many more instances of such images. Indeed, the brief survey above has not exhausted the methods by which medieval artists transformed purgatory into a place of narrative progression and temporality: motifs of bridges, ladders and staircases were also used on rare occasion, for example.[47] Suffice it to say that such images are sufficiently common to enable us to grasp the visual language of purgatory in no uncertain terms. Indeed, once a proper reading of otherworldly imagery is undertaken, based on such an understanding of the ways in which artists differentiated eternity from linear temporality, it is possible to discover image after image with purgatorial associations. Recent research has turned up a corpus of up to one hundred and fifty images of every sort—miniatures, panel paintings, stained glass, wall paintings, even sculpted representations—that are entirely unconnected with Dante and reveal the sheer vitality of purgatory-illustration in the last centuries of the Middle Ages.[48]

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[47] See, for example, the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century mural on the south wall of Saint-Pierre, Pervillac, in south-west France, where a bishop and a king are dragged from flames by angels while other souls climb a flight of stairs to paradise, discussed in Michelle Fournié, *Le Ciel peut-il attendre? Le culte du purgatoire dans le Midi de la France (1320 environ–1520 environ)*, Histoire religieuse de la France, 11 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997), pp. 64–65, 78–84 and fig. 54; Robert Mesuret, *Les peintures murales du Sud-Ouest de la France du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1967), pp. 229–30. Also interesting in this context is the fourteenth-century sculpted altarpiece in the Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Bethléem, Narbonne, which depicts purgatory to one side of hell, with a staircase leading from purgatory to celestial paradise: see Fournié, *Le Ciel peut-il attendre?*, pp. 494–522 and figs 106–14. For a general discussion of motifs of bridges and ladders, see Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World*, pp. 33–47.

[48] It has not been possible to reproduce an exhaustive catalogue of medieval purgatorial iconography in the present context. The figure was reached by counting references to purgatorial iconography in published sources. Readers are referred to my Masters dissertation, 'The Art of Medieval Purgatory: Issues of Non-Representation' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Manchester, 1996), especially the appendix, pp. 72–75. Other useful

What conclusions can we draw from this material? Most importantly, that for all the stress in medieval religious writings that time was the property of God, or as the title of this paper posits, 'God's time', images of purgatory reflect a desire on the part of late-medieval patrons to perceive post-mortem punishment in terms of terrestrial time and to attempt to control or own a piece of that time. The very factors that artists employed in order to connect earthly works with the relief of purgatorial punishment—the prayers, alms and masses that we have seen imaged in representation after representation—were conceived as the method by which those with the financial means could buy back time in the hereafter. Such 'strategies for the afterlife' were, as Eamon Duffy rather aptly describes them, a form of 'post-mortem fire insurance',[49] designed to insure materially against punishment in the next life while simultaneously enjoying their time in this. Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this desire to buy time in the next world by acquiring space in this is the phenomenon of chantry chapels. English chantry chapels often took the form of cage-like structures that demonstrated the desire to open up the structure to passers-by, thereby attracting their suffrages, while simultaneously maintaining the privacy of space for the performance of mass.[50] Late-medieval wills likewise convey a strong impression of individual lay involvement in the soul's salvation. As Joel Rosenthal has argued, aristocratic gift giving in the late Middle Ages was characterized by 'aggressively individualistic paths of philanthropy'.[51] The beneficiaries of prayers

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iconographic surveys include Anca Bratu, 'Images d'un nouveau lieu de l'au-delà: le Purgatoire. Émergence et développement (vers 1350–vers 1500)' (Thèse nouveau régime EHESS, Paris, 1992); A.-M. Vaurillon-Cervoni, 'L'iconographie du purgatoire au Moyen Âge dans le sud-ouest, le centre de la France et en Espagne' (Thèse de troisième cycle, Toulouse, 1978); Fournié, *Le Ciel peut-il attendre?*, chaps 2, 17; Virgitti, 'L'iconographie du Purgatoire'; Jezler, *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*; Vovelle, *Les âmes du purgatoire*; Michel Vovelle, 'Quelques Images du Purgatoire du temps d'Enguerrand Quarton', *Études Vauclusiennes*, 24–25 (1980–81), 25–32. Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, pp. 94–107, provides a useful overview of purgatorial iconography, particularly in manuscript contexts, but concludes that such representations are not 'purgatory itself' so much as illustrations showing the efficacy of intercession. Given the reliance of the doctrine purgatory on concepts of intercession and the performance of earthly suffrage, I would suggest that artists conceived purgatory in terms entirely consistent with purgatory's abstract doctrinal status and that making a distinction between images of souls being saved through acts of intercession and images of 'purgatory itself' is actually a red herring.

[49] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 302.

[50] One of the most important series of cage-chantries was built by the bishops of Winchester between the late fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries: see G. H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, rev. edn (London: Phoenix House, 1963), pp. 113–17.

[51] Joel Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307–1485* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 127.

were commonly close family members and the foundation of chantries was motivated by a selfish desire to obtain salvific prayer. Although on the eve of the Reformation it became conventional to offer prayers for 'all crystyn soulys', possibly inspired by devotional books emphasizing the predicament of all the lost, forgotten souls in purgatory, medieval wills are generally self-seeking and businesslike in the way they follow through purgatorial belief.[52] The concept of purgatory itself acted and reacted upon this individualistic spirit, being premised on the notion that the duration of one's suffering depended on the individual acquisition of indulgences and suffrages.[53]

Artistic renditions of purgatory can hardly be described as 'individualistic'. Iconography made little attempt to assert individuality in a truly visual sense, preferring to locate purged souls in wider systems of intercession; naked souls were usually differentiated only in terms of gender (the inclusion of a likeness of Jean de Montagnac in purgatory on Quarton's 'Coronation of the Virgin' altarpiece is a rare exception).[54] Nonetheless, as we have seen, purgatory was imaged above all with reference to the performance of alms, mass, and prayers, amid a worldly topography of volcanic rocks, rivers, prisons and church crypts—it depicted an 'economy of salvation' that was tangible, conceived in terms of earthly institutions and practices that depended for their very existence on individual procurement and application. This dynamic is clearly revealed in the poem 'Of þe relefyng of saules in purgatory', in the manuscript from Mount Grace Priory. The poem describes the 'purches' of paradise in no uncertain terms, exhorting readers to obtain pardons for their sins.

> For so mykil pardon may a man
> Purches þat he may þan
> In purgatory whyte al þe dett,
> Þat fro blis may drawe or lett.
> For so large is holy kirk tresour
> Þat it is ynoghe to pay þerfore,
> And for al þe payns þat det be
> Of al þe men of cristiante.[55]

As such, we see the ways in which representations of purgatory in the late Middle Ages drew comparison between the times and spaces of this world and the times and

[52] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 346–52; Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, pp. 26–33.

[53] Vovelle, *La Mort et l'Occident*, p. 135.

[54] On the far right of the painting, near the heavenly Jerusalem, Quarton depicts the donor Jean de Montagnac with his brother Antoine; we spot the donor once again with a hideous beast round his waist in purgatory, requesting a helping hand from an angelic spirit flying above. See Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton*, pp. 67–68.

[55] Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, p. 244.

spaces of the next with reference to notions of individual responsibility and the payment of debts. They embodied an obsession with materiality.

Most of the images discussed above were commissioned by the upper echelons of society, a group of individuals whose needs were addressed most fully by the doctrine of purgatory as it was lived out in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. Merchants, rich knights, well-heeled clerics—all demanded new forms of artistic expression within new arenas of production, based on the material means by which once could achieve redemption. Significantly, earthly time was simultaneously subject to increasing materialization in this period, the invention of the escapement mechanism in the late thirteenth century leading to a new interest in measuring events within a single, coherent, unified space. This presented a marked contrast to the old reliance on the varying, unfixed canonical hours of liturgical time and the cyclical patterns of agrarian production.[56] The invention of the mechanical clock dictated that time was composed of quanta: like money, it was divided into equal units, something to be calculated and exchanged.[57]

It would be a mistake to suggest that transformations of time consciousness in the later Middle Ages were entirely a result of the spread of commercial networks in the period, corresponding to a need for more accurate measurement of time and space.[58] Evidence suggests that merchants and traders did not play as prominent a role in the diffusion of clocks as is sometimes supposed.[59] Nor would it be wise to view changes in the temporal order in terms of a stark opposition between sacred and profane, in line with Le Goff's distinction between 'merchant's time' and 'church's time'.[60] It is not at all apparent that religious authorities resisted the installation of public clocks in medieval towns and cities;[61] as I suggested above, the church was no stranger to quantifying time in the context of prescribing penance. Indeed it might be argued that 'church time' was actually in many ways complicit with 'merchant's time'. Commodifying time could, after all, become an immense source of profit for the church, as evidenced by the institution of indulgences. Moreover, as I have already made clear, the doctrine of purgatory attempted to inject an element of individual responsibility into the Christian drama of salvation, combining notions of

[56] Rossum, *History of the Hour*, chap. 4.

[57] Crosby, *The Measure of Reality*, pp. 82, 85.

[58] An argument made by Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, which suggests that the emergence of irreversible time in the Middle Ages corresponds to the birth of capitalism: 'The victory of the bourgeoisie was the victory of a *profoundly historical* time' (p. 104); for an earlier version of the hypothesis that modern-hour reckoning was the product of a rising urban bourgeoisie, see Gustav Bilfinger, *Die mittelalterlichen Horen und die modernen Stunden: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1892).

[59] Rossum, *History of the Hour*, p. 226.

[60] Le Goff, 'Merchant's Time and Church's Time', pp. 29–42.

[61] Le Goff, 'Merchant's Time and Church's Time', p. 231.

'time running out' with the church's own attempts to constrain the life of the individual through its powers of binding and loosing sin. Richard Fenn has gone so far as to argue that residues of purgatory persist in modern consciousness in the form of what he calls a 'purgatorial complex', and that this, rather than a Protestant work ethic or the spirit of capitalism, is what accounts for the experience of time as something both fundamental and scarce in modern western societies.[62] Tracing purgatorial belief from its inception in the Middle Ages to its secularization in later centuries as a 'perennial drama of the soul',[63] Fenn argues that purgatory was, from the start, an eminently this-worldly doctrine, concerned with showing that the lives of the dead inhabited the same timeframe as the living. Making the most of one's time, saving it, using it productively—then as now, time-consciousness was a sign of one's spiritual virtue. Fenn's conclusions are borne out by the images discussed in this paper. These clearly convey the impression that the quick and dead are both 'doing time', that the living share the same burden of time as the deceased. Moreover, this temporal burden is conceived in terms of real debts and obligations: mass, suffrage and alms. In medieval images of purgatory, time really is 'of the essence'.

Positing a direct connection between the development of the clock and the almost simultaneous emergence of visual images of purgatory in the late fourteenth century, long after the refinement of the written doctrine two centuries before, is perhaps wishful thinking.[64] I do not wish to enter into chicken-and-egg debates by suggesting that representations of purgatory depended fundamentally on a shift in time consciousness brought about by the emergence of the clock, or vice versa. Nonetheless, it is certainly possible to argue that the art of medieval purgatory, though silent for much of the Middle Ages, reflects an attempt to represent the commodification of time in the context of religious and secular struggles for power.[65] Religious authorities and aristocratic and middle class patrons both stood to gain from the notion that one could buy one's way out of purgatory through the performance of good works in life and pious provisions at death. Purgatorial iconography does not exactly depict the wresting of time from God; rather it provides an instance of the ways in which, in certain areas of medieval culture, God's time was becoming interlaced, increasingly, with the time of humanity.

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[62] Richard K. Fenn, *The Persistence of Purgatory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[63] Fenn, *Persistence of Purgatory*, p. 182.

[64] But for a general account of the impact of the clock on Gothic art, see Camille, *Gothic Art*, pp. 92–99.

[65] As such, I concur here with the conclusions of Le Goff, 'The Time of Purgatory', pp. 75–77, that purgatorial time was bound up in power struggles between different social groups and forces, including new religious communities such as the mendicant orders and urban confraternities and a spirit of nascent individualism pervading late medieval culture.

The End of the World

The Final Countdown: Apocalyptic Expectations in Anglo-Saxon Charters

ROLF H. BREMMER, JR

The last decade of the twentieth century, and especially its final year, saw a flood of publications on the turn of the second millennium. Most of these, it is true, looked forward into the third millennium, with topics ranging from *Emergency Psychiatry on the Threshold of the New Millennium* to *Crossing the Millennium Frontier: Emerging Technical and Scientific Challenges*. However, attention too was devoted to a retrospect of the same event, a thousand years earlier. Although most of these publications concerned the Continent,[1] Anglo-Saxon England was not wholly neglected. Daniel Donoghue presented a paper on Anglo-Saxon apocalyptic rhetoric, 'The Language of Imminence in Anglo-Saxon England', at the biannual meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists in Notre Dame in 1999, and several articles appeared shortly before 2000, such as those by Leo Carruthers, with the catchy title 'Apocalypse Now: Preaching and Prophecy in Anglo-Saxon England' and Edwin Duncan's 'Fears of the Apocalypse: the Anglo-Saxons and the Coming of the Millennium'.[2]

The topic of the approaching millennium in Anglo-Saxon England in itself was not entirely new. Tied up with the closely related issue of the Apocalypse, it can indeed boast of a long scholarly concern. The period immediately preceding Christ's second coming—that momentous final event in the history of salvation—alluded to by Christ himself in, for example, Matthew 24, and also touched upon in several

[1] Notably the wide-ranging, well-documented study of Richard Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 97–130.

[2] In *Études anglaises*, 51 (1998), 399–410, and *Religion and Literature*, 31 (1999), 15–23; 79–80, respectively.

New Testament pastoral letters, had been pictured in stark colours in the last book of the Bible, the Revelation of St John. Christ's second coming and his subsequent judgement of the living and the dead had served a well-tried admonitory purpose in sermons, particularly in those for Rogation-tide,[3] as well as in entire poems or passages thereof.[4] Best known, of course, because of it being staple diet for every generation of students of Old English, is Archbishop Wulfstan's thundering *Sermo Lupi*. This sermon, delivered in 1014, was a late finale of a series, the first five of which had been written around 1000, both in English and in Latin, and in which Wulfstan had addressed the problem of the Apocalypse.[5] His contemporary, Ælfric, Abbot of Eynsham, too, if to a lesser degree than Wulfstan, was fascinated by the approaching end.[6] Perhaps illustrative of Ælfric's apocalyptic perspective is the preface with which he opens his first series of *Catholic Homilies*, composed about a decade before the year 1000. Significantly, this preface also circulated independently from the *Catholic Homilie*s,[7] and it was also pillaged by Wulfstan for two of his eschatological sermons.[8] Having introduced himself and explained why he had translated this book from Latin into English—to replace the many heterodox books by such as were based on sound doctrine—Ælfric also expressed his conviction that his collection of sermons came at precisely the right conjunction of time:[9]

> swiðost on þisum timan þe is geendung þyssere worulde; and beoð frecednyssa on

[3] See *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, ed. by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, Toronto Old English Series, 7 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. xxiv–xxv.

[4] See, for example, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II': A Critical Edition of 'De die iudicii' and the Hatton 113 Homily 'Be domes dæge'*, ed. by Graham D. Caie (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000); cf. Graham Caie's survey, *The Judgment Day Theme in Old English Poetry* (Copenhagen: Nova, 1976).

[5] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), Sermons I–V. Sermo Lupi is no. XX in Bethurum's edition.

[6] Malcolm Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 130–62.

[7] E.g. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178, pp. 134–37; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 121, fols 154^{v}–57. Cf. Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), items 41 and 338, respectively.

[8] Bethurum, *Homilies*, nos IV and V.

[9] Benjamin Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric*, 2 vols (London: Ælfric Society, 1844–46), I, 2–4. Thorpe's commentary on p. 621. Remarkably, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), in his comment on these lines (p. 6), mentions the imminence of the year 1000, but refrains from drawing any conclusions as to the possible relevance of the Ælfric's preface to that year.

> mancynne ærðan se ende becume, swa swa ure Drihten on his godspelle cwæð to his leornungcnihtum, 'ꝺonne beoð swilce gedreccednyssa swilce næron næfre ær fram frymðe middangeardes.
>
> (especially at this time, which is the ending of the world; and there will be many calamities among mankind before the end comes, according to what our Lord in his gospel said to his disciples, 'Then shall be such tribulations as have never been from the beginning of the world').

In the mere four pages of explanatory notes which Benjamin Thorpe appended to the first volume of his edition of 1843, the longest one no doubt is that explaining this passage. According to Thorpe: 'It was an universal belief at the time throughout Europe, that the world was to end before the year 1000: M[onsieur] Michelet has collected the principal passages to be found in the old writers relative to this superstition'. Thorpe then carried on to enumerate the evidence culled from six different continental sources as gleaned by Jules Michelet in the latter's *Histoire de France* of 1835.

Now one of the results of the study of the significance of such references to the Apocalypse in the early Middle Ages over the past decade has been that a careful distinction must be made between millennialism, on the one hand, and apocalyptic expectations, on the other. The former terms apply to the opinion that the world would end in the year 1000, a date based upon the mention of a period of one thousand years in Revelation 20. 2–5 (AV):

> And [the angel] laid hold of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season. And I saw thrones, and that they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

Apocalypticism, on the other hand, refers to the more general notion of the end of the world at some definite point in the future, unknown to men, but only known to God, but often within one generation.[10] It was this latter interpretation that had the authoritative support of church fathers such as Augustine of Hippo, based on the Gospel according to St Mark 13: 'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no,

[10] On the definiton of the terms 'apocalyptism, millennialism, and eschatalogy', see Landes, 'Fear of an Apocalyptic Year', p. 101, and Richard K. Emmerson, 'The Secret', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 1603–14 (pp. 1610–13).

not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father'. But like Adam and Eve, their medieval descendants had the insuperable urge to be equal to God and to have knowledge of 'Goddes privité', to put it in Chaucer's words. In a letter written around 995, Abbo of Fleury—who spent two years in England from 985 to 987—tells that when a young man he had heard a priest in Paris preach that immediately with the arrival of the year 1000 the Antichrist would appear, and that the Last Judgement would follow not long afterwards.[11] An early contemporary and fellow countryman of Abbo's, Adso, abbot of Montier-en-Der in Lotharingia, seized the emergence of millenarian expectations to refute these in a detailed treatise on the Antichrist, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi* ('On the birth and time of the Antichrist'), also known as *Libellus de Antichristo*. Adso's treatise, written at the behest of Queen Gerburga, wife of Louis d'Outremer, around 954, gained great popularity on the Continent. The text also circulated in England in several manuscripts, the surviving ones all of them to be found side by side with writings of Wulfstan, and it was even translated into English, at Wulfstan's instigation as is generally assumed.[12] Such texts as written by Ælfric, Wulfstan and Adso, have been adduced with varying degrees of success to argue for the presence of millenarian notions in Anglo-Saxon England around the year 1000. Although these texts never refer specifically to the apocalyptic year 1000, their authors are often said to have taken up the pen in response to a growing popular concern that the end was nigh. What Abbo, Adso, Ælfric and Wulfstan *do* stress is that mankind was living in the sixth age, that is the final phase of the history of salvation and that they should be prepared to be present at the impending grand finale of this world. Nonetheless, the ominous signs that were to herald the arrival of Doomsday were never lost sight of. In this respect, the recurring Viking raids that had resumed around 990 were interpreted by both Ælfric and Wulfstan as a fulfilment of Christ's prophesy (Matthew 24. 7; Mark 13. 8; Luke 21. 10) that 'nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom'.[13]

In the context of millenarian expectations a less accessible text genre is occasionally called upon to demonstrate the awareness of the end of the world impending shortly, to know the genre of charters. The first to have done so was Dorothy Whitelock, in a note on Antichrist to line four of her edition of Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. The note concerns Wulfstan's opening line:

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[11] On Abbo's letter, see extensively Landes, 'Fear of an Apocalyptic Year', pp. 123–30.

[12] The Old English text is edited in Arthur S. Napier, *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst eine Untersuchung über ihre Echtheit* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1883), no. XLII. On the reception of Adso's letter, see also Jonathan Wilcox, 'Napier's "Wulfstan" Homilies XL and XLII: Two Anonymous Works from Winchester?', *Journal for English and Germanic Philology*, 90 (1991), 1–19 (pp. 11–14), and Richard K. Emmerson, 'From *Epistola* to *Sermo*: The Old English Version of Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 82 (1983), 1–10.

[13] Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion', pp. 132 and 143, respectively.

> Leofan men, gecnawað þæt soð is: ðeos worold is on ofste, and hit nealæcð þam ende, and þy hit is on worolde aa swa leng swa wyrse, and swa hit sceal nyde for folces synnan ær Antecristes tocyme yfelian swyþe, and huru hit wyrð þænne egeslic and grimlic wide on worulde.
>
> (Dear men, know what is true: this world is in a hurry, and it approaches the end, and therefore it is continuously getting worse and worse in the world, and so it must needs get very bad because of the sins of the people before the coming of the Antichrist, and indeed it will be then horrible and terrible all over the world.)

Amongst other things, Whitelock says in her note: 'in the tenth century references to the end of the world as imminent are common. [. . .] In English sources the nearness of the end is mentioned in charters'. In order to illustrate her observation, she gives three examples: 'BCS 665, dated 929 but of dubious authenticity, BCS 1983, dated 962, KCD 657, dated 987.'[14] Whitelock also adds that 'no precise references to the year 1000 in this connection in English records are known', and points out how Wulfstan, Ælfric and Byrhtferth of Ramsey continue to write about the second coming also after the year 1000 had become history. Whitelock's note, first made in 1939, was repeated and expanded upon in the successive second and third editions of her *Sermo Lupi* of 1952 and 1963, respectively. In her authoritative edition of Wulfstan's homilies of 1957, Dorothy Bethurum, too, devoted a short paragraph to the occurrence of references to the imminence of the doom in charters.[15] She pointed out that the quotation of Christ's '*surget gens contra gentem*', was particularly popular during the reign of King Edgar, who ruled from 959 to 975, in which year he was succeeded by King Æthelred the Unready. Bethurum thought it remarkable, however, that these brief quotations from the gospel were no longer to be found in charters written towards the close of the century, when, according to expectation, they should actually have increased 'in number and intensity'. More recent discussions have not failed to draw attention to the charter evidence. Thus, Penn Szittya points out that apocalyptic fears occasionally appear in unexpected places—what he means is, outside homilies—including the Latin charters of King Edgar's reign (959–75), which the scribes often open with a formula announcing 'terminus cosmi appropinquare', according to the prophecy of Christ in the gospel, 'For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom'.[16] In a footnote, Szittya lists

[14] *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London: Methuen, 1963), pp. 47–48. With BCS and KCD, Whitelock refers to Walter de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, 3 vols (London: Whiting, 1885–93), and *Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici*, ed. by John M. Kemble, English Historical Records, 6 vols (London: English Historical Society, 1839–48) respectively. Whitelock's remark on the dubious authenticity of KCD 657 does not yet appear in the first two editions of her book.

[15] Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 280–81; on p. 281n. 3, she identifies nine such charters.

[16] In an article called 'Domesday Bokes: The Apocalypse in Medieval English Literary

the same charters Bethurum had singled out. Finally, Duncan, in the article mentioned at the beginning of my paper, likewise brings up the charter evidence, with reference to Szittya.[17]

Intrigued by these references to charter texts, I decided to have a look at the sources myself to see how the theme of the approaching end was presented there, and possibly to find out why it was used. To this end, I went through volumes two and three of Walter de Gray Birch's monumental *Cartularium Saxonicum*,[18] since these volumes cover practically the entire tenth century. My investigation turned out to confirm earlier conclusions that references to the imminent end are confined mainly to charters dating from Edgar's reign, but it also appeared that their amount is considerably larger than one is led to think on account of Whitelock's or Bethurum's listings: I counted well over twenty relevant charters, although some texts are more explicit in their mentioning of the imminent end than others, as we will see. But before I will present my results a few words are in order here about the genre of charters.

Charters, or diplomas, are legal instruments, written as evidence that 'a particular estate had been devoted to religious uses'.[19] The benefactor is most often a king or some other royal person, while the beneficiary usually is a church or a monastery. At least, the earliest English charters conform to this type. Later on, however, the beneficiaries can also be individuals. Charters were introduced in southern England most probably by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, and, slightly later, in northern England by Bishop Wilfrid of Hexham in the middle of the seventh century, in imitation of similar documents on the Continent. At first, the structure of charters was fairly loose and differed considerably from one charter to another, but by the tenth century a more or less fixed pattern in the drafting of these official documents had been established. They mostly begin with an elaborate proem, in a Latin that is sometimes obscure,[20] to carry on with a section in which the

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Culture', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle* Ages, ed. by Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 374–97 (pp. 379–80 and n. 21). However, Szittya omits KCD 698, listed by Bethurum, *Homilies* (and Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*).

[17] Duncan, 'Fears of the Apocalypse', p. 18.

[18] See note 14. With S followed by a number, I refer to the charter numbering as given in Peter H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London, 1968). Sawyer's numbering has become standard.

[19] Frank Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 31.

[20] In my quotations from the charters, I have adapted Gray's diplomatic punctuation and, occasionally, capitalization. I would like to express my gratitude here to Prof. Em. R. B. C. Huygens and Sophie van Romburgh for helping me to come to terms with the Latin. On the style of these proems—a little studied subject—see Nicholas Brooks, Margaret Gelling and

reason is stated why the donor made the grant, followed by a description of what is being granted to whom, concluded by a descriptive anathema of whoever changes the grant or violates it. Finally, the diploma is validated with the date and a list of witnesses.

In the centuries to follow, the ecclesiastical origin of the diploma remains evident in that the proem and anathema are religious in content, and it is precisely this religious nature that has enabled draftsmen of charters to make reference to the approaching end of the world. Let me demonstrate the kind of proem with the text that is found most often:

> Grant by King Edgar to Abingdon Abbey. AD 962. (S 700/BCS 1095)
> Altithrono in eternum regnante. Universis sophie studium intento mentis conanime sedulo rimantibus patescit quod, hujus vite periculis nimio ingruentibus terrore, recidivi terminus cosmi appropinquare dinoscitur, ut veridica Christi promulgat sententia qua dicit: 'Surget gens contra gentem et regnum adversus regnum' et reliqua.
> Quamobrem ego Eadgar
>
> (While the high-throned [God] rules until eternity—To those who with intense exertion of the mind diligently investigate the study of wisdom it is clear that the end of the (ever) renewing world is seen to approach, now that hazards of this life are increasing with great terror, just as Christ's truthful sentence makes known, in which he says: 'Nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom', etc.
> For this reason, I, Edgar [follows the reason why and a description of what is being granted].)

The same 'surget' proem, albeit in a slightly different order of its constituent sentences, first comes to light in 659, to feature in six further charters in 962 and 963, as well as in two undated charters of that period, and, once more, in 968—amounting to eleven in all. A still later, stray specimen was issued by Æthelred the Unready in 987.[21] A slightly different proem, but likewise containing a reference to Christ's sermon on the Last Things, dates from 960:

> Grant by King Edgar to Bishop Osulf. AD 960. (S 685/BCS 1053)
> Cunctorum sophie naturam rimantium nichil labentium mutabilitate rerum posse

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Douglas Johnson, 'A New Charter of King Edgar', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13 (1984), 137–55 (pp. 146–48).

[21] S 681/BCS 1052 (AD 959), S 702/BCS 1085 (AD 962), S 706/BCS 1083 (AD 963), S 710/BCS 1115 (AD 963), S 711/BCS 1099 (AD 963), S 714/BCS 1125 (AD 963), S 716/BCS 1113 (AD 963), S 767/BCS 1216 (AD 968), S 864/KCD 657 (AD 987). Undated, from Edgar's reign, with a 'surget' proem, are S 824/BCS 1152 and S 827/BCS 1158. To these should be added S 401/BCS 665, a charter issued by King Athelstan in AD 927. Although this charter is spurious—yet old: it survives in two manuscripts of the eleventh century—the choice of proem is relevant to my argument.

> esse durabile monitione liquido patescit. Et maxime ipse jam cosmus sua ipsa senectute deprimitur et quasi ad vicinam mortem crebrescentibus malis urgetur, ut illa veridica domini sententia manifestissime promulgat dicens: 'Cum videritis hec fieri, scitote quia regnum Dei appropinquabit'.
>
> (According to the warning of all those investigating the nature of wisdom it is absolutely clear that nothing of the things which are unstable because of their mutability can be permanent [alt.: nothing can be permanent due to the mutability of unstable affairs]. And especially the world itself is already weighed down by its very age and is driven, as it were, to its approaching death by increasing evils, as this truthful sentence of the Lord very plainly announces, saying: 'When you see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand'.) [AV].

The quotation is from Luke 21. 31, and all those who, with the author, were familiar with the Gospel—and they must have been many, since it was a staple text in the divine office—would have silently continued with the next verse: 'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled'.

What was a novelty in AD 959, appears to have become a fashionable formula for filling the slot of the proem, but only for two years, after which it lost its popularity. Simon Keynes has pointed out that draftsmen of charters did not make use of existing formularies from which they could select an appropriate proem. Most likely they perused other charters available to them from which they selected phrases that appealed to them or that fitted the situation in hand. On the other side, individual draftsmen can be identified with some confidence when diplomas share the same *combination* of formulae, especially in conjunction with the same structure of charter.[22]

Two questions must be posed at this point: what occasioned the draftsman to open this charter in the first place with such a grim reference to the end of the world? And second: who was he? To begin with the first question: the year 659 was the third of King Edgar's reign. Edgar had begun his royal career as King of Mercia at the age of fourteen in 657, while his older brother Eadwig, who had ascended the throne of Wessex in 955, ruled the kingdom south of the Thames. Upon Eadwig's death in 959, Edgar assumed the rule of the entire kingdom. The remarkable thing is that Edgar's reign of almost twenty years is the only one in the tenth century not troubled by any foreign invasions or internal violence—hence the king's honorific nickname 'the Peaceable'. Indeed, such was the political situation during Edgar's reign that in hindsight the author—Archbishop Wulfstan himself[23]—of a rhythmical-alliterative obituary entered in the Peterborough-version of the *Chronicle* at 959, the

[22] Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016: A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 72.

[23] First demonstrated by Karl Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', *Anglia*, 47 (1923), 105–23; confirmed by Bethurum, *Homilies*, p. 47.

year of Edgar's ascension to the throne, remarked:[24]

> On his dagum hit gododе georne,
> and God him geuðe, þæt he wunode on sibbe,
> þa hwile þa he leofode; and he dyde, swa him þearf wæs,
> earnode þæs georne. He arærde
> Godes lof wide and Godes lage lufode.
>
> (In his days things improved greatly, and God granted him to live in peace as long as he lived; and, as was necessary for him, he laboured zealously for this; he exalted God's praise far and wide, and loved God's law.)

Not even a hint to events that could be explained as apocalyptic signs is to be found in this poem. If the allusion to violence between nations in the proem of charter S 700/BCS 1095 is to have any link, therefore, to actual reality, it must be to Continental affairs, of which rumours had spread across the Channel to England. Although in the years immediately preceding the composition of this charter life in England's most immediately neighbouring country, France, was relatively quiet, the author might have thought of the Hungarian invasions in the Frankish kingdom some fifty years earlier, a terrifying event which had given rise to a popular millenarian interpretation of these raids in a short treatise formerly attributed to Remigius of Auxerre (*c*. 841–908), but now shown to date from the first quarter of the tenth century. The treatise survives in some seven manuscripts, but none so far has come to light with an English provenance.[25] Perhaps, we should not concentrate on the warring of nations, therefore, but pay attention to the *et reliqua*, immediately following the quotation. The biblical verse must have been so popular that the author expected every reader or hearer to be able to complete this verse for themselves. It runs on as: 'and there shall be earthquakes in divers places, and there shall be famines and troubles: these are the beginnings of sorrows' (AV). The *Chronicle* entry for the year 962 could be pivotal in the solution of this enigmatic reference: 'And during that year there was a very great mortality, and the great and fatal fire occurred in London, and St Paul's Minster was burnt, and was rebuilt in the same year'.[26] From other sources we know that England suffered a great famine that year,

[24] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892; repr. 1952 with a bibliographical note by Dorothy Whitelock), I, p. 114.

[25] Remigius of Auxerre, 'Letter on the Hungarians', in *Serta mediaevalia: Textus varii saeculorum X-XIII in unum collecti*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 171 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), no. I. 2; cf. 'Lettres attribuées à Remi d'Auxerre', in Huygens, *Serta mediaevalia*, pp. 30–33; this is a revision of Huygens, 'Un témoin de la crainte de l'an 1000: la lettre sur les Hongrois', *Latomus*, 15 (1956), 225–39.

[26] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965), p. 75.

caused by frost.[27] The co-occurrence of a famine and a major disaster in London may well have been interpreted as significant portents for the approaching end. In this respect, the proem of another charter might well be alluding to the dramatic burning of St Paul's, when 'the storms and turbulences of worldly affairs' are said to 'knock even on the gates of the church':

> Grant by Edgar to his chamberlain Æðelsige. AD 963. (S 713/BCS 1121)
> Quecunque enim secundum decreta canonum atque ecclesiastica instituta salubri consilio definiuntur quamquam sermo tantum absque textu sufficeret, tamen, quoniam plerumque nostris temporibus tempestates et turbines secularium rerum etiam portas ecclesie pulsa<n>t [. . .]
> Quapropter ego Eadgar
>
> (Since everything is determined with salubrious advice according to the decrees of the canons and the ecclesiastical institutions, even though the [spoken] word as such without [written] text should suffice, still, because in our days the storms and turbulences of worldly affairs often knock even on the doors of the church. [. . .]
> Therefore, I, Edgar)

Most probably, however, the references to contemporary events in these proems are so vague that it is no longer possible for us to establish with any certainty whether the author was thinking of some actual incident, or deliberately phrased his words in such a way as to avoid any verifiable identification.[28]

This conclusion leads us to my second question: who was the author of these proems? Here we are on safer ground. It has been established, most recently by Simon Keynes, that all the proems which include the quotation from the gospel are originals written by the same scribe, or are copies of diplomas originally written by that man. This scribe is known in the literature as 'Edgar A', and he has with considerable confidence been identified as Æthelwold, Abbot of Abingdon.[29] Æthelwold, if he is the same as 'Edgar A', seems to have worked as a secretary for King Edgar, who was educated at Abingdon, even before the latter was made King of Wessex. In 963, he was promoted by Edgar to the See of Winchester, and consecrated as bishop there by St Dunstan. In Winchester, Æthelwold became the most influential teacher of Ælfric, who may have received his own eschatological concern from Æthelwold himself. Æthelwold's promotion is typical for Edgar's involvement in the religious reform of England. As is known, Edgar played a key role in furthering the cause of the Benedictine revival. One of the first actions he

[27] Ann Hagen, *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food & Drink: Processing and Consumption* (Hockwold cum Wilton: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1992), p. 153.

[28] In this respect, it is easier to account for the appearance of the phrase 'Mundi termin[o] adpropinquante' in charters produced in Poitiers (France) around 990 when the year 1000 was clearly within sight, cf. Landes, 'Fear of an Apocalytic Year', p. 129.

[29] Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 70ff.

undertook as King of Mercia was to call Dunstan back from his exile on the Continent and appoint him Bishop of Worcester in 957. Immediately upon his succession to the throne of all Wessex, in 959, Edgar promoted Dunstan to the See of London. Dunstan's successor in Worcester was Oswald, who had previously been a monk at Fleury, and together with Dunstan and Æthelwold, the three were the driving clergymen behind the Benedictine reform.

It would seem to me that the author of the proems that quote Christ's warning was seriously thinking of a quickly approaching end of the world when he wrote them. Was his a lone voice crying in the desert? Initially, one is inclined to think so. Charters usually existed only in two copies; one for the benefactor and one for the beneficiary. Once the transference of property had been concluded, these documents would be stored in the archives, only to be consulted when conflicts happened to arise concerning ownership or the definition of property bounds. But it is important to think of the actions that preceded the filing of the charters. First of all, the text had to be drafted. In this context, it is significant to note that charters did not employ a separate script, marking them as a genre in its own right. 'The diplomas were never isolated form the mainstream of monastic culture, and were indeed intimately bound up with it'.[30] The corollary of this observation is that the apocalyptic mood of the proems under discussion reflect a concern that occupied not just 'Edgar A'/Æthelwold, but must also have been present among his fellow monks. He voiced an anxiety that currently prevailed in cloister and library. Moreover, whenever a charter was conferred, it was done so at a solemn assembly, whether a synod or a *witena gemot* ('meeting of the king's councillors), in the presence of the king accompanied by a considerable number of prominent secular and clerical leaders, his *witan,* many of whom would act as witnesses who wrote there signature at the conclusion of the diploma. Thus, for example, charter S 700/BCS 1095 was signed by King Edgar, Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, Oscytel, Archbishop of York, three bishops, Abbot Æthelwold, five *duces* ('ealdormen') and five *ministri* ('thegns', noblemen of a rank lower than that of ealdorman). Charter S 767/BCS 1216, recording the grant of land by Edgar to the nuns of Wilton in 968, was signed by an even larger company of dignitaries. Not only do we find—in this order—Edgar and the two archbishops Dunstan and Oscytel, but also four bishops, Queen Ælfthryth, six abbots, seven *duces* and seven *ministri.* Present, too, at these occasions will have been the beneficiary, accompanied by kinsmen, colleagues, brethren and sisters, as the case may have been,[31] to celebrate the donation of land. Seen in this perspective, the narrator's voice of the proem unexpectedly appears to acquire an important cultural audience/readership, and the consent of at least the

[30] Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 30.

[31] Of the eleven charters with the 'surget' proem, issued by Edgar, six were addressed to high-ranking lay officials or kinsmen of the king, one to Æthelwold in his capacity as Bishop of Winchester, two to the Church of Winchester, one to Abingdon Abbey, and one to the nuns of Wilton Abbey.

major leading ecclesiastical and secular officials. Consequently, his admonitory message, supported by the highest authorities, will have reached many more eyes and ears than the mere documents themselves suggest. The apocalyptic proems thus reflect a concern that must have engaged many more than just the author of the diplomas.

But how must we explain the almost abrupt disappearance of the stern proems? Could it be that the links between the leaders of the Benedictine reform in England and Fleury, especially through the writings of Adso, will have given 'Edgar A'/Æthelwold and other draftsmen of charters new insights that made them tone down the cutting edge of these apocalyptic sentiments? In any case, the content of the proems was adapted and from about 964 onwards references to the end of the world were put once again in more general terms, as for example:

> Grant by Edgar to Abingdon Abbey. AD 964. (S 724/BCS 1142)
> In nomine domini nostri Jhesu Christi salvatoris. Quoniam quidem transeuntis mundi vicissitudo cotidie per incrementa temporum crescendo decrescit et ampliando minuatur crebrescentibusque repentinis variorum incursuum ruinis vicinus fini [MS: finis] terminus esse cunctis in proximo cernitur, idcirco vanis ac transibilibus rebus mansura celestis patrie premia mercanda sunt.
>
> (Because the vicissitudes of this perishable world are diminished day by day by the increase of times and, by being increased, is diminished, and by the increase of sudden disasters of various events the approaching conclusion of the end in the near future is manifest to all in the near future, therefore the everlasting rewards of the heavenly fatherland must be bought with vain and perishable things.)

It is true, the portents mentioned here, whatever they may have been, are clearly seen to foretell the end 'in the near future'. The proem, however, lacks the authority of Christ's prophetic words and thus seems to remove some of the immediate urgence.

A further discoloration of the theme can be seen in proems that merely state the obvious: that life on earth is transitory, and that because of this, a more permanent security must be sought elsewhere. It is breathing a sentiment that we all know, for example, from the concluding lines of such poems as *The Dream of the Rood* or *The Wanderer*, and the leading theme in the proems no longer alludes to the imminent end, but concentrates on the mutability of life. This theme had been quite common in charters, and is exemplified by the following proem form a charter issued by Edgar:

> Grant by King Edgar to Abingdon Abbey. AD 962. (S 701/BCS 1094)
> In onomate alme et individue trinitatis. Cuncta seculorum patrimonia incertis nepotum heredibus relinquntur et omnis mundi gloria adpropinquante vite hujus termino ad nichilum reducta fatescit. Idcirco terrenis caducarum possessionibus semper mansura superne patrie emolumenta adipiscentes domino patrocinante lucranda decrevimus.
>
> (In the name of the beneficial and indivisible Trinity. All earthly patrimonies are

> left to uncertain heirs, their grandchildren, and all the glory of the world is reduced to nothing while the end of this life is approaching. Therefore we have determined that the acquisition of the everlasting merits in the heavenly fatherland must be obtained, under protection of the Lord, with earthly possessions of perishable goods.)

This proem was not written by 'Edgar A'/Æthelwold, and it is this type of proem that gains in popularity in the following years.[32] Apparently, the fear of an imminent end had slackened somewhat, or, more likely, was no longer given explicit expression in such documents after 963 because they no longer were endorsed by the leading churchmen. Remarkably, the year of the demise of these 'surget' proems is identical with the year that Æthelwold was promoted from Abingdon Abbey to the important See of Winchester. Could it be that, in addition to changed theological insights, the challenging prospect of new pastoral and administrative responsibilities also made him suppress his expectations of the imminent end?

As we have seen, scholars like Whitelock and Bethurum have pointed out that in the charter proems discussed above the year 1000 is never mentioned as such, and I can only confirm this. Did the year 1000 not play any role then in the Anglo-Saxons' ideas about the end of the world? Byrhtferth of Ramsey certainly was aware of it, as has been pointed out, and so was Wulfstan.[33] There is a passage to be found in the *Chronicle* in which this important date is mentioned but which has not yet been included in the discussion of the millennium problem. It occurs in one of the so-called *Chronicle* poems, entitled *The Coronation of Edgar*, at the year 973. The coronation, according to its author, took place at Pentecost:

> and ða agangen wæs
> tyn hund wintra geteled rimes
> fram gebyrd tide bremes Cyninges,
> leohta Hyrdes, buton ðær to lafe þa get
> wæs wintergeteles, þæs ðe gewritu secgað,
> seofon and twentig; swa neah swa wæs sigora Frean
> ðusend aurnen, ða þa ðis gelamp. [lines 10b–16]

> (And then had passed from the birth of the glorious King, the Guardian of Light, ten hundred years reckoned in numbers, except that there remained as yet, by what documents say, seven and twenty of the number of years, so nearly had passed away a thousand [years] of the Lord of Victories, when this [Edgar's coronation] took place.)

[32] For example, S 826/BCD 1153 [n.d.], S 738/BCD 1176 (AD 966), and S 744/BCD 1186 (AD 966).

[33] *Byrhtferth's Enchyridon*, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 15 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), IV. 2, pp. 77–84; Bethurum, *Homilies*, V, 44–45. Cf. Landes, 'Fear of an Apocalyptic Year', p. 121; Duncan, 'Fear of the Apocalypse', pp. 19, 20.

Twice the number '1000' is mentioned in these lines in connection with Edgar's coronation, either explicitly or in a slightly more roundabout way, to mark the end of the first millennium. Clearly, the importance of this date loomed large in the mind of the poet. A similar awareness is voiced, this time in a clearly admonitory context, in *Blickling Homily*, no. XI, on Holy Thursday, in a passage on the six ages of this world. According to the author, we are in the sixth and final age: 'Þonne sceal þes middangeard endian & þisse is þonne se mæsta dæl agangen, efne nogon hund wintra & lxxi. on þis geare' ('Then this world must come to an end and of this the greatest part has [already] passed,[34] even nine hundred and seventy-one years, in this [very] year'). Whereas the Blickling author leaves it to his audience/readership to calculate the number of years that separated them from the conclusion of the first millennium, the *Chronicle* poet spells it out. Nonetheless, no allusion whatsoever is made by the latter to any impending catastrophic ending of the world. Whatever he may have associated with this year, it was prudently and tacitly passed over and apocalyptic fear was given no official foothold.[35] Orthodoxy was to prevail in Anglo-Saxon England.

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[34] *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, ed. by R. Morris, Early English Text Society, Ordinary Series 58, 63, 73 (London: Tuebner, 1880), pp. 117–19. Note the use of the same verbal form *agangen* in both the quotation from the *Blickling Homilies* and that in line 10b of *The Coronation of Edgar* on the previous page.

[35] Landes, 'Fear of an Apocalyptic Year', pp. 107–08.

Astrology and Antichrist in the Later Middle Ages

HILARY M. CAREY

There is now a formidable body of literature on the history of Antichrist in the Middle Ages, but relatively little is known about astrology as a vector for the transmission of eschatological ideas in this period.[1] This is a significant omission, even if we allow for the need to keep the field of eschatological inquiry within reasonable bounds since, as McGinn puts it, all medieval thinkers were eschatological in one sense or another.[2] Still, in his Presidential Address to the Royal Historical Society in 1970, R. W. Southern considered 'astrological prophecy' to be one of the four classes of prophecy that made up 'the armoury which prophecy offered for the study of history' and this would seem to suggest that the subject merits closer attention.[3] If astrology was not prophetically significant in the Middle Ages, research conducted over the last five years has demonstrated that it had certainly become so by the time of the Lutheran reformation.[4] Even earlier,

[1] Astrology is not considered in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. by Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins and Stephen J. Stein, 3 vols (New York: Continuum, 1998), II: *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, nor in the major monograph on Antichrist by Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), nor the broader survey by Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994). Additional bibliography on medieval apocalypticism is summarized by Laura Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 183.

[2] McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 252.

[3] R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 22 (1972), p. 172.

[4] Especially significant is Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in*

Christopher Hill noted that astrology was associated in the minds of some seventeenth-century people with the work of Antichrist and that the subject was well worth further investigation.[5]

This article presents a case for the significance of astrology in some kinds of prophetic calculations of the coming of Antichrist, beginning with the speculations of Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century. But it can be acknowledged that, for much of the Middle Ages, astrology and prophecy of the kind attributed to Merlin, the Sybil, Joachim and others were distinct genres and there was little in the way of cross-fertilization. This is puzzling because the two discourses appear to cover similar territory. Both employ a symbolic syntax to encode interpretations about the present and future state of society. Both employ numerical calculations to decipher past and future things. In the case of Joachimist-style prophecy, the numbers and the argument are derived from scripture, whereas astrology follows a method that was generally perceived in the Middle Ages to be rational and scientific. But overall, there would appear to be all the makings of a demarcation dispute.

It is not until late in the Middle Ages that Pierre d'Ailly deployed the full astrological apparatus: the calculation of planetary longitudes, conjunction theory, and the citation of major astrological authorities, to compute a precise date for the arrival of Antichrist, namely 1789.[6] As Laura Smoller has shown, this prediction was intended to calm contemporary prophetic exuberance, not encourage the employment of astrology for millennialist speculation.[7] Boudet, North and Smoller have examined the work of a number of other late medieval authors who used astrology to consider possible dates for the coming of Antichrist, the second coming of Christ, and the end of the world.[8] But questions remain about why it took so long

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the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Robin Bruce Barnes, 'Images of Hope and Despair: Western Apocalypticism, *c.* 1500–1800', in McGinn, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, II, 143–84; and articles collected in *'Astrologi hallucinati': Stars and the End of the World in Luther's Time*, ed. by Paula Zambelli (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986). For English examples see Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

[5] Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 1990), p. 188.

[6] Pierre d'Ailly, *Concordantia astronomie cum theologia. Concordantia astronomie cum hystorica narratione et elucidarium duorum precedentium* (Augsburg: Ratdolt, 1490), chap. 60. D'Ailly repeated the prediction in *De persecutionbus ecclesie*, again as evidence that the time of Antichrist was to be long delayed. Cited Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, p. 60.

[7] D'Ailly, *Concordantia*, chap. 60.

[8] In order of publication, see: J. D. North, 'Astrology and the Fortunes of Churches', *Centaurus*, 24 (1980), 181–211; Jean-Patrice Boudet, 'Simon de Phares et les rapports entre astrologie et prophétie à la fin du Moyen Age', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome; Moyen Age*, 102 (1990), 617–48; Jean-Patrice Boudet, 'L'astrologie, la recherche de la

for these kinds of speculation to come to astrological fruition. What were the medieval seeds of the astrological eschatology of Reformation Europe?

Roger Bacon and Antichrist

Those who have, nearly always in passing, considered the place of astrology in medieval apocalypticism have usually made a point of citing a key passage from Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus*, written for Guy de Foulquois after his election as Pope Clement IV in 1265, and forwarded to him in 1266 or 1267.[9] Bacon liked this statement so much that he used it twice: once in the preface or letter known as the Gasquet fragment, and again in Book 4, where it comes as the last sentence in what is, in the printed edition, a thirty-page defence of 'true mathematicians and astronomers or astrologers who are philosophers'. To translate the Latin literally:

> I do not wish to be presumptuous, but I know that if the church was willing to turn over the holy text and holy prophecies, as well as the prophecies of the Sibyl, and Merlin and Aquila and Sesto, Joachim and many others, as well as the histories and books of philosophers, and should order the consideration of the paths of *astronomia*, a suspicion or greater certainty would be found concerning the time of Antichrist. [10]

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maîtrise du temps et les spéculations sur la fin du monde au Moyen Âge et dans la première moitié du XVI[e] siècle', in *Le Temps, sa mesure et sa perception au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque Orléans 12–13 avril 1991*, ed. by Bernard Ribémont (Caen: Paradigme, 1992), pp. 19–35; Laura Smoller, 'The Alfonsine Tables and the End of the World: Astrology and Apocalyptic Calculation in the Later Middle Ages', in *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Jeffrey B. Russell,* ed. by Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: Brill, 1998). North considers Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Petro d'Abano, Cecco d'Ascoli, John Ashenden, Jean de Roquetaillade, Heinrich von Langenstein and a number of fifteenth-century writers culminating with Pico della Mirandola (d. 1494); Smoller the views of John of Paris (Queripel), John Ashenden, Pierre d'Ailly, Jean de Bruges and Pierre Turrel. For scientific chronology, which could also sometimes involved speculation as to when the world might end, see J. D. North, 'Chronology and the Age of the World', in *Cosmology, History, and Theology*, ed. by W. Yourgrau and A. D. Breck (New York: Plenum Press, 1977), pp. 307–33.

[9] For the status of the 'Preface' and its relationship to Bacon's major work, see Stewart Easton, *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), pp. 144–66. Bacon's repeat of this statement is noted by Southern, 'Aspects', p. 172; Southern's citation is cited by Emmerson, *Antichrist*, p. 14; Bernard McGinn, 'Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 100–1500', in McGinn and others, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, II, 87. It is the only quote in North, 'Fortunes of Churches', p. 190; Smoller, 'Alfonsine Tables', p. 220.

[10] The *Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, ed. by John Henry Bridges, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), I, 268–69:

> Nolo hic ponere os meum in coelum, sed scio quod si ecclesia vellet revolvere textum

McGinn describes this as a call by Bacon for 'increased apocalyptic education'.[11] He also translates *astronomia* as 'astronomy', whereas the context makes it clear enough that Bacon was referring to what we would call astrology. This interpretation does not do justice to the importance that Bacon attached to astrology as part of such a programme. Although astrology is the last item mentioned in Bacon's list of prophets and authorities, the preceding pages indicate that he considered it to be one of vital importance. On the other hand, Smoller suggests that Bacon makes this statement 'exultantly', as proof of the deductive power of conjunctionism.[12] Besides misreading Bacon's tone ('Nolo hic ponere os meum in coelum'), this would seem to give too much prominence to astrology, which Bacon always felt should contribute to the great project of discovering and, if possible, evading the armies and stratagems of Antichrist. Astrology was essential—but so were geography, medicine and the other branches of natural philosophy, in the great task of building the church to resist the anticipated onslaught. In fact, nothing could be omitted simply because the stakes were so high.[13]

Astrology in Bacon's Thought

Historians have been divided on the place which astrology should be accorded within Roger Bacon's vast programme of knowledge.[14] Some have seen it as the key element, driving all else before it. For Molland, Bacon was a harbinger of the Hermetic Renaissance, a crypto-Hermeticist in the style of Giordano Bruno.[15] Most

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sacrum et prophetias sacras, atque prophetias Sibyllae, et Merlini et Aquilae, et Sestonis, Joachim et multorum aliorum, insuper historias et libros philosophorum, atque juberet considerari vias astronomiae, inveniretur sufficiens suspicio vel magis certitudo de tempore Antichristi.

The passage is excerpted in translation in Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 156, which should ensure its ongoing circulation.

[11] McGinn, 'Apocalypticism and Church Reform', p. 87.

[12] Smoller, 'Alfonsine Tables', p. 220.

[13] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 301–02: 'Et haec cognitio locorum mundi valde necessaria est reipublicae fidelium et conversioni infidelium et ad obviandum infidelibus et Antichristo, et aliis'. Easton, *Roger Bacon*, p. 72 considers that the conviction that all the sciences are connected and mutually interdependent was Bacon's 'personal credo, and the key to his whole work'.

[14] For review, see Jeremiah Hackett, 'Roger Bacon on Astronomy–Astrology: The Sources of the 'scientia experimentalis', in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*, ed. by Jeremiah Hackett (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[15] George A. Molland, 'Roger Bacon and the Hermetic Tradition in Medieval Science', *Vivarium*, 31 (1993), 140–91; George A. Molland, 'Roger Bacon as Magician', *Traditio*, 30

recently, Paul Sidelko has argued that Bacon's particular enthusiasm for astrology was instrumental in his condemnation—though there is very little to suggest that Bacon was ever actually disciplined for anything, and even less to suggest what the cause might be.[16] For some years it was considered that the *Secreta secretorum* had a central place in Bacon's intellectual development. This has been challenged by Steven Williams who has argued for the relatively late dating of Bacon's edition of the *Secreta secretorum* and his extensive, mostly astrological, commentary on it.[17] Whatever the dating of Bacon's *Secreta*, it seems undeniable that astrology was important to Bacon to an extent unmatched by his contemporaries in science.[18] But he was not wholly uncritical in his examination either of prophecy, or of astrology. As Connell argues, Bacon was, on some points at least quite sceptical about the prophecies of Antichrist.[19] Overall, the picture of Bacon as a magician is not very satisfying, even if marginally preferable to the older stereotype of Bacon the scientist. What appears to have driven Bacon to complete his heroic programme of research was not only his faith in the analytical power of astrology, but the moderate Joachimist sympathies of the Franciscan circles of Oxford and Paris in which he moved.

Bacon and Antichrist

If Bacon's ideas are examined carefully, following the guide of Davide Bigalli, it is clear that he did not imagine that astrology provided a magic key to predict the coming of Antichrist. Astrology was scientific. Its hypotheses were not prescriptive but were interpretive. Having first established the respectability of astrology, Bacon goes on to explain its significance for the Christian prince, for the church and finally for ordinary people. Bacon believed that astrology could provide a means for the just Christian ruler to defend his realm in the all-too-likely event of political and religious upheavals that the coming of Antichrist would provoke. He argued that it

(1974), 445–60.

[16] Paul L. Sidelko, 'The Condemnation of Roger Bacon', *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), 69–81.

[17] Steven J. Williams, 'Roger Bacon and his Edition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum secretorum', *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 57–73.

[18] James A. Weisheipl, 'Science in the Thirteenth Century', in *History of the University of Oxford*; *Vol. I: The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. by J. I. Catto (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). See also John D. North and A. C. Crombie, 'Roger Bacon (1219–1292)', in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. by Charles Coulston Gillispie, 16 vols (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970–80), I, 377–85 (p. 382).

[19] C. W. Connell, 'Western Views of the Origin of the Tartars', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1973), 115–37.

was essential that close attention be given to anything that might spare Christian blood in the church's struggle against infidels and rebels, and above all in the future dangers of the time of Antichrist.[20] Such dangers might easily be averted, with the grace of God, if prelates and princes undertook appropriate study and were more aggressive in hunting down the secrets of nature and art.[21] This was tactical and strategic warfare and Bacon appears to have been all in favour of the medieval equivalent of biological and nuclear weapons. Such steps were justified on the basis that these means were already employed by eastern princes, who were known to rule their people through the advice of men skilled in both divination and certain branches of higher learning, such as astrology (*astronomia*) and experimental science, or the arts of magic.[22] This is all pretty reprehensible, not least because it put Christian prelates and princes on a par with Antichrist himself, who was known to perform false miracles and signs through demonic trickery.[23] Even for political reasons, it was not really sensible for Bacon to ally the science of astrology so blatantly to the more practical arts of magic.

As to when Antichrist would come, Bacon is notably circumspect, reflecting the climate of re-assessment and caution that followed the condemnation of Gerardo of Borgo San Donnino in 1256 and the failure of his prediction of the coming of Joachim of Fiore's third *status* in 1260.[24] Bacon considered that it was more than likely that the Tartars should be identified with the race of the stock of Gog and Magog who, according to Ethicus, were to break out from behind the Caspian gates to cause great devastation, and go on to meet Antichrist and call him God of Gods.[25]

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[20] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, II, 222: 'Et hoc deberet ecclesia considerare contra infideles et rebeles, ut parcatur sanguini Christiano, et maxime propter futura pericula in temporibus Antichristi, quibus cum Deo gratia facile esset obviare, si praelati et principes studium promoverent et secreta naturae et artis indagerent'.

[21] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, II, 222: 'Et hoc deberet ecclesia considerare contra infideles et rebeles, ut parcatur sanguini Christiano, et maxime propter futura pericula in temporibus Antichristi, quibus cum Deo gratia facile esset obviare, si praelati et principes studium promoverent et secreta naturae et artis indagerent'.

[22] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 368: 'Nam principes ibi regunt populum per divinationes et scientias quae instruunt homines in futuris, sive sint partes philosophiae, ut astronomia et scientia experimentalis, sive artes magicae, quibus totum oriens est deditum et imbutum'.

[23] On Antichrist and false miracles, see Emmerson, *Antichrist*; Augustine, *Patrologia Latina*, 41, 867. On Antichrist's power to deceive and work 'every kind of miracle and signs and lying portents', see Augustine's discussion of II Thessalonians 2. 1–12 in *City of God*, Book XX. xix: Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by T. E. Page and others, Loeb Classical Library, 7 vols (London: Heinemann, 1957), VI, ed. and trans. by William Chase Greene, esp. pp. 364–67.

[24] On San Donnino and the 'Eternal Gospel', see Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: Macmillan, 1985).

[25] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, II, 234. 'Dicit igitur Ethicus philosophus quod circa tempora Antichristi erit una gens de stirpe Gog et Magog contra ubera Aquilonis circa portum

Bacon supports this by referring to Abū Maᶜšar *On the Great Conjunctions* where it is stated that a leader shall come with a foul and magical law after the time of Mohammed, who will destroy the other laws for a time. But such a terrible evil would last for only a short time.[26] Bacon also provides a lengthy—but rather inaccurate and heavily Christianized—version of Abū Maᶜšar's theory that new religions arise in the context of the change in triplicity in the pattern of 'greatest' conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter, which occur every 960 years, especially if the conjunction involves a change to a mobile sign.[27] Bacon generates Albumasar's thesis of religious change into a rising sequence of religions culminating in Christianity but threatened by a final, hostile religion that he identifies with Antichrist. Ultimately, however, Bacon decides that the actual time of Antichrist is not yet certain, although events such as the invasion of the Tartars suggested that it may be very soon, but other facts and research would be required to fix the date.

What other facts did Bacon have in mind? Bacon does not seem to have been the sort to fall victim to obsessive date-setting of the end-time, but he may well have considered that astrology, in partnership with prophecy and sacred scripture, provided the best hope for a more-or-less accurate prediction of the last days. This marriage of astrology, prophecy and science is what made his ideas on Antichrist so original and influential.

There is evidence that at least one attempt to astrologize the ideas of Joachim of Fiore were made at an early date, but such efforts were rare and unusual. As early as 1304–05, a certain 'Dandalus,' about whom nothing else is known, wrote an

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Euxinum, pessima inter omnes nationes quae cum semine eorum pessimo recluso post portas Caspias Alexandri facient multam hujus mundi vastationem, et occurrent Antichristo et vocabant eum Deum Deorum'. For a similar statement, see also Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 365.

[26] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, II, 234: 'Et Albumazar in libro Conjunctionum verificat similiter hoc principium, dicens et ostendens quod veniet princeps cum lege foeda et magica post legem Machometi, qui destruet alias leges ad tempus. Sed parum durabit malitiae magnitudinem'.

[27] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 265: 'Nam Albumazar octava differentia libri secundi de conjunctionibus dicit, quod mora sectae et regni et permutatio accidunt praecipue secundum quantitatem decem revolutionum Saturniarum, praecipue si Saturno conveniet mutatio ad signa mobilia'. Compare Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology: The Book of Religions and Dynasties (On the Great Conjunctions)*, ed. by Keiji Yamamoto and Charles Burnett, 2 vols (Brill: Leiden, 2000), II: *The Latin versions Albumansar, De magnis conjunctionibus*, ed. and trans. by Charles Burnett, 1. 4. 4, pp. 29–29:

> Dicamusque quia, cum Iupiter per naturam significet fidem, et diversitates legum in temporibus et in hominibus sectarum et in vicibus regnorum fiant ex complexionibus Saturni vel ex complexionibus ceterorum planetarum cum eo, necesse est ut aspiciamus Iovem, qui si fuerit in loco fidei ab abscendente coniunctionis que significat mutationem, et almubtez super locum fidei fuerit ei complexus, erit narratio in hoc secundum ipsum.

astrological appendix to one of the earliest pseudonymous works attributed to Joachim, the *Liber de Flore*, called *Horoscopus paparum*.[28] The work was attributed at one stage to 'Rabanus de Anglia' although the title claims that it was written neither by Rabanus or Dandalus, but was initially composed in Hebrew by 'Nactahi' and then translated into Latin by Dandalus of Lérida. John of Roquetaillade (de Rupescissa, d. 1362) wrote a commentary on it in which he referred to it as 'libri Horoscopi nondum inventus'.[29] Although this survives in only one medieval manuscript, this was sufficient to give Dandalus a reputation well into the seventeenth century as a prophet and seer.[30] 'Horoscopus' was also known to Arnald of Villanova, who is probably the major source for Joachimist thought in Calabria though Arnald was thoroughly hostile to using any rational means to predict sacred things, such as the calculation of the final days.[31] Joachim of Fiore himself displayed no interest whatever in astrological signs as components of his personal eschatological vision,[32] not enough, at any rate, for the word 'astrology' to appear in the index to the fundamental studies of Marjorie Reeves.[33]

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[28] *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, ed. by F. Stegmüller, 6 vols (Madrid: [n. publ.], 1940), III: *Commentaria Auctores H-M*, item 4091, pp. 240–41, lists it as: Ps-Rabanus de Anglia, *Horoscopus paparum a Nicolao III (1277–1280) usque ad angelicum pastorem*, a NACTAHI (NACTAHE, HECTABI, NECTANEBO) hebraice compositus, a DANDALO YLERDENSI (ILLARDENSI, DE Lérida) in Latinum translatus; compositus c. 1304, inc. 'Etenim omnipotens opifex'. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum*, lists only the two seventeenth-century manuscripts, both in Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS J 32, fols 55–106; Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS J 33. Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969; repr. 2000), p. 523 lists three manuscripts: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 138, fols 85–106, fourteenth century; and the two seventeenth-century manuscripts in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana.

[29] See also *Vademecum*, in *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum ac fugiendarum*, ed. by E. Brown, 2 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1690), II, 501.

[30] In 1623, Dandalus was named by Gabriel Naudé among an impressive list of false prophets who should not attract the attention of his countrymen. Cited by Marjorie Reeves and Warwick Gould, *Joachim of Fiore and the Myth of the Eternal Evangel in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 13.

[31] Harold Lee, Marjorie Reeves and Giulio Silano, *Western Mediterranean Prophecy: The School of Foachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth-Century Breviloquium* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), p. 40.

[32] Though see the claim of Symon de Phares that Joachim was an expert astrologer. Simon may have known of pseudonymous works, such as *Horoscopus*, which justified this opinion. *Le Recueil des plus celebres astrologues de Simon de Phares*, ed. by Jean-Patrice Boudet, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1997), I: *Édition critique*, 398.

[33] Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*; Marjorie Reeves, 'Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries', *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. by G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 107–34; Marjorie Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

By the thirteenth century, however, Joachim's ideas were being subjected to the pressure of ever-increasing theological and scientific scrutiny.[34] Not only were his ideas raked over to allow the identification of particular historical figures and political events, but also to facilitate the calculation of the date of the coming of Antichrist and the end. This is the context in which Roger Bacon was writing. And while it is probably going too far to identify Bacon himself as a Joachimist—he is much too quirky and temperamental for that—he does show awareness of Joachim's authority as a prophet and of the expectation that 1260 might be a date of particular significance.[35] While it might seem to be only a matter of time before someone attempted a more thorough marriage of Joachimism with astrology, there were some formidable theological hurdles to cross before this could happen.

By the central Middle Ages, while some conservative theologians continued to proscribe all forms of astrology, there was little resistance to its major tenets, particularly in relation to natural events. Augustine was the key authority, but even he had allowed that *astronomia* consisted of both licit and illicit branches.[36] The general ambiguity is nicely conveyed by Isidore of Seville in his definition and comments on Lucifer, the evening star, which he describes as a type of Antichrist, who rises up in the evening over the sons of the earth, just as the blindness of the succeeding night obscures the carnal mind, but which is then overthrown by Christ in his manifestation at the morning star.[37] The stars could act as the representatives of both Christ and Antichrist, according to the wisdom of the one investigating them.

In the thirteenth century, there were at least three techniques that could be employed by scientific astrologers to consider the events of the final days, namely: astral omens, the Platonic Year and 'conjunctionism'. The latter is also referred to by historians of astrology as the 'doctrine of the great conjunctions' or 'historical astrology'. These three forms of astrological divination overlap to some extent. In addition, the Book of Revelation and ancient astrology shared a symbolic and

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[34] Reviewed by Roberto Rusconi, 'Antichrist and Antichrists', in McGinn and others, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, II, 287–325.

[35] Davide Bigalli, *I Tartari e l'apocalisse. Ricerche sull'astrologia in Adamo Marsh e Ruggero Bacone* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1971); Stewart C. Easton, *Roger Bacon and his Search for a Universal Science* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952); Marjorie Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 46–49 considers Easton 'argues too easily' that Bacon was a Joachimist.

[36] The major patristic authority objecting to the practice is Augustine, see especially *De civitate Dei*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 47 and 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), p. 652. The best recent review of the theological debate about astrology in the Middle Ages is Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars*, chap. 2, though the elegant survey of Theodore Wedel, *Mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology*, Yale Studies in English, 60 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920) remains of value.

[37] Isidore Hispaliensis, *De nature rerum liber*, ed. by Gustavus Becker. (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967), X.

numerological language they inherited from the Chaldean sources of both ancient astrology and Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic.[38] It might therefore be argued that the rise of astrological prophecy in the late medieval and early modern period represents nothing more than the natural rejoining of the divided streams of prophetic interpretation. Of these traditions, there is space in this article to consider only one, namely conjunctionism and, in particular, the conjunctionism described in Abū Maᶜšar's *Book of Religions and Dynasties* (*On the Great Conjunctions*).

Conjunctionism

In the Latin west, translations of Abū Maᶜšar's *Book of Religions and Dynasties* (*On the Great Conjunctions*) was the most important source for knowledge of conjunctionism, that is the astrological theory that events in human history were influenced by the periodical cycles of conjunctions of the major planets.[39] Written sometime before 197/813, Maᶜšar's *Book of Religions and Dynasties* (*On the Great Conjunctions* was first translated in the second quarter of the twelfth century where it was generally known under the title *De magnis coniunctionibus*. It was printed in 1489 and 1515 and published again some 485 years later, only a few months before the Leeds International Medieval Congress at which this paper was presented.[40] Historical astrology was also disseminated through rather less challenging tracts, such as John of Seville's *Quadripartitum* and *De ratione circuli*, which are discussed by North.[41] It is conjunctionism that allowed for the casting of horoscopes for such significant moments as the nativity, crucifixion and second coming, the coming of Antichrist and the end of the world. While horoscopes of Antichrist do not seem to have survived, horoscopes of other events in Christian history are not uncommon, and there was no theoretical impediment to the practice.[42]

The basic theory of Abū Maᶜšar's great treatise is not complicated and relies on the happy accident that the period between successive conjunctions of the two largest planets, Saturn and Jupiter, is about twenty years.[43] In addition, each

[38] As suggested by Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), chap. 3.

[39] For the place of Abū Maᶜšar in Arabic astrology, see 'Astrology', in *Religion, Learning and Science in the ᶜAbbasid Period*, ed. by M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham and R. B. Serjeant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 290–300.

[40] Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology*, II.

[41] North, 'Fortunes of Churches', p. 189.

[42] Medieval horoscopes are very rare. See J. D. North, *Horoscopes and History* (London: Warburg Institute, 1986) for a collection of surviving examples. I have not seen a contemporary horoscope of the birth of Antichrist.

[43] The explanation in Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology*, II, 582–83 is short and clear

successive major conjunction tends to occur about 120° of longitude, or three signs of the zodiac, further along the zodiac than the last. According to an ancient tradition, the twelve signs of the zodiac are broken up into four triplicities, or groups of three zodiac signs usually identified as airy, fiery, watery and earthy, within which each sign is linked to the two others which are 120° apart from it.[44] This leads to the astrologically significant effect that successive conjunctions of the two major planets tend to occur in the same triplicity where it will recur, although falling in a different sign within the triplicity, for about 240 years before shifting to a new one. After 960 years, the whole process begins again. Although the astronomical movements of the two planets are not quite as neat as this, the whole process provided a powerful symbolic system for analysing long spans of time and linking them to historical changes in cycles of 20-, 240- and 960-year periods.[45]

Although religion is central to the matters given consideration in *On the Great Conjunctions*, Abū Maᶜšar does not provide a crib to date the coming of Antichrist. To state the obvious, Abū Maᶜšar wrote for an Islamic audience for whom the idea of a single hostile opponent of Christ or the Prophet was not a familiar one and for whom the birth and death of Jesus Christ and the rise of Christianity were not the culmination of religious history. It was possible for translators to make superficial compensation for this. For example, where the Arabic refers to the Prophet (Upon him be peace!), the Latin has instead 'super quem sit maledictio'.[46] It was harder to get around the fact that Abū Maᶜšar makes only two references to Christianity in the entire book, neither of them very complimentary—though Bacon does try.[47]

On the other hand, Abū Maᶜšar did understand and cater for an age wracked by religious sectarianism, false prophets, heresy and schism, just the sort of effects that

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and draws on the more technical explanation in North, 'Fortunes of Churches', pp. 185–87 including his useful diagram. See also Edward S. Kennedy, 'Ramifications of the World-Year Concept in Islamic Astrology', *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of the History of Science* (1962), 358–59.

[44] Evidence of the 'Chaldean' origin of triplicities is discussed by Francesca Rochberg-Hatton, 'New Evidence for the History of Astrology', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 43, 2 (1984), 115–40. According to standard texts, such as the *Ysagog Minor*, the Latin verson of Abū Maᶜšar's *Abbreviation of the Introduction to Astrology*, ed. by Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto and Michio Yano (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 102.

[45] As North points out, 'Fortunes of Churches', p. 186.

[46] Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology*, II, 8, 2, 96.

[47] For example, the Arabic original of Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology: The Book of Religions and Dynasties (On the Great Conjunctions)*, ed. by Keiji Yamamoto and Charles Burnett, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2000), I: *The Arabic Original*, ed. and trans. by Keiji Yamamoto and Charles Burnett, I, 4, 45: 'If the mixer with [Jupiter, the indicator of faith] is Mercury, it indicates Christianity, and every faith containing antipathy, doubt and trouble'. Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 257 gushes: 'Et dicunt, quod lex Mercurales est difficilior ad credendum quam aliae, et habet multas difficultates supra humanum intellectum'.

were supposed to accompany the coming of Antichrist. Bacon accomplishes a significant feat when he manages to rework Abū Maᶜšar's fluidly articulated cycles of religious conflict, into a series which culminates with Christianity defeating Islam, the conversion of the Jews and anticipating the rise of the last religion, that of Antichrist.[48] He is particular energetic in his re-interpretation of the text when he insists that a passage in Book Two, Chapter Eight, which calculates the duration of a particular sect, implies that the law of Mohammed can not last more than 693 years. Bacon believed that the year in which he was writing was the Arabic year 665, marking 665 years from the time of Mohammed, which suggested that this sect would soon, by the grace of God, be destroyed.[49] Also, that these figures were clearly in agreement with the Book of Revelation, which states in one version of the Vulgate that the number of the beast is 663, which is only 30 less than the figure provided by Albumasar.[50] The deficiency can only mean that 'God willed that this matter should not be completely explained, but hidden to a certain extent, like other matters which are written about in the Apocalypse'.[51] But a little later, the same claim is stated again, even more strongly, that after the law of Mohammed no other religion would rise except the law of Antichrist, and this was confirmed by astronomers.[52] Needless to say, it is unlike that Abū Maᶜšar has any intention of providing a Christian scholar with the means to calculate the downfall of Islam.

Why was Bacon so keen to establish a date for the end of Islam? All is made

[48] As part of the long-running debate about the authorship of the *Speculum astronomie*, at one time credited to Bacon, see J. Agrimi and C. Crisciani, 'Albumazar nell'astrologia di Ruggero Bacone', *ACME*, 25 (1972), 315–38.

[49] The *hijra* (AD 622) marks the flight of Mohammed from Mecca and the traditional date of the beginning of the Muslim era. This would imply Bacon was writing in 1287, although the *Opus majus* was completed by 1266 or 1267. Presumably Bacon made a mistake in his calculation of the Arabic year.

[50] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 266:

> Nam secundum quod Albumazar dicit viii capitulo secundi libri, non potest lex Mahometi durare ultra sexcentos nonaginta tres [693] annos [. . .] Et nunc est annus Arabum sexcentesimus sexagesimus quintus [665] a tempore Mahometi, et ideo cito destruetur per gratiam Dei [. . .] Et huic sententiae concordate Apocalypsis xiii capitulo. Nam dicit quod numerus bestiae est 663, qui numerus est minor praedicto per xxx annos.

Compare Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology*, I, 2, 8, pp. 124–25 (Arabic and English translation); II, 83 (Latin).

[51] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 266: 'Et hic forsan voluit Deus, quod non exprimeretur totaliter, sed aliquantulum occultaretur, sicut caetera quae in Apocalypsi scribuntur'. Ashenden comes to repeat this suggestion in his tract on the conjunction of 1365, where it is noted by North, 'Fortunes of Churches', p. 195.

[52] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 268: 'Et [. . .] post legem Mahometi non credimus quod aliqua secta veniet nisi lex Antichristi, et astronomi similiter concordant in hoc'.

plain when we examine Bacon's earlier argument, again drawn from Abū Maᶜšar's *On the Great Conjunctions*,[53] on the basis of which Bacon maintained that there could only be six 'laws' or religions, and the last would only arise when the law of Mohammed was crushed. This final episode in the history of religion would arise as a consequence of a 'greatest' conjunction that occurred when Jupiter, the major determiner in matters of religion, was mixed in its influence with the moon. This religion, according to Bacon, would be that of Antichrist:

> After the law of Mohammed, we do not believe that any other law will come except the law of Antichrist, and astronomers likewise agree in this, that there is some powerful one who will establish a foul and magical law after Mohammed which law will suspend all others.[54]

Bacon then asserts that this danger was sufficiently plain for the church to take precautionary measures in preparation for the coming of Antichrist.

Despite his inventiveness, Bacon never really does any more than play with the idea of conjunctionism. He does not go on to produce astrological history and/or prophecy of his own.[55] Fully developed astrological histories, which account for the rise and fall of an entire people, are not common, though it is interesting, in the light of Roger Bacon's fears about the use to which the Tartars were putting astrology, that an astrological history based on the career of Genghis Khan (d. 1227) does survive—albeit one created in the seventeenth century.[56] But it is clear that they could also be potent political propaganda. In its original form, for example, the lost Arabic text of Māŝā'allāh's *Thousands* predicted the downfall of the Abbasid dynasty and the restoration of Iranian rule in 200/815.[57] In Muslim Spain, political and historical astrology, based on the interpretation of conjunctions and celestial

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[53] Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology*, I, 1, 4, pp. 44–45 (Arabic and English translation); II, 28–29 (Latin).

[54] Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I, 268.

[55] Though he does claim (*The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, trans. by Robert Belle Burke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928), p. 400) that the dreadful comet of 1264 was generated by the force of Mars and was clearly a factor in the wars of England, Spain, Italy and other countries, which happened about that time. 'Oh, how great an advantage might have been secured to the Church of God, if the characteristics of the heavens in those times had been discerned beforehand by scientists, and understood by prelates and princes, and transferred to a zeal for peace.'

[56] 'An Astrological History Based on the Career of Genghis Khan', in Edward S. Kennedy, *Astronomy and Astrology in the Medieval Islamic World* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1998), paper XVII. This tract was written by Iranshah, probably in 1663, a year which saw the transfer from the watery to the fiery triplicity.

[57] David Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū Maᶜšar* (London: Warburg Institute, 1968).

omens, was actively practised—although not without some theological censure.[58] According to Samsó, the practice of astrological history provides evidence for the early diffusion, by the tenth century, of Abū Maʿšhar's *Kitāb al-Ulūf*, which is the major source for this type of astrology in the west.[59]

The case of Spain is particularly interesting, because it seems clear that the Latin astrological tradition, based on Aratus, Dorotheus of Sidon and the like persisted here, at least if we accept the evidence of Isidore of Seville.[60] Isidore, however, did not know of a tradition of astrological history, which was only developed after his death. An appreciation of the doctrine of great conjunctions was sufficiently well developed for astrologers in Cordova to consider that the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in 397/1006–07, which involved a change of triplicity, indicated the demise of the Caliphate and the beginning of the rise of Western Christian rulers in Spain.[61] Samsó points out that the astrology used to make this interpretation, at least as it survives in the available manuscript, is rather crude, and is an indication of the separate and regional identity of Muslim Spain.[62]

The evidence for the influence of conjunctionism elsewhere in Latin Europe is less clear-cut. Almost as soon as copies of the new translations of Abū Maʿšar *On the Great Conjunctions* arrived in the west, there is evidence that attempts were made to use it to interpret contemporary political and religious events. One centre for the dissemination of the new learning was the School of Chartres where there appears to have been a particular interest in astrology.[63] One manuscript, now destroyed, included analysis of a great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter as well as notes dated from 1137 to 1141 that Burnett suggests might indicate that the book

[58] 'The Early Development of Astrology in al-Andalus', in Julio Samsó, *Islamic Astronomy and Medieval Spain* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), paper IV (first publ. in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 3 (1979), 228–43).

[59] For an account of the diffusion of this key text, see Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū Maʿšhar*, and Charles S. F. Burnett, 'The Legend of the Three Hermes and Abū Maʿšhar's *Kitāb al-Ulūf* in the Latin Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), 231–34.

[60] J. Fontaine, 'Isidore of Seville et l'astrologie', *Révue des études latines*, 31 (1953), 271–300.

[61] Samsó, 'The Early Development', pp. 230–31; and Juan Vernet, 'Astrología y política en la Córdoba del siglo X', *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islamicos en Madrid*, 15 (1970), 91–100.

[62] 'Andalusian Astronomy: Its Main Characteristics and Influence in the Latin West', in Samsó, *Islamic Astronomy and Medieval Spain*, paper I, pp. 1–23.

[63] Charles Burnett, 'The Contents and Affiliation of the Scientific Manuscripts Written at, or Bought to Chartres, in the Time of John of Salisbury', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Michael Wilks (Oxford: Blackwell, for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1984), p. 132.

belonged to a practising astrologer.[64] Some very interesting additional notes on copies of the Latin versions of *On the Great Conjunctions* provide further testimony to the allure of these kinds of predictions.[65] One comment which links a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in 1225 to the destabilization of the Emperor Frederick and his deposition by the pope (not till 1245—but delayed reactions were no problem in this branch of astrology) would suggest that at least one astrologer was drawn to the same events which inspired some of the feistiest apocalyptic prophecy of the Middle Ages.[66]

Nevertheless, despite the obvious attraction of the theory, and the hard work done by Bacon to Christianize it for use by his contemporaries, we do not see a rush of horoscopes of the last days.

The Theological Reception of Conjunctionism

It is difficult to assess the impact of Bacon's proposal that the sciences be employed to assist in the search for Antichrist. It may have struck a chord with one or two fellow Franciscans who shared his excitement with mathematics, but he does not seem to have been taken seriously. In both Paris and Oxford, the intellectual climate was not hospitable to collaboration between specialists in sacred (*theologi)* and scientific learning (*physici*). Throughout the thirteenth century there was ongoing tension between the faculties, with extremists deploring the use of *libri naturales* for theological questions, and radicals subjected to periodic purges.[67] This culminated in 1270 and 1277 with the Paris and Oxford condemnations of Bishop Stephen Tempier and Robert Kilwardby which included, in one form or another, a good many astrological propositions—all now proscribed.[68] Curiously, one doctrine that was not

[64] Burnett, 'The Contents and Affiliation', p. 135. Haskins noted the date 1135 on fol. 116: 'In hoc anno quando erant anni a nativitate Christi MCXXXV in kal. Iulii fuit Venus incensa in Cancro'. The incipit suggests that the text concerned the interpretation of the great conjunctions: 'Incipit de planetarum coniunctione. Si Saturnus et Iuppiter'.

[65] For a short text, including comments on conjunctions from 2509 (the founding of Rome) to 1225 (the deposition of Frederick by Innocent IV), see Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology*, II, 348–51.

[66] Abū Maᶜšar, *On Historical Astrology*, II, 351: 'Et, quia anno Christ 1225 fuit coniunctio Saturni et Iovis in primo gradu Aquarii, significaviit cessationem imperii apud Teutonicos'.

[67] For an introduction to the literature, see Monika Asztalos, 'The Faculty of Theology', in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. by Walter Rüegg, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), I: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, pp. 420–33.

[68] *Chartularium Univesitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by H. Denifle and E. Châtelain, 4 vols (Paris: Delalain, 1889–97), I, 486–87 (for the errors of 1270); I, 543–58 (for the errors of 1277); Jeremiah Hackett, 'Roger Bacon, Aristotle, and the Parisian condemnations of 1270, 1277',

proscribed was conjunctionism. Perhaps it was just an oversight, or perhaps it was not implicated in heretical teachings to the extent of the outlawed doctrine of the Platonic Year.

Responses to astrology can be divided into liberal and conservative responses. According to Paola Zambelli, it was in order to avert a conservative backlash against Arabic science and philosophy that a group of Dominicans, including Albertus Magnus, sought to produce a list of works which might be approved for study.[69] The resulting report, which was soon attributed to Albertus Magnus, circulated under the title, the *Speculum Astronomie*. The views of Albertus Magnus can be profitably compared with the more fully analysed views of Aquinas, but both the great Dominican synthesizers accepted that the celestial bodies inclined but could not compel the soul and the will of man, who was created in freedom, after the image of God.[70] Albert goes further than stricter commentators in allowing that the stars may also affect human politics, even to the extent of determining the outcomes of battles.[71]

The *Speculum* is essentially an annotated bibliography that indicated which works of science and philosophy were licit, and which should be proscribed. In general it is liberal, except that it is thoroughgoing in its condemnation of image magic and necromancy. Books on historical astrology are considered in the section

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Vivarium, 35 (1997), 129–320.

[69] Paola Zambelli, *The 'Speculum Astronomiae' and its Enigma: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and his Contemporaries* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1992). For Albertus on astrology, see Betsy B. Price, 'The Physical Astronomy and Astrology of Albertus Magnus', in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays 1980*, ed. by James A. Weisheipl (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), pp. 155–85.

[70] Albertus Magnus, *Summa theologiae*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. by Petrus Jammy (Paris, 1651), XVII–XVIII:

> Talis enim stellarum qualitas trahere potest corpora et mutare animos etiam plantarum et brutorum, sed animam et voluntatem hominis, quae ad imaginem Dei in libertate sui constitua est, domina est surorum actuum et suarum electionum nec mutare nec trahere postest coactiva coactione, licet forte eatenus qua anima inclinatur ad corpus secundum potentias quae affiguntur organis (sicut sunt potentiae animae sensibilis et animae vegetabilis) anima humana inclinative, non coactive a tali qualititate trahi possit.

Quoted in Zambelli, *The 'Speculum Astronomiae' and its Enigma: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and his Contemporaries*, p. 165; for Aquinas see Thomas Litt, *Les corps céleste dans l'univers de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Leuven: Nauwelaerts, 1963).

[71] Albertus Magnus, De quatuor coaequaevis cit., tr. III. Q. 8, a. 1; in Jammy, *Opera omnia*, XIX, pl. 75a: 'astra habent virtutem in transmutatione elementorum et in mutatione complexionum et in motibus hominum et insuper etiam in habitibus inclinantibus ad opera et etiam in eventibus praeliorum'. Cited by Zambelli, *The 'Speculum Astronomiae'*, p. 165.

on 'revolutions': the branch of astrology which includes conjunctions and eclipses and revolutions of the years of the world, that is predictions for the course of the year based on the positions of the heavens when the sun enters the first minute of Aries, and finally mutations, or astrological weather prediction. This branch of astrology was not regarded as reprehensible to the degree associated with the interpretation of birth charts (nativities) or judicial questions, both of which related to the specific circumstances of individuals. God, it is understood, uses the stars 'sicut per instrumenta' to bring about desired changes in the world of men, rich and poor, in war or in peace, or to bring about earthquakes, falling stars and other prodigies.[72]

Predictions relating to religious change arise from the doctrine of great conjunctions. On this matter the *Speculum Astronomie* is particularly enthusiastic about the spiritual benefits of Albumasar's discussion of the properties of the ninth house, the house of faith, a suggestion likely to have come from the *Opus Majus*. This doctrine is described as especially elegant and particular praise is given for Albumasar's discussion of the astrological signs of the birth of Jesus Christ in Virgo.[73] This does not imply that Christ was subject to the heavens, but only that he chose not to exclude himself from the great celestial signboard, demonstrating that he was truly human. [74]

The figure of Antichrist is not named, but in the next section, there is further defence of the use of astrology to predict religious change, including the appearance of some great prophet or heretic, or the rising of a horrible universal schism. If the heavens foretell such things, what has this got to do with free will? Surely it is not in the power of individuals to change such things?[75] In other words, the compiler (or

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[72] Zambelli, *The 'Speculum Astronomiae'*, [chap.] VII, p. 228: '[Hic] indicatur quid operatur Deus gloriosus et sublimis in eodem anno per stellas sicut per instrumenta super divites quorundam climatum et in universitatem vulgi eorum ex gravitate vel levitate annonae, ex guerra vel pace, ex terraemotu et diluviis, ex scintillis et prodigiis terribilibus, et caeteris esse quae accidunt in hoc mundo'.

[73] On the transmission of the idea that the Assumption was prefigured by the first decan of the sign of Virgo, see R. Lemay, 'Fautes et contresens dans les traductions arabo-latines médiévales: l'Introductorium in astronomium d'Abou ma'shar de Balkh', *Revue de synthèse*, 89 (1968), 119–20; Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel: la bibliothèque de Simon de Phares, astrologue de XVe siècle* (Bruxelles: Centre d'étude des manuscrits, 1994), p. 73.

[74] Zambelli, *The 'Speculum Astronomiae'*, [chap.] XII, pp. 255–57:

> Si enim ex figura revolutionis annis, aut eclipsis, aut coniunctionis, quae significat sectam, significatur terraemotus sive diluvium, aut scintillae, aut super divites et universitate vulgi guerra vel pax, fama sive mortalitas, caeterum apparitio alicuius magni prophetae sive haeretici, aut ortus horrendi schismatis univeralis vel particularis, secundum quod providit Deus altissimum, quid ad arbitrium liberum? Numquid est in potestate hominis talia immutare?

[75] Zambelli, *The 'Speculum Astronomiae'*, [chap.] XIII, p. 256: 'Si enim ex figura

compilers) of the *Speculum astronomie* accepted implicitly the capacity of astrology to predict the rise of prophets or heresiarchs by means of the doctrine of conjunctionism. The intermediate source may well be Roger Bacon.

If we consider the compilers of the *Speculum Astronomie*, however anachronistically, to be the 'left wing', it should not be surprising to find that a conservative camp was also involved in the campaign. Around 1300, a number of tracts were written which include discussion of the general principle that the time of Antichrist might be open to verification by human reason, with the claims of astrology being assessed as part of the ongoing debate about the relative weight of faith and reason in the business of revelation. The earliest of these tracts would appear to be Arnald of Villanova's *De tempore adventus Antichristi*, written between 1297–1300, in which Arnald predicted that Antichrist would come in 1378.[76] In arriving at this figure, Arnald had to overcome a series of problems including the objections raised in scripture to the naming of times and also what he perceived to be the counter-claims of 'astrologi' that the end of the world could not occur until certain astronomical conditions were fulfilled. He shows a very imperfect knowledge of what these might be, merely referring to the supposed retardation of the eighth sphere which could not be completed in less than 36,000 years.[77] Arnald does not seem to have been aware of more technical studies of historical astrology such as Abū Maᶜšar *On The Great Conjunctions* or Māŝā'allāh's *Revolutions*, or at least he does not refer to them here, and though this is surprising given his medical expertise, it is in accord with his other writings.[78]

Arnald of Villanova showed particular hostility to astrological predictions of the date of Antichrist. While he believed that God has provided numerological clues in scripture, particularly in Daniel, that allowed him to predict that Antichrist was almost certain to arrive in the next century, Arnald would not not allow that prediction of such sacred things could be made using the natural sciences. In fact, he finds it useful to suggest that when the Lord discouraged his apostles about naming the time for his return (Act 1. 6) he was really only referring to scientific predictions; date setting from scriptural clues was perfectly fine. Arnald insisted that it was impossible to predict the time of the coming of Antichrist through human conjecture

revolutionis anni, aut eclipsis, aut coniunctioneis, quae significat sectam, significatur terraemotus sive diluvium'.

[76] Arnald of Villanova, *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, cxxix–clix, in *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII: Funde und Forschungen*, ed. by Heinrich Finke, 14 vols (Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1902), V: *Die eschatologischen und kirchenpolitischen Tractate Arnalds von Villanovo*.

[77] For the Platonic/Hipparchan Great Year, see Godefroi de Callataÿ, *Annus Platonicus* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1996).

[78] Arnald does not appear to have written on astrological medicine, and the one work attributed to him, *De medicina secundum astrologiam danda*, is probably apocryphal; Boudet, *Lire dans le Ciel*, no. 23, item 46.

or to precede by way of natural reason, or astronomical speculation.[79] Astrologers who think otherwise should realize that if God wanted the world to end in (just say) the year predicted by Arnald, namely 1378, He could do this very easily by speeding up the movement of the eighth sphere so that its revolutions were completed in a trice.[80] For just as the world was created by supernatural means, so will its destruction be completed by supernatural means. Nevertheless, Arnald does argue that three critical signs would herald the crisis forthcoming in the fourteenth century: the coming of Antichrist, various astronomical phenomena and the appearance, in the heavens, of the returned Christ.[81]

Two other tracts, although they denounce Arnald's presumption in setting a date for the coming of Antichrist, were no less hostile to the principle that astrology might be used to verify God's timetable. In 1300, John of Paris wrote against Arnald of Villanova, this time asserting that there was no way to set a certain date whether

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[79] Arnald of Vilanova. *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, CXXIX-CLIX, in Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, V, tr. CLVIII:

> Tercia, quod impossibile est prenoscere tempora illa coniecturis humanis, sive procedant per naturales rationes, sive per astronomicas speculationes, sive per quascumque alias philosophorum considerationes aut magorum vel divinorum figmenta, test domino, qui apostolis de hoc eum interrogantibus ex curiositate humana respondit: 'Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta, que pater posuit in sua potestate'. (Act. 1. 7).

[80] Arnald of Vilanova. *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi*, in Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, V, tr. CXXXIV:

> Astrologi vero, qui probant, quod motus retardationies octave sphere compleri nequit in paucioribus annis quam in XXXVI millibus, debent scire, quod suam potentiam et sapientiam Deus non alligavit naturalibus causis. Set sicut in productione mundi fuit naturalibus causis, sic et in consummatione huius seculi supernaturaliter operabitur. Et si totius retardationis revolutio necessaria foret, ut asserunt, ad univeralem perfectionem, nichilominus Deus est potens motum orbium velocitare, quantum placuerit, et revolutionem complere brevissimo tempore, ita ut revolutiones L vel centum annorum compleantur in uno anno vel dimidio, quod utique futurum esse circa finem mundi scriptura testatur Petri ultimo dicens: 'Adveniet dies domini sicut fur'.

Though actually, if this was the Creator's preferred method—it is hard to think that speeding up the orbits of the celestial bodies would be a particularly sneaky way to go about it.

[81] *De tempore Antichrist*, Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS Vat. Lat. 3824, fol. 59^{r}; cited by Harold Lee, 'Scrutamini Scripturas: Joachimist Themes and Figurae in the Early Religious Writings of Arnald of Villanova', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 33–56; and Harold Lee, Marjorie Reeves, and Giulio Silano, *Western Mediterranean Prophecy: The School of Joachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth-Century Breviloquium* (Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), p. 28. Lee supports dating the *De tempore* to around 1288–90. Smoller, 'Alfonsine Tables', pp. 215–16, notes Arnald's reluctance to accept calculations of the end based on motion of the eighth sphere.

relying on scripture, prophecy such as that of Joachim, or astrology.[82] Even more rigorous was the denunciation by Henry of Harclay (*c.* 1270–1317), the anti-Dominican chancellor of the University of Oxford who also attacks Villanova and John of Paris.[83] Arnald, he jibed, was not only wrong in trying to provide a date for the last days, he had simply pinched the idea from the Jews.[84] Henry does rather better than either Arnald or John, because he seems to have taken up Roger Bacon's suggestions about how a date for the arrival of Antichrist might be computed on the basis of the supposed 603 years allowed for the rule of Mohammed and the number of the beast in Revelation. He rebuts both the notions that a maximum conjunction dominated by the moon signifies the coming of Antichrist, as well as the Great Year. 'It seems amazing to me', he sneers, 'that otherwise intelligent men should support this opinion.'[85]

Henry of Harclay may well have been reading the national mood in insisting on a strict separation of astrology and prophecy. In England there was resistance not only to astrological predictions of Antichrist's coming, but also to those of the Joachimists. The vast *Summa de accidentibus mundi* of John Ashenden was written partly to validate the licit use of conjunctionism and repudiate the illicit speculation of the Joachimists, which, he proudly pointed out in another place, were not based on astrology.[86] Indeed, in an addition to his treatise on the conjunctions of 1365, Ashenden recalculated the figures supplied by Bacon for the fall of Islam. As Snedegar notes, Ashenden observed that Islam should have ceased to be either in the year 1315 (622 + 693), if the figure supplied for Albumasar by Bacon was adopted, or 1288 (622 + 666), if the more commonly encountered number of the beast in Revelation (Rev. 13. 18) was given as an alternative. But since Islam had not fallen, Albumasar's authority was not to be trusted.[87] Ashenden may as well have held his breath, as the saying goes, to cool his porridge, for the last decades of the fourteenth century witness an increasing resort to astrology for prophetic purposes, culminating with the theories of Pierre d'Ailly.

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[82] For the argument of John of Paris, see Smoller, 'Alfonsine Tables', and refs.

[83] Franz Pelster, 'Die Quaestio Heinrichs von Harclay über die zweite Ankunft Christi und die Erwartung des baldigen Weltendes zu Anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 1 (1951), 32–46.

[84] Pelster, 'Die Quaestio Heinrichs von Harclay', p. 62.

[85] Pelster, 'Die Quaestio Heinrichs von Harclay', p. 79: 'Sed et hoc est mirandum michi quod viri alias intelligentes nituntur istam opinionem de duracione secte Machometi etc'.

[86] For Ashenden on prophecy and astrology, see Keith Voltaire Snedegar, 'John Ashenden and the Scientia Astrorum Mertonensii, with an edition of Ashenden's *Pronosticationes*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1988), pp. 248–59. Snedegar discusses Harclay's refutation of the treatises of Arnald of Villanova and John Quidort (John of Paris) and typically hard-line views of John Wyclif, who also attacked the Great Year.

[87] Snedegar, 'John Ashenden', p. 257 and *Pronosticationes*, IIIb, pp. 531–46.

Conclusion

What conclusions can be made concerning the use of conjunctionism and other forms of astrology to make predictions about the coming of Antichrist in the Middle Ages? In the first place it is evident that from the time of its arrival in Europe in the first quarter of the twelfth century, there were attempts to use Abū Maᶜšar's *On the Great Conjunctions* to underpin forecasts about political and religious matters. Secondly, in the later part of the twelfth century, the rise of a heightened eschatological consciousness, particularly where there was an intersection of Franciscan scholars with scientific training who were also sympathetic to Joachimism, led to a limited number of direct attempts to predict the coming of Antichrist using conjunctionism. Thirdly, Roger Bacon can be considered the most important figure in facilitating the use of astrology for religious predictions. This is because he provided a Christianized interpretation of the conjunctionism of Abū Maᶜšar that, although it did considerable violence to the intention of the original, provided a relatively simple formula for the prediction of the coming of Antichrist. Nevertheless, Bacon's suggestions were not taken up to any great extent by the practising astrologers of the later Middle Ages.

Why was there such resistance to the employment of conjunctionism for religious purposes, in marked contrast to the history of the same theory in the Islamic world? One possible reason is that the reading of Abū Maᶜšar provided by Bacon was not very good astrology, in the sense understood by those experts who used Abū Maᶜšar's other work for purposes such as weather prediction. And although Bacon had been careful not to provide a particular date for the coming of Antichrist, it was also, as John Ashenden was later to point out, easy to disprove once the nominated years had come and gone. On the other hand the failure of a predicted date was rarely an insuperable problem for a determined millennialist. In this case, Bacon's favoured predictions do not seem to have gathered any heat.

The main factor restraining the development of astrological theory for religious predictions was theological and academic opposition to the practice. And whereas church objections to astrology were not sufficient to prevent the rise of a flourishing industry of astrological predictions for secular affairs, particularly in the courts of northern Europe, it did act as an effective break on religious predictions of more weighty events, such as the coming of Antichrist. Casting a figure for the coming of Antichrist remained perfectly possible on the basis of well-known astrological theory, but it does not appear to have been done. From one point of view, there was nothing impious about this activity. As long as the cosmos was considered to be a reflection of God's orderly universe, then the heavens might be anticipated to show signs of both Christ's return—and that of his opponent. The stars were, as the *Speculum Astronomie* put it, no more than His instruments. But astrologers appear to have resisted the temptation to put God to the test.

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